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JAPAN

Its Land, People and Culture

THE JAPANESE

BY

JOHN B. HARRIS

IN LAND, PEOPLE AND CULTURE

1880

JAPAN

ITS LAND, PEOPLE AND CULTURE

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Preface

The present publication is intended to give foreigners an authentic picture of Japan past and present.

An attempt has been made to render the book encyclopaedic in scope, covering all aspects of Japanese life together with its geographical, historical, social, economic and cultural backgrounds, but concise in the treatment of subject. It will prove, we hope, interesting to the general reader, as well as convenient and useful for reference to those who are engaged in the study of Japan.

It is five years since the Japanese National Commission for Unesco set out on the preparation of this book. Thanks to the arduous labours on the part of the Editorial Committee and the willing cooperation of the contributors of individual articles, the work has been at length brought to completion.

Unesco is currently launched upon its Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. JAPAN, ITS LAND, PEOPLE AND CULTURE is offered as a contribution of ours to the implementation of this project of world-wide significance.

1 November 1958

Japanese National Commission
for Unesco

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General Introduction; Characteristics of Japanese Life and Culture

The Japanese race has formed a unique mode of living and shaped an extremely individual pattern of culture in the past 2,000 years or so of its recorded history.

When compared with the ways of living and cultural patterns of other racial communities on the earth which have reached a stage of enlightenment high enough to be called a civilization, those of the Japanese race are of extremely individual and unexampled in character.

The Japanese maintained these characteristics at every succeeding stage of their history—ever since the first ancient state emerged and established its domain over the central section and western half of the Japanese Archipelago presumably between the third and sixth centuries.

They retained their traditions in the midst of epochal, social and political reformations patterned after modern states of the West in the Meiji Era, which spanned the last half of the 19th century.

Despite the series of stormy events during the first half of the present century, the Japanese have continued to retain these characteristics in their life and culture.

It cannot be denied, that every race has its own hallmark imprinted on them in the process of cultural evolution in their particular geographical surroundings.

But the Japanese race has, besides the characteristics derived from the geographical and climatic peculiarities of their land, a very individual mode of living and special pattern of culture which almost defies comparison with those of other peoples.

Then, specifically what are these characteristics in the life and culture of the Japanese people which distinguish them from others?

Though this entire volume is devoted to give answers to this question from various angles, a general comment will be made on this point at the risk of certain inaccuracies likely to result from making general statements in a limited space.

What is truly remarkable in the cultural attitude of the Japanese race is the coexistence of exclusive and receptive tendencies.

Turning to this exclusive tendency, it is best exemplified by the fact that the Japanese people have chosen to retain a mode of living and a pattern of culture which are purely and peculiarly Japanese in character.

The peculiar mode and pattern of their way of living have neither possibility nor energy to adapt themselves to those of other communities.

For instance, most of the fundamental habits people in this country retain in their clothing, food and housing—though, no doubt, subject to influences from the West and the world at large—may hardly be adopted as they are by the peoples of Western countries and even other Asian countries.

But parallel with this exclusiveness there is witnessed in the life and culture of the Japanese race an open-mindedness or receptive attitude toward foreign cultures,—a quality rare to other peoples. This is evidenced by the fact that manifold foreign cultures have been imported and absorbed, and exist side by

side with one another and with the native culture in this country. This is true not only at present, but in all the stages of Japanese history.

In this sense, it may be said that Japanese cultural attitude has been tolerant toward foreign influences and sometimes, even remarkably positive in accepting them, and once having imported and absorbed them, the Japanese have provided a cordial environment for their survival.

This cordiality to foreign influences often invites the disparaging criticism that the Japanese are the race of imitators and that their culture is a patchwork of multifarious foreign elements.

A review of the statuses of various religions in this country will serve as an illustration of this point. Almost all major religions, with the exception of the Moslem religion, of the world have made their way to this country and have each secured considerable body of supporters and adherents, and today exist in peace side by side.

Especially Buddhism and Shintoism went further than that and mingled with each other and was homogenized in part over a considerable period of time.

There have not been lacking instances of religious tragedies and of martyrdom in this country in the past. For example, political authority suppressed emergent new Buddhist sects when they attempted a reform of Buddhism in the period between the 12th and 13th centuries.

There was also that notorious persecution of Christians in Kyūshū by the Shogunate in the 17th century.

But when we view Japanese history as a whole, there has been a remarkable religious peace among various faiths even though some of them had been subject to suppression by political authority at one point or another.

Thus, there are often Japanese families which are religiously divided. The case is not rare in Japan where a member of a family is a devout Catholic, while another is a Protestant. A Buddhist father can get along with his Christian wife and they do not mind a bit if their daughter prefers Shinto rites for her wedding ceremony. The religious diversity seems to cause among the Japanese no conflict of faith. They just take it for granted. In this sense, there is no country where "freedom of faith" is observed so literally as in Japan.

As is borne out by the religious aspect of the life of the Japanese people, one of the characteristics of Japanese life and culture is its receptiveness, open-mindedness or its cosmopolitanism.

There may be witnessed distinct traces of major world civilizations in almost every phase of the Japanese life even though they were considerably modified by the endogenous factors of Japanese culture.

Broadly classified, these world civilizations which influenced native culture in this country are, first, Chinese civilization, second Indian or Buddhist civilization and the latest, Western civilization. These three major world civilizations exerted profound influences on Japan at every historical stage, though undoubtedly such importation of foreign cultural influences took place on different scales and with different rapidity in each period. And the important thing is that these foreign cultural influences of different origins have coexisted up to this day in Japan.

Thus, we have seen that the life and culture of the Japanese people is extremely self-centered and exclusive in one aspect, but at the same time have an equally receptive and universal characteristic in another.

I believe the realization of the coexistence of these two opposite tendencies is the key to a comprehensive and true understanding of the life and culture of the Japanese people.

Without realizing this, any attempt to obtain an adequate conception of the characteristics of the Japanese race as exhibited in the past history is well-nigh impossible.

The coexistence of the receptive and exclusive tendencies is all too conspicuous today, but I say, at the risk of too much repetition, that this has been the sole distinguishing mark of the Japanese race at every succeeding stage of their history ever since they attained a certain height of civilization.

While believing in Buddhist vision of life, the Japanese enjoyed and some of them still enjoy writing Chinese poems in the Chinese language. They live in dwellings built of thatched roofs and wooden or bamboo pillars just as the people in Southeast Asia. They wear cotton and silk *kimono* dyed in beautiful colors to match their tastes and eat countless varieties of foods including many vegetables grown on land and in mountains and sea weeds, river and sea fishes and shell-fish, rice and wheat.

Even today, such a Japanese scholar is not a rarity who sits like an Indian Buddhist, clad in Japanese *kimono* in his study which is built in pure Japanese fashion and reads high academic literature imported from Britain, France or Germany.

Foreign observers of Japanese culture often make the mistake of seeing but one aspect and try to explain the whole picture on only his partial findings.

Some pay attention only to the exclusive and isolating tendency in the cultural attitude of the Japanese race. They admire the delicacies and fineness such as exhibited in the traditional handicraft products of Japan. They also point out and take delight in the mood created by the self-negatory attitudes or in the clean and neat surroundings of the daily life of the Japanese. But at the same time, they criticize many inefficient complicacies of Japanese manner of life and many customs and habits which are devoid of consideration of efficiency and convenience.

Others tend to turn their attention chiefly on the other aspect of the Japanese attitude, namely, that of the receptive and embracing tendency. The remarkable transformation of Japan into a modern industrial power from the end of the 19th century through early 20th is often the object of praise and admiration. Springing from the same line of thinking is the oft-made criticism that Japan has degenerated through the worship of foreign cultures and lost its real self in the process of imitating the West.

Undoubtedly, these remarks tell part of the truth, but not the whole. These remarks, as long as they are based upon partial observation of Japanese culture to the neglect of either one of the two important tendencies, will not appeal to sensible Japanese people. As a matter of fact, there are many among the Japanese themselves who fail to view the characteristics of their life and culture from a comprehensive standpoint and divert their attention only to one outstanding feature.

However, in reality, the exclusive and receptive tendencies, though opposed to each other in the logical sense, are at work side-by-side in Japanese life.

And whether good or bad, the reciprocal actions between the two opposite tendencies are generating motive energy for future advance of Japanese culture.

The key to the secrets of the Japanese way of life and the charms of Japanese culture lies, I repeat, in the very fact of the coexistence and cowering of these two opposite tendencies.

Explanatory Notes

1. There are three ways of writing Japanese in Roman characters, namely the Hepburn system, Japan system and Kunrei system (See IV Language). In consideration of its common use and pronunciation in the West as well as in Japan the Hepburn system is used here.
2. The following rules have been adopted in this book.
 - a) Person's Name: In Japan the family name comes before the given name. It is a common practice that when writing Japanese names in English this practice is followed in the case of the names of those who lived before the Meiji Restoration (1868) while the Western custom is adopted in the case of all the later names. In this book, however, all names are written according to the Japanese style.
 - b) Year and Months: All dates before 1872 are according to the lunar calendar which was in use until that year. The later events are dated according to the solar calendar.
 - c) Age: According to Japanese way of counting ages, as soon as a baby is born he is one year old, and on his first New Year day he becomes two. The Western way of counting has been adopted since 1945. For the sake of convenience, the ages of those who lived before the Meiji Era are recorded according to the Japanese way of counting, while the ages of the later people are given according to the Western system.
3. Photographs were selected with cooperation of the Society for International Cultural Relations and the Iwanami Film Production Company.
4. The photographs, not credited, are mostly copyrighted by the Iwanami Film Production Company.
5. Each article was first written in Japanese and later translated into English. The names of the contributors of the original manuscripts are mentioned below. An article without the name of writer is a joint work by more than one person.
6. Contents of this book (including photographs, charts, maps and all other materials) do not necessarily reflect the official viewpoints of the Japanese Government.

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Articles		Writers
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I HISTORY

Outline

Dawn of history—founding of the country

The exact date when the ancestors of the Japanese people settled in the Japanese Islands and developed their own culture, in other words, the origin of the Japanese nation remains shrouded in obscurity. Inasmuch as no mass migration or military conquest is recorded in history, it is assumed that the formation of the Japanese nation was carried out gradually over a long period of time.

The same holds true in regard to the founding of the state, meaning the organization of a single nation composed of a single race. A glimpse of the early stages of Japanese history may be gained from the myriad of myths told and retold in the respective communities throughout the country. Some of these dates as far back as 1,792,470 years ago but they, of course, represent only nebulous concepts of antiquity and do not by any means pinpoint the date of national founding. Few reliable data are available to correlate the date of Japan's founding to any era preceding the Christian Era.

Kojiki and *Nihonshoki*, which are anthologies incorporating a large number of the legends, date the rule by the Yamato Court at the 7th century B.C. and this theory has enjoyed the credence of a fairly large number of people. Although there is no authority to refute this contention entirely, it should be classified as being nothing more than a legend for it was presumably later than the 6th century that the contents of these two books were systematized and

since it was not before the 8th century that they were compiled in book form, there is no denying that as historical material, these books are incomplete.

The early parts of the history of any country are strongly tinged with legendary hues and these are usually cherished by each nation with much national pride. Perhaps due to the inquisitive nature of the Japanese people, intensive academic research into the date of Japan's birth as a state has been carried out by interested scholars since as far back as the Edo Era.

In this research, advantage has been taken of authentic Chinese dynastic histories which are dated older than comparable Japanese history books and which carry references to Japan. Hundreds of Japanese historians have studied the early parts of Japanese history with these materials for more than a hundred years in the past. As explained elsewhere in this volume, these Chinese histories provide valuable hints on ancient Japan but they fall short of supplying the data with which to build up a confident assumption. For the narratives contained in these Chinese history books cannot be considered as being based on personal observations by those who actually visited Japan and, therefore, the degree of their accuracy is just about as high as that of the ancient Japanese history books.

As distinguished from this type of research by ancient documents, there is archaeological research based on relics and monuments. This research, first inspired by the scientific method of inquiry introduced from the West during the early years of the Meiji Era developed by leaps and

bounds during the Shōwa Era and was further accelerated after World War II when the interest of the Japanese people shifted from legends to material data. By the very nature of archaeology, however, it is well-nigh impossible to pinpoint the exact date of early history by such means as relics and monuments.

Thus, although extensive researches are being carried out on the basis of ancient Japanese documents, Chinese and Korean history books and archaeological data, only a general statement such as the following can be made at the present stage regarding the early parts of Japanese history.

The Japanese people inhabited the Japanese islands since very olden times, with individual communities settled in different parts of the country. Over a long period extending thousands of years, these communities were unified gradually until a single state was organized during a period of several centuries astride the beginning of the Christian Era.

This situation is characteristic of Japan, whose history lacks any evidence of mass migration or conquest events which mark the founding of a number of other world states.

Archaeologically, we have relics which represent two fairly distinct cultural eras. One—the Jōmon culture—is represented by earthenware with rope patterns (*Jōmon*) and the other by thinner earthen vessels with simpler patterns (*Yayoi*). No racial change or difference is, however, conceivable in the transition from the former to the latter culture. It is quite conceivable, however, that stimulus from the Chinese Continent had its effect on this cultural transition.

In many instances, cultural stimuli were brought from the Continent by Chinese who migrated and settled in Japan. There is no denying the fact that these Chinese settlers exerted powerful influence not only on Japan's ancient culture but also on its government. A careful observation will show that many of Japan's historical developments were affected by these stimuli from abroad.

Between the 5th and 6th century, the

Yamato Court, emboldened by the success of its campaign for unifying the country under a single administration undertook a conquest of the Korean Peninsula but this venture proved a failure in later years. The establishment of the powerful Hsui and Tang Dynasties in China between the latter part of the 6th century and the early part of the 7th century accentuated the need for the establishment of a similarly effective centralized government in Japan. Prince Shōtoku's regency during the latter part of the 6th century represented a preparatory stage for such an era of powerful government and it was during this period that Japan devoted itself to intense cultural and ideological progress. Relics representing the cultural prosperity of this era which are preserved in abundance today at the Hōryūji Monastery in Nara speak eloquently of the artistic buoyancy and creative urge characteristic of this era. They are valuable monuments not only for Japan but in the context of the cultural history of the world.

The Taika Reform of 646 A.D. was carried out in accordance with a blueprint worked out by Japanese students dispatched to China by Prince Shōtoku. It represented the inauguration of a law-governed country with a centralized government under the Emperor.

In the process of this administrative centralization, administrators of the central government realized the need for ideological unity and complete elimination of internal conflicts and confusion. This was carried out first by systematizing the various myths and legends preserved by the respective local chieftains. And this process led to the theory, recorded both in *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*, that *Amaterasu Ōmikami* (the Sun Goddess) had ordained that Japan should be governed and ruled by a succession of Emperors.

Later, the Confucian concept of kingly rule was incorporated into the *Tennō* (*Tenshi*) or Emperor cult, thus defining the Emperors as direct descendants of the Sun Goddess ordained by an oracle to ascend the Imperial Throne and, at the same time, as rulers of the Confucian image

whose function it is to bring happiness to the populace by their wise and benevolent rule. Thus the Emperor's status was established as an institution. The Emperors, entrusted as they were with the task of officiating at Court rituals as descendants of the Sun Goddess—deity of deities—were considered not only as administrative heads of the nation but also as moral and spiritual leaders and a source of cultural inspiration.

The idea that the Emperor combines in himself the functions of a living deity in charge of state rituals and the administrative head of the nation has formed the nucleus of Japan's ideological and administrative history down through the ages. Even when this institution degenerated into a mere formality and the real administrative authority shifted to the hands of other influences such as the Shogunate, the Emperor's status as the spiritual head of the nation continued with little change.

Movements to restore the Emperor's temporal powers were launched time and again and some of them proved successful. The fact that political reforms recorded in Japanese history were always inspired by this concept—restoration of temporal and spiritual powers of the Emperor—is an outstanding feature and proper appreciation of this unique factor provides an important key to the understanding of Japanese history.

Nara and Heian eras

Following the Taika Reform, Japan adopted many legal systems and institutions from China (T'ang Dynasty), a country which along with the ancient Roman Empire, had the most advanced legal system in the world. Thus, a centralized government complete with a legal system was established during the closing years of the 8th century.

The establishment of a centralized government naturally called for the creation of the capital city. Up to that time, the site of the Emperor's residence had been regarded as the national capital but it was moved every time a new Emperor ascended the Throne—this was due to the prevailing superstition of linking death to uncleanness.

In 710, however, the first permanent capital was established in Nara, patterned after the T'ang Dynasty's metropolitan system. In accordance with the prevailing concept of the Emperor referred to elsewhere, the capital city was defined not only as the seat of the central government but as the cultural and spiritual center of the country.

Both Nara and Kyoto were free from moats and stone walls which constituted main features of the Shogunate capitals of later eras. The lack of castle like structures with their domineering atmosphere—a feature further accentuated during the Heian Era when Kyoto was Japan's capital—was symbolic of the close and intimate relationship between the ruler and the populace. Incidentally, the present Imperial Palace in Tokyo is a relic of the Shogunate castle converted into the residence of the Imperial Family after the Meiji Restoration.

The capital city of Nara, with its stately buildings patterned precisely after their T'ang Dynasty counterparts, was an object of awe and admiration to the Japanese people of the day. This fact is borne out in the many poems praising the grandeur of the city and pointing to the sharp contrast between the metropolitan magnificence and the wretched state of rural communities.

The Nara Era was dominated by Buddhist civilization. A large number of Buddhist temples were built with State funds and Buddhist priests enjoyed privileges equal to those of high-ranking administrative officials. And these activities culminated in the historic inauguration of the Great Statue of Buddha at the Tōdai-ji Temple in Nara. Relics of the flourishing Buddhist art of those days are found today in the temples and monasteries in and around the city of Nara.

As time passed, evils attending the overemphasis placed on Buddhism began to appear and it was partly for the purpose of separating the seat of the government from the center of Buddhism and Buddhist culture that the capital was moved from Nara to Kyoto in 794. From then on, Kyoto re-

maintained, except for limited periods, the site of the Imperial residence for more than 1,000 years until the capital was moved to Tokyo in 1869.

The long years during which Kyoto was the capital of Japan naturally fostered the growth of a refined, sophisticated urban culture, proofs of which can still be seen today in this quiet ancient city. Cultural traditions were maintained by high-ranking officials of the central government with their positions protected by the established civil service system and their revenue insured by the inheritance of rural estates.

Members of the titled nobility enjoying blood relations with the Imperial Family devoted their time and energy to refined pastimes of music and literary efforts.

The 3 centuries from the 8th to the 11th century when the metropolitan culture of Nara and Kyoto flourished coincides with the earlier part of the West's medieval period. However, historical development of the earlier part of the medieval period which began with the mass migration of the Teutonic race is more similar to the period from the closing years of the Heian (Kyoto) Era to the Kamakura Period which saw the rise of the samurai class. And yet it is not proper to lump the 300-year period of centralized government with the ancient era that preceded it. While it may be treated as a transitory period from the ancient to the medieval period from the standpoint of political, social and economic history, it seems appropriate when viewed culturally to treat it as an independent era with a distinct character of its own.

Some 150 years after the capital was moved from Nara to Kyoto, however, defects of the system of centralized government began to assert themselves and contradictions with rural administration came to the fore. With political influences concentrated in the capital, the large rural estates of the Imperial Family, titled nobility, Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines were left without adequate administrative and police supervision with the result that landowners in rural communities were forced to maintain armed force to insure the safety of their possessions.

Here, the samurai class entered the picture. The *samurai*—persons skilled in martial arts—hailed either from the families of influential local chieftains or the servants of government officials or nobles dispatched from the capital to rural communities. (The word *samurai* originally meant people who serve—servants of the nobles.) In due course of time, the *samurai* began to exert strong influence in the rural estates of noblemen but this development was ignored by the aristocrats enjoying the peace and ease of metropolitan life in Kyoto.

As time passed, two influential samurai clans—Genji and Heike—became so powerful that both the Imperial Court and the titled nobility began to realize that it was becoming difficult to maintain their power without depending on the military influence of the samurai class. This period coincided with the first Crusade (1096–1099)—the period when local autonomy was gaining influence in Europe.

Several years after the second Crusade, Japan witnessed a major civil war—*Hogen no Ran* (1156)—in which the political strife in the administrative hierarchy of the day was settled by intervention of samurai's armed might.

A long period of peace was nearing its end and political stability was giving way to an era of armed might. Soon a new era began—an era similar to the so-called Dark Age of pre-medieval Europe. The ruling class that dominated the succeeding period did not hail, however, from an alien race or a newly risen class. It developed from *samurai*—people who served the aristocracy during the peaceful Nara and Heian eras. This fact represents a conspicuous feature seen in every period of transition in Japanese history.

Development of medieval feudal society (From mid-12th to—the 16th century)

During the 400 years from the mid-12th century to the 16th century, here tentatively described as Japan's medieval period,

Japanese society presented outward appearances closely similar to those of Europe's medieval era. The European medieval era, extending from the latter part of the 5th century (fall of the West Roman Empire) to the end of the 15th century (discovery of the American Continent) was featured by a conflict between the manor system and the urban economic community, which originated and developed during this period. The Japanese medieval era, which coincides with the latter half of its European counterpart, saw the same process of transition, so far as outward appearances were concerned, as that of the European medieval era. Needless to say, Japan's medieval era had its own peculiar characteristics, which merit concentrated study by historians.

The "feudal" age in Japanese history is applicable to different periods according to different interpretations of what the word "feudal" means. Here, let us consider the 400 years from the mid-12th to 16th century as the first half of the feudal era.

The centralized administrative system which flourished during the preceding era—the Nara and Heian periods—had crumbled gradually owing to weaknesses inherent in the legal-administrative system which formed the core of that setup and the newly risen samurai class came to assume actual control of society by setting up a political organization of its own separate from the Kyoto-centered administrative setup.

During the former half of the feudal age, the center of that political organization of the samurai class was located in Kamakura, the birth-place of *samurai*. During the latter half, Kamakura was downgraded into a branch center as the base of *samurai* administration moved to Kyoto, for long the center of national administration by the aristocracy. In other words, the two political systems—one by the aristocracy and the other by the *samurai*—effected a union during the latter period. The former era is called the Kamakura Period and the latter the Muromachi Period.

Although the *samurai* came to assume a dominant position during this feudal period,

influences left over from the preceding era remained for a long time as the decline and downfall of the previous centralized administrative system took a long time. At times, attempts were made to revive the Emperor system which still remained in form. Though for a short period, this movement proved successful and Imperial rule was restored in much the same shape as previously. This is called the Kemmu Restoration. (1334)

The military might that made it possible was supplied by *samurai* and even after this coup failed, a part of the *samurai* entrenched themselves in the mountain fastnesses of Yoshino, Nara Prefecture, for as long as 60 years, rallying under the Imperial Family which they supported.

Other *samurai*, who had also fought in support of the movement for the Kemmu Restoration, later turned against this drive and succeeded in capturing Kyoto and making Kamakura its branch administrative headquarters under the nominal leadership of an Imperial Family of a different lineage. For 60 years, the Imperial Family thus remained divided by two warring *samurai* factions, each claiming authority. This period is called the South and North Dynasty Era after a similar age in China. The present Imperial Family is the descendant of the latter (Northern) dynasty. After the two dynasties were reunited in 1392, the conflict ceased except for a few cases.

The *samurai* government at Kamakura left the Imperial Family in Kyoto unmolested and with polite disregard whereas the Muromachi government of the latter half period rallied under one of the divided Imperial dynasties and inherited, at least nominally, the centralized Imperial administration of the preceding era. Thus, the Imperial Family survived the *samurai*-dominated period and continued to enjoy popular deference.

Not only in this respect but in others too, the newly risen *samurai* class demonstrated its capacity for harmonious division of functions with the powers that preceded it. This is only natural because, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, the *samurai* was

not an invading alien race. It had its origin in the farming class and ascended the social ladder by serving either as subordinate bureaucrats for the aristocracy, police officers for the Imperial Court or local administrative officials serving in the system of centralized administration.

The same trend is discernible in the culture of the medieval era. In literature, for example, *samurai* strove to learn literary refinement and techniques from the aristocracy and although no important literary works emerged from this class, its achievements in this field provided the basis for the development of the popular literary and artistic activities of the succeeding period.

This does not mean, however, that the Medieval Era culture played nothing more than a transitional role from one period to another. The literary endeavor to seek "mystic beauty" in verse produced a unique literary thought peculiar to this period. Another product of this era—the affirmation of humanism seen in the religious writings of the Jōdo Shinshū sect of Buddhism—may be considered a bud of the modern spirit akin to the European Renaissance.

By far the most important development during this era was the epoch-making progress in the economic life of the nation. And this process produced many phenomena closely akin to those seen in the evolution of civic communities in Europe. In fact, the economic progress achieved during the latter half of Japan's medieval era was much faster than its European counterpart, although during the next stage, Japan again slipped into a feudalistic straitjacket of another form.

It was in 1543 (1542 in another version) that Japan, with such similarities with Western Europe, came into contact with the West. This was occasioned by the arrival of Portuguese ships to Japanese shores.

Culturally speaking, in medieval era Japan was ahead of the West because it had inherited the cultural legacy of the preceding eras whereas the West had cut itself off from ancient traditions. Be that as it may, the impact of the West on medieval Japan

was great. The *samurai* was awed by the guns brought by Portuguese ships. Buddhist priests were at a loss how to cope with the new influence of Christianity. The contact with the west caused a decisive change in medieval Japan, which led Japanese history to the recent (as distinguished from modern) age.

Literary prosperity of Edo Era (the end of the 16th century —the middle part of the 19th century)

The economic development achieved during the medieval era which brought about a wider flow of goods and money exerted a strong impact on the closed, feudal economic setup of the preceding era and transformed the small economic spheres each centering around the respective manor (feudal estate) into much wider economic units. This trend was so strong that at one time it appeared that the entire nation might be embraced in a single economic unit. If this had been realized, national unity would have come about politically as well and a national setup such as the one achieved during the Meiji Era would have been accomplished much earlier. If medieval society had been succeeded directly by modern society of the Meiji pattern, Japan would have become one of the most advanced countries of the world—at least economically.

Actually, however, a period of 300 years intervened between the Azuchi-Momoyama Era and the Meiji Era. Because of this intervening period which constituted the latter feudal age, Japan found itself an economically under developed country at the middle part of the 19th century and was obliged to absorb, in a great hurry, the fruits of civilization from the West.

During this latter-day feudal period, the country was divided into hundreds of feudal fiefs, each governed by a lord (*daimyō*), with the Tokugawa Shogunate situated at Edo (present Tokyo) reigning over them.

A number of factors are conceivable as the causes of this historical development.

One is the fact that geographically, Japan has been liable to division, politically and otherwise, due to the complicated coastline and rugged mountain ranges that criss-cross the four islands. Another is the Japanese people's national character which is at once progressive and conservative—progressive in that they tend to jump at any new innovation and conservative in that they often cling to old traditions. The abundant variety of flora and fauna and mineral deposits found in these islands might also have affected the course of the nation's history.

The answer to the question may also be sought in a study of the productive technology, volume of production and the flow of merchandise up to the end of the medieval period. Some historians may place emphasis on the influence exerted by dominant historical figures such as Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu on Japanese society during their respective lifetime. Conclusive answer to the question should not be sought hastily for all of these multiple factors must have combined to bring about the historical course that Japan trod. At any rate, this is one of the most interesting subjects to study for historians.

The 250 years after the fall of Osaka Castle in 1615 which signified the end of the Toyotomi Clan saw neither external wars nor internal strife. This period coincides with the period in Western history from the 30 Years' War to the Crimean War and the American Civil War. It parallels the period in Chinese history from the fall of the Ming Dynasty to the Opium War. Thus, while the rest of the world was torn by civil, external and colonial wars, Japan alone enjoyed a long period of peace extending almost 300 years.

During this period, the Tokugawa Shogunate adopted the isolation policy, barring contact with the outside world except with China, Korea and the Netherlands. Travel to and from Japan was strictly prohibited except for a limited number of persons, both Japanese and foreigners, who were granted special permission. Export and import were both so negligible as to hardly affect

the domestic economy. Economically, the nation remained almost completely self-sustaining and culturally, foreign influence played a smaller part than in any other period in its history.

It is difficult, however, to determine whether this isolation policy was beneficial or harmful to later generations of the Japanese people. It can be said that at least, it served the purpose of prolonging the life of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

The Tokugawa Shogunate and feudal lords made it their policy to utilize the wealth of rich merchants and farmers for bolstering their finances and yet to deny the latter all political and administrative authority. They maintained a strict system of social stratification by the four classes of *samurai*, farmers, artisans and merchants, reserving a position of political and social superiority for the *samurai* class. The feudal rulers gave second position to tillers of the soil but denied them the freedom to change their places of residence or social status. Merchants were placed at the bottom stratum and held in contempt.

This was unnatural because the wealthy merchants of such commercial centers as Edo and Osaka had the power to influence the finances of the Shogunate and feudal lords. In social life, too, the merchants of those days were strengthening their controlling power. Therefore, it was a wise policy, from the Shogunate's standpoint, to prohibit the merchants from engaging in foreign trade so as to prevent them from amassing greater fortunes.

The isolation policy also served greatly to cultivate a brand of culture peculiar to this country. Although politically oppressed, the merchants and artisans made great strides in the cultural sphere which reached the peak in the middle part of the Edo Era—the Genroku Period (1688–1704). This period produced some immortal figures in Japan's cultural history—Ihara Saikaku, novelist; Matsuo Bashō, haiku poet; Chikamatsu Monzaemon, kabuki playwright; and Ichikawa Danjūrō and Sakata Tōjūrō, kabuki actors.

This cultural peak achieved during the Genroku Period was followed by gradual

deterioration and decline. Up to that time, the *samurai* had maintained fairly high cultural and moral standards commensurate with their social status, whereas after the Genroku Period, they suffered a gradual decline in their economic position with the result that some of the unscrupulous *samurai* resorted to oppressive measures against the civilians. As the Edo Era drew to its close, the Shogunate was plagued by serious diplomatic problems. In desperation, the Shogunate resorted to oppression and intrigue.

Some of the more intellectual *samurai* and priests quit their social status while artisans and merchants dissipated their energies in wild escapades in the gay quarters of Edo and Kyoto. Culture of the closing years of the Edo Era thus flourished in the gay quarters, becoming technically more refined but decadent in substance. Literary and artistic products of this period cannot, therefore, be regarded as legitimate representatives of this country's arts and literature. The decline of the nation's cultural traditions as represented by the inspiring *Manyōshū* anthology of the Nara Period, the moral integrity of the Kamakura Era *samurai* and the progressive spirit of the Civil War Era is attributable to the fact that the cultural heritage was left in the hands of the oppressed merchants and artisans of the latter Edo Period.

During the early part of the Edo Era, an admirable effort was made by Japanese scholars to introduce Western sciences and to graft them to native scientific traditions handed down from previous generations. As the Edo Era approached its end, however, the Shogunate deprived the scholars of the facilities for conducting basic scientific researches, allowing them the freedom of only technical and practical studies. As a result, the Japanese had to start anew on imported Western natural sciences after the beginning of the Meiji Era.

The Meiji Restoration of 1867 struck the death knell of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It is amazing that this government vanished without much bloodshed despite its long history and the presence of a bodyguard

more than 100,000 strong. One explanation given to this development is that the members of the *samurai* bodyguard of the Shogunate, cultured in the refined atmosphere of a peaceful Edo were wise enough to realize the futility of a civil war.

In 1869, the feudal lords surrendered their fiefs to the Imperial Government and in 1871, these fiefs were replaced by new administrative units called prefectures. This process was aided by the fact that the feudal governments, plagued as they were by financial difficulties, failed to put up much resistance to the movement for reformation.

The system of social stratification was abolished so far as legal privileges were concerned although the former *samurai* were accorded a status of *shizoku* (*samurai* class) as distinguished from the three other classes which were now to be known as *heimin* (common people).

There were some die-hard *samurai* who still attempted to assert their superior position. A number of minor civil disturbances ensued until the Seinan Civil War of 1877 in which the Government forces composed of common people defeated the *samurai* bands of the Satsuma and Higo clans of Kyūshū. This marked the actual end of the era of *samurai* that had lasted for more than 700 years since the Hogen Revolt of 1156.

Thereafter, political parties mushroomed and a movement calling for the establishment of a parliament gained momentum. Liberty and civil rights were on everybody's lips. Democracy found its way into Japan for the first time.

Even the clan government dominated by *samurai* descendants of Kagoshima and Yamaguchi prefectures found it impossible to disregard the surging public opinion. The foresighted Emperor Meiji took the initiative in calling for the formulation of a Constitution. In 1889, the Constitution was promulgated and the Imperial Diet (parliament) was convened for the first time the following year.

The feudal political and administrative system came to an end and a new era dawned.

From Meiji Era to the present

A survey of the closing years of the Edo Era and the early part of the Meiji Era shows, among others, a remarkable upsurge of public discussions on political subjects. This outburst of popular political consciousness was all the more intense because it followed a long period of suppression by an authoritarian government.

This upsurge of political consciousness was inspired more than anything else by the cult of Emperor worship cultivated and systematized by a group of scholars specializing in Confucian theories and Japanese classical literature. This cult, simplified into a slogan found a responsive cord in the minds of a large majority of the Japanese people cutting across class distinctions.

Another idea that inspired the national movement was anti-foreignism. This concept, also originating from the academic tradition espoused by Confucian and Japanese classical scholars was given fresh impetus by the appearance of foreign warships off Japanese shores.

The cult of Emperor worship materialized in the system of Imperial rule of the Meiji Government. The origin of anti-foreignism was more complex. Exponents of anti-foreignism had two objectives in mind in pushing their movement. On the other hand, they tried to use the advocacy to embarrass the moribund Shogunate by accusing the Shogunate authorities of violating the traditional isolation policy ordained by their forefathers. On the other, they tried to call the nation's attention to the dangers of Western colonialism as represented by the Opium War and to stress the need for stronger national defense. It may be pointed out here that by nature the Japanese are not anti-foreign; fanatical haters of foreigners were a small minority even in those days.

After the new Meiji Government was established, the cult of anti-foreignism developed into the policy of "enriching the nation and strengthening the armed forces"—one of the major political goals of the

Meiji Government. The whole range of national administration—government, education, industry, science and public finance—was geared to this policy.

The system of Imperial rule fortified by the cult of Emperor worship perfectly suited the purpose of strengthening the system of centralized government. Thus, the Emperor was elevated to the position of not only the apex of national administration but a center of quasi-religious worship. This process was carried out smoothly because the Imperial Family boasted a lineage extending over thousands of years and reaching into the mystic past. The Emperor—descendant of the Sun Goddess enshrined at the Grand Shrine at Ise—became the apex of both national administration and spiritual life of the nation.

The armed forces under the command of the Emperor proved to be exceedingly brave and loyal fighting units. Government-operated universities turned out members of the elite class charged with the mission of executing the policy for a militarily and financially strong nation. The Government also took the initiative in mechanizing the budding industries. The parliament, though usually an arena of unending struggles among political parties, demonstrated a magnificent unanimity at times of national crises. Even progressive citizens fighting for liberty and civil rights became model patriots during major foreign wars.

Japan developed by leaps and bounds up to the time of World War I (1914-16). Allied victory in World War I raised Japan's position to one of the five major powers of the world. In a short space of 50 years, Japan had caught up with the rest of the advanced world in one of the most spectacular examples of progress recorded in history.

As one of the leading capitalist countries, Japan needed large amounts of raw materials and a vast market where she could sell the manufactured products. In due course of time, Japan realized that the spoils of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars—Formosa, Korea and Southern Sakhalin—were not quite enough to meet these purposes. She turned to Manchuria and Southeast Asia.

At the same time, various defects arising from the single-minded concentration on economic and military development began to assert themselves. One such defect lay in the stunted growth of public consciousness in regard to civil rights. Another was the conflict between the government and the military. A third lay in the unbalance between rural and urban industrial economies. Still another was found in the hurried attempt to carry out a parliamentary government despite the

immature political consciousness of the public.

These defects were aggravated by the effects of the world panic of 1929. Shut off from the world market, Japan, along with Germany and Italy, plunged into World War II.

The end of the costly war found all major Japanese cities in waste and its industries crippled. The catastrophic defeat has given the Japanese people plenty of food for thought—food for self-introspection on their history as nation.

Dawn of Japan

It is probable that, from time to time, various tribes or races migrated or intruded into this island country of Japan from the Asian Continent and settled here to form a part of the Japanese ancestry. Thus, the history of Japan can be traced as far back into antiquity as the origin of the islands themselves. At present, stone implements believed to have been used by people who lived toward the end of the Pleistocene Age have been unearthed from what are thought to be Pleistocene rocks. These implements belong to a non-ceramic culture, since no pottery of any kind has been found with these stone tools. In the Kantō and Chūbu districts, such stone relics have been found in more than thirty places. On examination, they have been classified, from stratographical and typological points of view, into five or six periods. Moreover, the transition of periods shows phases parallel to that of the Upper Palaeolithic Age in the European continent. It might be difficult to assert positively that these stone implements belong to the Pleistocene Age as no fossil plants nor insects have been found together with them. However, it cannot be definitely denied.

The prime question is that during this period, the islands of Japan may not yet have come into existence. According to geologists, in the later period of the Pleistocene Age, the present East China Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk were land; and Japan was a part of the continent with the Japan

Sea as an inland sea. If this is true, the land on which the people with this non-ceramic culture lived was Japan, but it was not the islands of Japan. Accordingly, whether or not they can be called ancestors of the present Japanese is open to question.

Jōmon Period (Straw Pattern Age) followed this non-ceramic culture. It was the age in which people using straw rope pattern pottery lived on these islands. The pottery and stone implements used by the people in the beginning of this age have been unearthed from the Holocene stratum. It was this time that a huge terrestrial upheaval occurred; about the land sank and the islands of Japan gradually took their present shape. There is no question that the ancestors of the Japanese lived in this period.

Jōmon Period (straw rope pattern pottery period)

Jōmon culture which lasted thousands of years can be termed the longest period in the history of Japan. Contemporary scholars classify this period into five; the period of dawn, the pre-middle period, the middle period, the post middle period and the last period.

The period of dawn is also called *Yori-Ito Bunka* (Pottery with the cord design). To date, relics of this period have been unearthed only in the southern part of the Kantō district and their shapes show no

connection with those of the non-ceramic culture. It seems that the people of this period came from overseas. Among the relics which are thought to belong to the latter part of the non-ceramic culture are stone implements such as points and micro-liths which more or less resemble the stone relics of Europe between the latter part of the Palaeolithic Age and the Mesolithic Age. It seems that the *Oshigata-Mondoki Bunka* (Pottery with Printed Design) found widely scattered over the northern part of the Kantō and Chūbu districts and the western parts of Japan, was the successor to the non-ceramic culture. It is presumed therefore, that the descendants of the people with the non-ceramic culture learned to make the pottery with printed design from those blessed with *Yori-Ito Mondoki Bunka* when the two cultures came into contact with each other, leading to the Jōmon Period.

Relics called *Tadoshiki-doki Bunka* belonging to the latter part of the dawn period have been found scattered over a wide area of the Kantō district, the Ōu district and Hokkaidō. This form of pottery has a design resembling the Kam Keramik of Siberia. Some scholars say that there was some connection between the two, but as there are points which do not allow us to accept the above opinion unconditionally, it is difficult to give definite agreement.

Incidentally, relics which seem to be of the same kind as the Kam Keramik of Korea and Manchuria have been unearthed in Kyūshū.

Thus, it can be said that there was an influx of people from the continent in the beginning of the Jōmon Period, but after the pre-middle period, there was a time when no people came over from the continent. It may have been because there was little movement of people there, but the chief reason seems to be the geographical disturbances taking place in the Japanese islands at this time and there was no means of crossing the sea.

In the fifth and the fourth centuries B. C. the Jōmon culture gave place to Yayoi culture. The names are taken from the

pottery used in each period, as standards of the cultures. So, it means that the period in which people used the pottery with straw rope pattern changed into the period in which people used Yayoi pottery. But in reality, there must have been a great revolution in this transition, which will be given in detail afterwards. At any rate, this revolution was brought about by an overseas invasion. The fact that Jōmon culture lasted so long without any noticeable foreign influence, was due to the geographical position of the Japanese Islands.

As mentioned previously, in the beginning of the Jōmon Period, the *Yori-Ito Bunka* appeared, examples of which have been found in the southern part of the Kantō district. Because this kind of pottery is found in the stratum right above the Kantō Loam stratum which was, according to geologists, formed at the end of the Pleistocene Age, some assert that this belongs to the period 50 or 40 centuries before Christ. Professor Libby of the United States has expressed his view from his study of radio carbon that the pottery of last part of the Jōmon Period was made about 12 centuries B.C. If so, the theory that the pottery at the beginning of the Jōmon Period is 40 to 50 thousand years old, cannot be an exaggeration. The Jōmon Period lasted for 4 or 5 thousand years.

During this long period, no influx of people from the continent occurred, and so, though the people did not settle down at one place but roamed about seeking for food, no sudden change occurred in their culture.

In the matter of housing, they made steady progress. In the beginning, they must have taken shelter from the darkness and the elements under big trees, in caves or under projecting rocks, for no trace of their dwelling places have been found. About the end of the dawn period, however, their cave-living started and toward the middle period they began to live in houses built on level land. During the post-middle and the last periods, both life in caves and in houses existed side by side.

From the cultural point of view, however,

there were many ups and downs. The patterns on the pottery of the middle period show strength and energy, like a man in the bloom of youth, while the pottery of the post middle period shows refinement and mastery in skill, like an old man who has attained consummate skill. Thus, the culture completely maintained its identity because it suffered no outside intrusion nor influence of any kind during this period.

Perhaps the facts that the Japanese islands stretch from south to north and that the people did not move from place to place, account for the difference in the Jōmon culture of the north and that of the south. It may be partly because the people in the southern part of Japan started the *Oshigata-shiki-doki* (pottery with printed design) while the people in the north began the *Tadoshiki Bunka*.

The people of the Jōmon Period lived on wild food. In Egypt and in and around Mesopotamia, Palaeolithic culture thrived in the Pleistocene Period, and at the end of this period or at the beginning of the Holocene Age, they began farming and raising animals for food, making earthenware or polished stone implements, and learning how to weave fabrics. That is to say, they entered on the Neolithic Period. They spread their culture to the neighboring areas. The ancestors of present Europeans were influenced by the Mesopotamian culture. This example shows that Palaeolithic people lived on wild food while Neolithic people produced food. This change in economic life is the greatest transition in the human world. It can be called a revolution.

Some scholars say that the people in the Jōmon Period advanced into the Neolithic Age on the ground that they made pottery and polished stone utensils, but they are mistaken, for the Neolithic Age initiated an economy of food production, while the people in the Jōmon Period did not grow food. There are some among these scholars, however, who assert that people of the Jōmon Period actually did begin to produce food.

This opinion cannot be proved by any

historical evidences. It is true that among the stone axes unearthed, are some which might have been used as hoes or mattocks but it cannot be proved that the people had begun to till the ground for no grain has yet been discovered. If they had tilled the land, there must have been a great change in the shape of the utensils used to serve food, as evidence that they had begun to eat grain as food. This kind of change is seen in the beginning of the Yayoi Period but there is no evidence of farming life in the course of the several thousand years of the Jōmon Period. That the people continued to live on wild food for several thousand years is quite an exceptional case in the history of world civilization and there must have been some reasons for it.

Among them can be mentioned Japan's geographical position. Japan was at that time far removed from the center of world civilization. It is assumed that at the beginning of the Holocene Age, when the land gradually dried up, a group of people who made pottery but did not till land came over to Japan. The ancestors of the Oshigata culture people, that is, people of the non-ceramic period, did not know how to till the land. We cannot imagine that these people started to produce food after they came to these islands.

Japan, with plenty of rain and mild climate, must have been a place covered with thick woods and abounding in many grass-eating animals. Besides, as the warm and the cold currents meet near these islands, the sea must have abounded with food. It was a paradise on earth. So, as long as no sudden increase in population occurred, the people on the islands obtained enough food from nature, which was another reason why they did not turn to the hard toil of tilling the land.

Thus, the people of the Jōmon Period did not begin to till the land but in the course of several thousand years they made every effort to get food from nature. They gradually began to settle down at the same place for more than ten years. They improved in their eating habits and cloth-

ing. As is said of the European people in the upper Paleolithic Age, that they reached a limit in food resources, so must the people of the Jōmon Period have experienced difficulties, in getting food from nature.

Rise of Yayoi Bunka

Yayoi culture which was named after pottery unearthed at Yayoi-cho, in Tokyo, first rose in the western part of Japan and spread to the east. Development of the pottery, standard of Yayoi culture passed through three periods; the first period, the middle period, the last period. Pottery belonging to the first period has been unearthed only in the west of Nagoya, while pottery belonging to the middle period has been found in east Japan. This shows that culture rose in western Japan and spread to the east.

When we examine the Yayoi pottery found in East Japan, we see that though there are traces of pattern more or less influenced by that of West Japan, it was originally and basically developed from Jōmon culture. Accordingly, judging from the culture of the time in terms of pottery, people belonging to the Jōmon Period in East Japan were influenced by the culture of West Japan and took to tilling the land. They were not driven northward by the people of West Japan. This can be said not only of people in the Kantō and the Chūbu districts, but also of people who lived in present Aomori and Iwate prefectures, although the latter required a longer period of living on wild food, due to the climate which was too cold to cultivate rice. As the life of these people appeared strange and foreign to the more advanced people in West Japan, they were called "Ezo", barbarians, after the manner of the Chinese. For nothing has been unearthed from the places where the people called "Ezo" lived except relics of hunting and fishing by which the people of the Jōmon culture got their food. Nor were they the ancestors of the present Ainu.

Most people by this time, had taken to the life of Yayoi culture, except the so-called Ezo in the far north. Regarding

West Japan, there is evidence that Jōmon pottery developed into Yayoi pottery. Yet, nothing has been unearthed to show that people of Jōmon culture were driven off from their land by some other people. As in East Japan, the people shifted from Jōmon culture to Yayoi culture, but at an earlier date. Besides, Yayoi culture originated with these people.

In the Taishō Era (1912-1926) when the study of Yayoi culture in West Japan was very active, some scholars connecting the rise of Yayoi culture with the Sun-Goddess Myth insisted that a new race blessed with Yayoi culture had arrived at a place in Kyūshū from overseas. At present, however, as the study of the last period of the Jōmon culture has been completed, many scholars are of the opinion that Jōmon culture gradually developed into Yayoi culture.

That we can distinguish Yayoi culture from Jōmon culture is evidence that there must have been a great change in their way of life. It is assumed that in the 5th or 4th century B.C., about the time of the rise of Yayoi culture, Japan came into contact with the continent, which brought about a new life among the Japanese. This contact with the continent must have been made through Korea, for at that time, the islands of Japan had already come into existence. There was a great movement of races on the continent, at this time, and West Japan, lying nearer to the continent, must have been strongly influenced by the movement of the Asian peoples.

Whether this ambiguous phrase—influence from the continent—meant the influx of people into Japan or simply cultural influence is not clear. If the change in pottery design has an important bearing on the study of early culture of Japan, if the development from the Jōmon pottery to Yayoi pottery can generally be accepted, it can be said that the people who made Jōmon pottery simply came to make Yayoi pottery just as the people with Edo culture adopted western civilization and produced the more advanced culture of the Meiji and Taishō Eras. As a matter of fact, there may have occurred some influx of people

into this country in the 5th and the 4th centuries B.C., judging from the fact that there was a great movement of races on the continent at this time. This influx, however, cannot have been made on such a large scale as to suppose that the race with Yayoi culture came over to Japan. Nor is there any evidence to prove that a new race such as is mentioned in the Myth of the Sun Goddess came to rule Japan. It may rightly be supposed, however, that the art of farming, especially of cultivating rice, and that of weaving, (chiefly hemp cloth) were introduced into this country about this time. This completely changed the life of the people, first in west Japan and then in the east. This is shown in the change of pottery. It was the change from a diet of wild food to a diet of cultivated food.

It was common in other parts of the world that agrarian and pastoral life co-existed, but in this country, partly because of the climate and partly because the Japanese were by nature, not inclined to eat the meat of animals, they engaged exclusively in growing grain. Besides rice, they may have cultivated, wheat and millet, since Yayoi pottery has been unearthed even at such places as the Chūbu District and the northern part of the Kantō District, where rice farming was impossible. Nothing else has been found together with the pottery, however, to show that they engaged in growing dry-land crops. Since the remains of the people with Yayoi culture in West Japan as well as in the southern part of the Kantō District have been found in marshy places where rice farming was possible, we can safely assume that they lived chiefly on rice.

A remarkable thing about the Yayoi people is that they knew, from the first, how to use metal, particularly iron. In the first stage, they made swords and other sharp-edged tools but did not make farming implements such as hoes or spades of iron. From the fact that the shapes of their weapons and tools were the same as those of Jōmon Period tools, the secret of refining iron sand must have been discovered

by the Japanese, rather than learned from the people of the continent. In ancient literature, *Yamato kanuchi* (Japanese smith) is distinguished from *karano-kanuchi* (T'ang smith). Even after the time, in the middle ages, when Chinese smiths no longer lived in Japan, the refining of iron was carried on by the Japanese.

The bronze swords and bronze halberds which are said to have been products of the Bronze culture were introduced into Japan through Korea in the middle of the Yayoi Period. But at that time, there already existed iron weapons and tools. Besides, bronze was of little practical use to the people. Because bronze weapons looked superb and dignified in appearance, the people used them as offerings to their gods. Moreover, the bronze period lasted only for a short time, as very soon iron and wood completely took its place. Thus, the ancient Japanese never used bronze for practical purposes, but passed from the Stone Age right into the Iron Age. From the viewpoint of development of world civilization, such a case is quite exceptional; but this could happen, because Japan was far removed from the so-called center of world civilization.

Because the ancient Japanese refined iron from a ferrous iron, they developed, from an early period, the art of making steel, and later, showed great skill in making superior swords, which have come to be well-known to the world. Thus the iron sand rich Sanin District came to be of great significance to the Japanese. This explains why Izumo (in Sanin) is so often referred to in Japanese myths. There was a time in the history of ancient Japan when a tribe called Izumo played an important part.

Iron smiths, the essential driving force of the new development, carried on a prosperous and influential business from the iron sand in these districts.

Thus, with Yayoi culture, people started tilling the land and making iron to bring about a great revolution in the life of the Japanese. The history of Japan took on a new aspect.

Age of village-states

The new life of rice farming must have proved a great inspiration to the people who had spent thousands of years, comparatively in peace without suffering any great outside invasion.

Marshy places were naturally chosen for rice farming. Since production of iron implements had not yet made much progress, they had to use wooden hoes and spades. Thus, dry land was not easy for them to cultivate.

Around marshy spots, therefore, rose villages of rice-growing farmers. Most villagers in the Yayoi Period lived at lower altitude, with the result that they often suffered from disastrous floods. For the past several years, excavations for relics of Yayoi culture have been carried out at a place called Toro in Shizuoka Prefecture. This place has yielded relics of a village and rice fields of the third or second century B.C., the last period of the Yayoi Age. This Toro village is located in low swampy land with the water table about 30 centimeters below the surface. If one were to build a house here now, one must construct a foundation at least one meter higher than the surrounding land. It has been found that to drain the land, three times in the course of one hundred years, the villagers tried to raise the land level, but the fruit of their labor was completely washed away in one night by a great flood. The people who had lived on plateaus for thousands of years during the Jōmon Era, lived crowded in low swampy places in the Yayoi Period, and after bitter experiences of frequent floods, they came to live at altitudes between the plateaus and the swamps and stayed there for another two thousand years till the present day. This is the history of Japanese villages.

The Ruins of Toro. Traces of more than ten houses have been found there. The entire picture of the Toro village cannot be gained from these dwellings, but these houses are almost of the same size, and face the same direction, a tendency seen in the Jōmon Period.

This shows that the villagers of Toro had not emerged from their primeval life. Such standardization of Yayoi culture continued in Japanese farming villages until recently.

It has also been discovered that six or seven houses are grouped together, surrounded by a wide space with a moat or a forest as its outermost border. This type of dwelling-plan is also seen in villages of later periods—of the Ancient Mound Period and of the Nara Era. These several buildings constituted one family dwelling where the family's relatives and servants as well as the direct line members lived under the head of the family. The large family system which is seen in the family register book of the Nara Era, was started at this time.

It is natural that this large family system should have developed in the Yayoi Era, when they passed from the life of hunting to that of tilling land for food. This large family gradually developed into a village of from 16 to 50 families from the necessity of intensive cultivation of rice. In the wild-food days, they would have objected to such community life.

One peculiarity in the farming life of the Yayoi Era should be noted here. In the Toro ruins, has been found, on a plot, one kilometer square, ridges running at right angles. The ridge on the flood-side (facing the big River Abe) was flanked with boards 30 to 40 centimeters thick and 1.5 meters long, while on the inside of this ridge, stakes were put close together. The rice-fields were irregular in size, from 200 to 600 *tsubo*. This irregularity strikes the visitors to the ruins as peculiar. But the same kind of ridge arrangement has been discovered at the Yamaki ruins, another spot in Shizuoka Prefecture, which leads to the assumption that such irregularity was common among the Yayoi people. After a life of hunting food for thousand of years, the ancestors of the Japanese people established a kind of right to the possession of land for the first time by cultivating paddy-fields in the primitive form of common property.

It is imaginable that the paddy field was allocated to the villagers by the chief

of the village community. That the chief must have had great power over the villagers is shown from the irregularity of the lots which seem to have been planned by one man. How such a chief came to power has not been ascertained in the history of Japan as yet but it can be imagined that if a chief started farming, parcelling out his paddy field to his men, the allocation must have been made in the form of leases, as was the case in the Taika Reform. It may be, however, that property right was in the hands of the chief unlike property right of the present day and that it consisted in the chief's receipt of some amount of the yield from the tillers (cultivators). However that may have been, the chief lorded it over the villagers, and whenever they met him on the road, they must have prostrated themselves on the roadside-grass to show respect to him.

The early part of Yayoi culture is characterized by the origin of farming and the rise of farming villages, with all-powerful chiefs reigning over the villagers. Their living conditions showed remarkable progress in every way, after they discovered the use of iron. Politically, there appeared greater chiefs reigning over several villages. This unit of villages was, it seems, called *kuni* in those days. The word *kuni* first meant a fence or a boundary. A Chinese character *kuni* meaning a state, was later applied to it. These greater chiefs came to be called *kuni-no-miyatsuko*.

The relation between these greater chiefs and village chiefs is not known for certain but presumably, one among the village chiefs rose to power, sometimes by force and sometimes by some kind of incantation. Such a chief was satisfied with a tribute from the village chiefs, who paid him with a part of what they got from the farmers. They did not feel any oppression under him, as he did not deny the right of land-possession which the village chiefs enjoyed. Such a form of reign was called, in ancient Japanese, *ushihaku*.

Under this *kuni* system, some kind of force must have been needed to control the people. Especially, if it was a large *kuni*

with more than ten villages under it, tax-collectors vested with some power or right must have been needed. In other words, there existed some kind of people who did not engage in farming, although there were no merchants who ministered to people with goods from distance places. In Mesopotamia, such chiefs came to live in palaces, around which great city-states developed, but in Japan, the communities, composed of several villages, did not develop to such an extent because they were able to lead a life of self-sufficiency with plenty of food. There was no need for them to get things from other places. Chinese ancient history tells that there were more than one hundred *kuni* (communities) in the Yayoi Era. The number seems too small. There must have been a great number than one hundred village-states all over Japan.

The next stage of development was naturally the appearance of a Japanese nation by unification of all these villages under one ruler. Needless to say, this ruler was the *Tennō* (clan), forefathers of the present Japanese Emperor.

Founding of Japan

The founding of Japan by the *Tennō* clan occurred in the 3rd century. Ancient burial-mounds of the time discovered in the Kinki District and others belonging to the fourth and fifth centuries found in Kyūshū and Kantō districts have, it seems, a close relation with the founding of Japan. The oldest mounds are of a large scale and inside these tombs have been found what seem to have been the treasures of those days, as grave offerings. Such things could have been possessed by no other than the ruler of a state. Since the oldest of such grand mounds have been found in the Kinki District, the *Tennō* clan must have come to power first in the area. In other words, Japan was founded by the *Tennō* clan in the Kinki District, who left their greatest achievement in the form of grand mounds to posterity. Later, the local chiefs who came under the central rule, built their tombs after the manner of the *Tennō*. The old mounds discovered in the Kantō and

Kyūshū districts must be those of local chiefs.

Nihonshoki (Chronicle of Japan) and the *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) reveal that Japan was founded by the *Tennō* in the 7th century B.C. Another theory places the date of the founding of Japan 660 years later. However, both theories are unacceptable when viewed from cultural evidences. One generation of the Emperor mentioned in the *Shoki* is too long to be

trusted. There also are some reasons to suspect the number of generations of Emperors mentioned in it. If Japan was founded in the 3rd century A.D. it falls on the reign of *Sujin-Tennō*. This theory is derived from a mention in the *Kojiki* that the reign of *Sujin-Tennō* was 120 years earlier than stated in the *Nihonshoki*. We can reasonably accept, as actual history, the records after the reign of *Sujin-Tennō*, in the *Nihonshoki*.

Founding of Ancient Japan

Ancient Japanese writings and Chinese literature

It is difficult to give an entire picture of the *ujizoku* (clan-tribes) which constituted units of the ancient society of Japan for the records that remain today are of much later periods, when these tribes had undergone changes. It can only be conjectured by the stone implements and the ancient tombs as well as by ancient writings such as *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*, and the ancient Chinese and Korean literatures on Japan for they are invaluable materials to supplement our inference from these tangible remains. From these it can be assumed that the *ujizoku* naturally came into existence and as naturally developed into greater units, which, after a long period, were united into one nation.

There is no evidence to prove that any foreign people invaded Japan nor are there stories or legends that tell of any large-scale fighting among such village-communities. It can be safely assumed, therefore, that while the people were leading a peaceful agrarian life, the whole tribes or village-communities gradually became incorporated into a nation.

As the *ujizoku* were united into larger units, and their social system became complicated, the chiefs of the tribes who were called *uji-no-kami* became very powerful and their positions hereditary. The chief had power because he was the direct-line head of the blood-relation community, and

later, from the notion that the whole community descended from a common ancestor. The chief's important duty was, therefore to serve the Clan Diety as the direct descendant of the common Diety of the community. Each clan-tribe handed down the legends and traditions of its ancestors from generation to generation. These legends and traditions, later collected and coordinated, with the Imperial Family as the center of these tribe-communities were compiled into the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki*. These books appeared in the 8th century, but the material had been collected at the beginning of the 7th century when *Shōtoku Taishi* (Prince) planned the compilation of the nation's history.

The stories of ancient Japan told in these books are a mixture of history and mythology so that it is difficult to pinpoint the actual date of the founding of Japan. The other dates are also ambiguous and out of sequence. It is quite certain, however, that the greatest clan that united the tribe-communities into a nation was the *Tennō* in Yamato (present Nara). But how many thousand years ago *Jimmu-Tennō*, the first Emperor, ascended the throne is not clear. Many scholars for hundreds of years have tried to give an answer to this question. Instead of mentioning the theories of those scholars, here are some outlines from Chinese literature as supplementary material which may help to form some idea.

Chinese historical books that make any mention of Japan are those written after the era of the Han Dynasty. *Kansho*

(Book on Han Dynasty) says that when Han founded Rakuro-gun (P'ing jen and its surrounding area) in Korea toward the end of the 2nd century B.C. Japan which consisted of more than a hundred *kuni* (tribe communities) sent an envoy to it with a present every year.

Go-Kansho (Book on Late Han Dynasty) mentions that during the reign of Emperor Kwang Wu, (45-58, A.D.), *Nu-no-kuni*, one of the tribal states of Japan, sent a mission to Lo-yang the capital, in 57 A.D. and received *inju* (a sculptured seal worn by Chinese officials) from Emperor Wu. The gold seal discovered on Shiga Island in Kyūshū seems to be the identical one. *Nu-no-kuni* was, it seems, a small *kuni* located near Hakata in Fukuoka Prefecture. Two hundred years later, in the days of the Wei Dynasty, this same *Nu-no-kuni* is mentioned as belonging to *Yabadai-koku*.

The *Gishi* (History of Wei Dynasty) is a valuable literature, as it tells of the various internal conditions in Japan. According to this writing, around the end of the second century, the country of Yamato was in a chaotic state, with many small *kuni* fighting with one another. For a long time, there was no one to unite these battling *kuni* into a nation, but at last, a woman called *Himiko* was chosen to rule over twenty-nine *kuni*, including *Nu-no-kuni*. Whether *Yabadai-koku* over which *Himiko* reigned was some district in Kyūshū or Yamato is a point of controversies among scholars. This question admits of no hasty decision. But we can safely assume that independent clan-states (*kuni*), were on their way to unification.

The Yamato regime was eventually to win control over the whole country. This powerful Tennō clan subjugated the great Izumo tribe (in present Shimane Prefecture) and many clan-states in the southwestern and northeastern parts of the country, even conquering such powerful tribes with different ways of life as *Kumaso* in Kyūshū and *Ezo* in the northeastern part of Japan. *Nihonshoki* gives an account of these conquests in *Shidō-Shōgun no Haken* (Generals on Expedition to Four Divisions) and *Yamatotakeru-no-Mikoto no*

Kumaso Ezo Seibatsu (Conquest of Kumaso tribes and Ezo tribes). This great achievement of uniting the country, excepting a small part in the north, it is assumed, was completed in the middle of the 4th century. Gathering momentum, Japan sent its forces to conquer Korea, which was also emerging from a chaotic condition.

Nihonshoki gives a dramatic story of the conquest of Shiragi (Silla) by *Jingū-Kōgō*, consort of *Chūai-Tennō*. The inscription on the stone monument to Kotai, king of Kokuryō, says that toward the end of the 4th century, Japan subjugated Silla Kara and Pakche. (Prior to it, in the 3rd century, the Yamato regime conquered the Korean peninsula). In the middle of the 4th century, Japan sent its expeditionary army to Korea at the request of Pakche, placed Mimana under Japan's direct control and obtained traffic rights in the seas around South Korea.

With a view to having Japan's sovereignty in Korea recognized by the Chinese ruler, Japan sent envoys many times to China through Pakche. This is mentioned in the Chinese writings. *Sōjō* (Book on Sung Dynasty) gives, in the chapter on *Wa* (ancient name of Japan), a letter from a Japanese ruler *Wu* (presumably *Yūryaku-Tennō*, the 16th Sovereign), from which a picture can be obtained of the unification of Japan. It says, for example, "our ancestors, clad in armor, went on military expeditions over the wilderness, subjugating 55 states in east Japan including *Ezo* and 66 states in the west, *Kumaso* among them. They, further, crossed the sea and brought 95 states in Korea under control". The letter was dated 478 A.D.

The establishment of Japan under the Yamato regime was completely over by that time, judging by the above letter.

The first Japanese *Tennō* (Emperor) mentioned in *Sōjō* was named *San*, who had intercourse in 421 A.D. with Emperor Kao-Tsu of Sung Dynasty. If this *San* is taken as meaning *Nintoku-Tennō* (16th Sovereign, 311-399) the chronology given in *Nihonshoki* must be corrected by 50 years. If, on the other hand, *San* is taken as meaning *Ōjin-Tennō* (15th Sovereign),

as a new theory claims, the period of his reign must be corrected by over one hundred years. At any rate, the fact that a Japanese ruler was called by the Chinese name *San* at the beginning of the 5th century in the history of Sung Dynasty is significant and important to the study of Japanese history.

The Imperial Mausoleum of *Nintoku-Tennō* at *Mozuno-machi* near *Sakai* in *Osaka* is surprisingly large in scale. It is a mound, almost a hill, with a square-front and round-back, higher at the back, rising to a height of 22 *ken* (about 1400 feet). The site has 102,620 *tsubo* (one *tsubo*—about six feet square) with a double moat around it. There is another moat on the outermost border, so that the whole area amounts to 140,000 *tsubo*, one of the largest mausoleums in the world. *Nihonshoki* states that this tomb was built while the *Tennō* was still alive. This and that of *Sujin-Tennō*, his father, almost as large as this, bear silent witness to the power and wealth of the *Tennō* Family of this period.

The control of the whole country and increase of the Imperial power went hand in hand. The political system was gradually established under the *Yamato* regime, with clans related to the *Tennō* Family holding hereditary offices in the government. Such clans were called *uji*, while clans closely related to the *Tennō* Family were called *ōuji*. The clans also had *kabane* (hereditary family title), showing the status of their families. *Kabane* were divided into *omi*, *muraji*, *kimi*, *atai*, *obito*, *miyatsuko* and *fubito*. These were originally common names denoting the offices, but after a while, they came to be titles of honor for the families which held those offices, a kind of hereditary peerage.

Thus, the families with high *uji-kabane* were privileged with political power, land and followers as well as hereditary positions in the government, with *Tennō* as the political and spiritual center. Most of the mythological stories, it seems came to be established in such a society.

The prosperity of the *Tennō* Family and families with *uji-kabane* has much to do with the absorption of foreign civilization.

Farming implements, various works of art, and techniques of manufacture were brought into the country by foreigners, who later were naturalized as Japanese. The Imperial Family and *uji-kabane*-families adopted advanced foreign culture as a means of increasing their wealth. For mental advancement Chinese books were brought into the country in the course of diplomatic intercourse with *Han*. Books of *Confucius*, almanacs, the *Yi'king* and books on medicine were introduced, through *Korea* in the middle of the 6th century. *Buddhism* which exerted a significant influence on the minds of the Japanese and became the fountain-head of Japanese culture was also introduced.

In short, ancient Japan prospered, forming a political and social hierarchy, the *Tennō* at the top and *uji-kabane*-clans under him, while these clans controlled followers, people and lower class people. The *Tennō* Family also had their own direct subjects called *shinabe* and *kakibe*. The rapid growth of their power together with the adoption of foreign civilization, however, brought a reverse side to the picture, for internal conflict and disorder followed. In Japanese literature written after the middle of the 6th century, a mention is made, of the intense struggles for power among the ruling nobles. These conflicts for power among themselves resulted in weakening Japan's prestige abroad. Japan had to give up, for instance, the *Nihon-fu* (Japanese government headquarters) at *Mimana* in *Korea* in 562. Japan stood in urgent need of straightening out her domestic and international disorder, because the powerful and united nation of *Sui* was about to rise in *China*. *Shōtoku Taishi* was destined to accomplish this great task.

Kansho; Chirishi (book on *Han Dynasty; geography*). This is a historical book on the Early *Han Dynasty* compiled by *Pan-ku* who lived around 92 AD. of the Late *Han Dynasty*. Chapter 28, under the headline of geography, gives a mention of *Wa*. We can get, from this account, the Chinese people's knowledge about Japan in the beginning of the Christian era, when this book was written. From this

time on, all the authentic historical books of China made a mention of Japan. Incidentally, all Chinese historical books tell of foreign countries which had diplomatic relations with China, as tributaries bringing presents as signs of subjugation, while China gave them gifts of appreciation, which was, virtually, trade.

Wa-Jin Den in Gokansho and Gishi (Story of the Japanese in the Book of Late Han Dynasty and History of Wei Dynasty). Fan-hua of Southern Sung Dynasty who compiled the *Go-Kansho* died in 445 A.D., while Chen-shou (of Tsin Era) who compiled the *Sangokushi* (history of Three Kingdoms, Wei among them) died in 297, the facts showing that *Sangokushi* is older than *Gokansho*. There is also evidence that *Gokansho* depended on *Gishi* for its account on Japan, although *Gokansho* has an account which is not mentioned in *Gishi*—account of diplomatic relations in the reign of Emperor Kuang-Wu. The interesting point is that it gives a detailed table of distances of various states (*kuni*) of Japan and an account of the manners and customs of the Japanese. But as these statements were not the results of actual experience and journey in Japan, they cannot be trusted, though interesting. They seem to have been written from hearsay.

Yamatotakeru-no-Mikoto. *Nihonshoki* tells that when a prince, son of *Keikō-Tennō* (12th Sovereign) conquered *Kumaso* (tribe) in Kyūshū, he approached, disguised as a woman, Kawakami Takeru, chief of *Kumaso* and killed him. Before he died, he gave the prince the name of Yamato Takeru, meaning "bravemen of Yamato". Thus the great barbarian tribe of *Kumaso* came under the control of the Yamato.

The prince then went to conquer Ezo in the Tōhoku District. On his way, when he met with a storm on Tokyo Bay, *Tachibana-hime*, his wife, threw herself into the sea as a sacrifice, in order to appease the sea god. After subjugating Ezo, he became ill, on his way home, and died at Nobono in Ise (present Mie Prefecture). It is said that as a white pigeon flew out

from where he was buried. People thought it the soul of the prince, and built a tomb at the place where the pigeon alighted. It is called *Shirahato no Sanryō* (White-Pigeon Mausoleum). As the result of Yamato Takeru's conquest, peace was established throughout the whole country. *Seimu-Tennō* (13th Sovereign) appointed the conquered local chiefs as *kuninomiya-tsuko* and *agata-nushi*, to rule their former land. According to *Fudoki* (local historical records), the political system of the local districts was thus established.

Jingū-Kōgō. According to *Nihonshoki*, *Chūai-Tennō*, accompanied by *Jingū-Kōgō*, started on an expedition to subjugate *Kumaso*, but before accomplishing his object, he died in the field. *Jingū-Kōgō*, seeing that *Kumaso* was backed by Silla in Korea decided to conquer that country. She started in male attire on her expedition, accompanied by Takenouchi-no-Sukune. At the sight of her forces, Silla surrendered without fighting. Later, Koku-ryo and Pakche also became Japan's tributary states. This account may be regarded as a legend of ancient heroes, but we can accept, as a fact, Japan's invasion of the Korean Peninsula, for it is mentioned both in Korean and Chinese writings.

Sō-Shō; Ezo-Den; Wakoku-jo (Chapter on the country of Wa, in the Story of Barbarians in Sung-Shu). *Sung Shu* is the history of the Sung Dynasty, (one of the six Dynasties of China) compiled by Chen-yo (died 513) of Liang Dynasty. A mention is made of Japan in Volume 97, under the title of "Story of the Barbarians". The most important thing in this story is that it mentions five Emperors of Japan, San, Chen, his sons, Chi, Hsing, and Wu. When we put these names in their genealogical order and try to fit them into proper order, we have three different opinions; the first opinion asserting that San was *Richū-Tennō* (17th Sovereign) the second opinion saying that San was *Nintoku-Tennō* (16th Sovereign) and the third, *Ōjin-Tennō* (15th Sovereign). We have also 2 opinions about Chen or Ya (according to the book of Liang), one assuming him as *Nintoku-Tennō* and another, as *Hanzei-Tennō* (18th

Sovereign) Chi is assumed to be *Ingyo-Tennō* (19th), Hsing as *Ankō-Tennō* (20th) and Wu as *Yūryaku-Tennō* (21th Sovereign). By these records, we can more or less correct the ambiguous dates in *Nihon-shoki* and set them closer to the actual dates. They are, in this way, important materials for the study of ancient Japanese history. The book also states that the Sung rulers agreed to regard these Japanese Emperors as the generals ruling the Korean states.

Kugatachi. This was the means, by what was believed to be supernatural power, of discovering whether a man was telling the truth or not. It was used to restore the clans and family names to the true holders, for by this time, many people were falsely claiming family names. First, the person to be tried, swore before gods that he was innocent and then he was told to put his hand into boiling water. If he was innocent, he would be unhurt, but if guilty, his hand would be scalded. This form of divination was practiced in many countries in olden times. *Nihonshoki* tells that Japanese officials invited the resentment of the Koreans by practising it.

Shōtoku Taishi's initiation of new culture

In the last stage of ancient Japan, about the end of the 6th century, there were many contradictions and conflicts in Japanese social life, which led to political reformation. Here is a brief outline of the social conditions before the reformation.

In ancient Japan, *yatsuko* (common people) and *yatsume* (low class people) were largely equivalent to slaves in western countries. They were sometimes regarded as identical but, after all, a typical slave system such as was seen in western countries did not develop in Japan.

This was perhaps because in those days, the art of making things was not known and the exchange of products was limited to a narrow area. Further, because of geographical features, social conditions in different places remained isolated. In some regions primitive communal life was still

very strong, so that even when such a community was subjugated by a stronger chief, the conquerer could not dissolve the community at his will, nor could he make the people serve him. Thus, the common people *yatsuko* enjoyed greater freedom than slaves, leading independent lives. This was typical of the ancient society of Japan. Besides, there were differences among *yatsuko* themselves, such as tillers of the land owned by nobles, others who engaged in special kinds of manual labor.

After Chinese civilization was introduced, Japanese society made rapid progress by adopting the art of manufacturing goods, which led to keen competition among the nobles to secure workers. In the beginning, when a noble with high position in the central government subjugated a *gōzoku* (local tribe-chief), he simply imposed taxes on him. But now, many nobles tried to transfer the people belonging to the local chiefs to their own land. However, they met with strong opposition, for local chiefs ruled over their communities with a strong spiritual bond. This discrepancy between the central and local conditions resulted in sluggish economic progress. These social and economic contradictions caused political unrest and social instability. The relations between nobles and their *yatsuko* and *yatsume*, between clans and their followers and between nobles in the central government and local chiefs were disintegrating. In the central government, this unrest appeared in the form of struggle for power between *ōmi* and *ōmuraji*. Even Imperial Family members were involved in the conflicts, bringing about a national crisis as well as the loss of national prestige abroad. The Imperial Edict issued by *Kōtoku-Tennō* (36th Sovereign, reign. 644-654) runs;

Omi, muraji, tomono-miyatsuko and *kuni-no-miyatsuko* all employ people at their will. Further, they vie with one another in plundering plains, the sea, hills, forests, fields and paddy-fields, in order to add to their wealth. Sometimes, tens of thousands of units of paddy-field have been

annexed by one person so that there is no land left to stick a needle.

If such an abuse of arbitrary occupation of land spread nationwide, it would lead to great social disturbances. Time was ripe to carry out a great social reform, by reorganizing the existing system and putting all people and land under the state authority.

In order to consolidate the nation under the sovereignty of the *Tennō*, the propagation of patriotic sentiment generated from the myth of the Sun-Goddess on the founding of the country was resorted to:

"There are no two suns in heaven nor shall there be two rulers on earth" or "As the ancestor of the *Tennō* is *Amaterasu Ōmikami* (Sun-Goddess), the *Tennō* should be regarded as standing above other nobles". The recurring deification of the Imperial Family members in the history of Japan can be traced back to this Taika Reformation movement, although no concrete record of the propagation of this movement remains now.

The Chinese national systems of the Sui and T'ang dynasties served as good models when they set about the great task of reformation. Preparations for a centralized government under the *Tennō* was progressing from the time of *Shōtoku Taishi* (regent, 593-622) who obtained his fundamental ideas from the Chinese systems.

First of all, *Shōtoku Taishi* abolished the evil system of hereditary offices and created 12 official ranks, giving the posts to really able persons. He also enacted, as the basis of national policies, the 17-articled constitution, mainly for government officials to follow. As regards his foreign policy, taking advantage of the delicate situation in Korea, he succeeded in concluding a treaty (directly) with China, when the Sui Dynasty united the fighting states in the north and south Empire into a powerful nation. The first envoy to the Sui, sent in 607, was Ono-no Imoko, who was chosen in accordance with his policy of opening offices to the talented. At the same time, he sent many monks and students to China to gain knowledge of general social condi-

tions there so that it could be used for the accomplishment of the reformation. These people stayed in China, some for several years, and others, for more than ten years. They assimilated the Chinese civilization, and when they returned to Japan, their knowledge proved of invaluable service to the attainment of the reformation.

The greatest achievement of *Shōtoku Taishi* was his encouragement of Buddhism. When he undertook to build a new Japan, feeling the pressure of the newly rising powers of Sui Empire of China and Silla of Korea, he thought it urgent to enlighten the people and strengthen their spiritual power, by encouraging Buddhism. Only a man of great insight and vision could have done such a thing. *Sankyō-Gisho* (consisting of three volumes commentary exposition of the three sutras, the *Hokke-kyō*, the *Yuima-kyō* and the *Shōman-kyō*) was his work. The manuscript of his *Hokke-kyō* exposition, in his own handwriting, remains to this day. This is the oldest work written by a Japanese. *Shōtoku Taishi* regarded Buddhism as an ethical religion, teaching love of mankind, salvation of the world and defense of the country.

The *Hōryū-ji* (temple) with its wonderful treasures is also his legacy to posterity. This temple contains various works of Buddhist art, which show the influence of Chinese civilization, the influence which can be farther traced back to the Greek, Byzantine and Persian civilizations.

The number of temples built by him throughout the country, was, it is said, 416 with 1386 monks living in them. The *Shitennō-ji* (temple) in Osaka which was concerned with the welfare of common people, operated the *Hiden-in* (charity house), the *Seyaku-in* (dispensary) and the *Ryōbyō-in* (clinic). This was the forerunner of Japanese social welfare work.

Shōtoku Taishi also compiled old legends and traditions into a book by which he clarified the Imperial Family line and the lineages of the nobles, with a view to awakening them to national consciousness. In 604, he enforced the Calendar Act, with the result that from that time on, the dates

of events and their chronological order were correctly registered.

In the field of productive industry, he made efforts to promote the increase of agricultural production by consulting astronomy, almanacs and geology, all imported from China. He also opened up sea and land traffic. At the height of his versatile activities, however, he suddenly died. The sorrow of the whole nation was great. The brocade picture, *Tenjukoku Mandara Shūchō*, that remains in the *Chūgū-ji* (temple) is the imaginative picture of *Shōtoku Taishi's* after-life, the work of his grief-stricken wives.

The 17-articled constitution. This constitution stressed the importance of peaceful cooperation and friendship, the merits of Buddhism, the absolute sovereignty of the *Tennō*, caution against political activities for one's own self-interest and necessity of decision on important national affairs through discussion with all concerned. It is clear that he wanted to realize the spiritual reform with the help of Confucianism and Buddhism.

Taika Reformation

Though *Shōtoku Taishi's* achievements were epoch-making, they did not bear immediate fruit, because the Soga, a noble clan, was allowed to remain powerful. After the death of *Shōtoku Taishi*, Soga-no Iruka (died 645) became so powerful and despotic that he killed the successor to *Shōtoku Taishi*.

About this time, the Sui Dynasty was defeated by the T'ang Dynasty and Silla in Korea became powerful with the aid of China, both a menace to Japan. Thus, the international as well as the domestic conditions became extremely grave. It was at this critical time that the students sent to China by *Shōtoku Taishi* returned home one after another, Takamuko-no-Kuromaro and Minabuchi-no-Shoan among them. They told the patriotic men of vision of the time about what they saw and learned in China. This paved the way for the Reformation. With *Nakano-Ōeno-ōji* (later, *Tenchi-Tennō*, 671-672) and Nakatomi Ka-

matari (later, Fujiwara Kamatari, 617-669) as the central figures, preparation for the great Reformation was steadily being made in secret.

The reformation was started with the overthrow of the despotic Soga, father and son, in 645. Until that time, there had been many struggles for power among the nobles. This conflict between the Nakatomi and the Soga, however, was characterized by the fact that its main aim was to establish the centralized government system, by reorganizing the land and the people, and nationalizing them under a central government.

For this purpose, the idea of the whole nation under one Emperor was strongly advocated. The great insight and vision of *Nakano-Ōeno-ōji* and Nakatomi Kamatari, combined with their unsurpassed political ability, achieved it. The overthrow of the Soga was carried out in complete secrecy, and immediately after that, a new government was set up with Priest Min and Takamuko-no-Kuromaro as government advisors, and Kamatari as *uchino-omi* (Home Minister).

When *Kōtoku-Tennō* (36th Sovereign, reign 645-654) ascended the throne, he summoned the retired Emperor, the crown prince and all the important subjects in the court and made them take an oath of loyalty. He, then, said to them:

The relation between the ruler and the ruled should be like heaven and earth, but this has been obstructed by the traitorous subjects. Now that they are removed by our efforts, there shall be no two rulers in the land nor any rebellious subjects hereafter.

Starting with this day, Taika was used as the name of the era. According to *Nihonshoki*, from this time to the proclamation of the Taika Reformation in the following year, cautious and deliberate preparations were going on. As his foreign policy, the Emperor expressed strong wishes of friendship and peace to foreign envoys in Japan. With a view to guiding public sentiment, he emphasized the importance of observance of religious festivities. The Emperor himself made

offerings to the gods. At the same time, he issued an Imperial Edict for Encouragement of Buddhism. He then appointed ten religious instructors to teach the monks and nuns, putting, in a way, religion under his control. As regards the defense policy, he had an armory built in the eastern part of the country to stem the uprising of Ezo tribes. He called on his important subjects, one after another, and asked their opinions on how to make the people serve their nation with joy. He also had a bell and a box placed at the court to facilitate the receiving of complaints of the people. Seeing the great gulf between the rich and the poor, in the local districts, as a result of the local chiefs' arbitrary possession of land and people, he issued an Imperial ordinance on August 15, that "From this time on, land shall not be sold nor shall the stronger domineer over the weak and the poor."

The farmers were overjoyed. *Nihon-shoki* mentions in various passages that there was general unrest in society, although there were no indications of positive revolt on the part of local chiefs or of any group of the lower people. That was why a measure to stabilize the people was taken, along with policies on foreign relations, religious matters and defense. The Imperial Proclamation of the Taika Reformation was announced in December 646. It was the proclamation of new government policies, according to which the nation was to be ruled. The gist of the proclamation was as follows:

Article 1. The people possessed by royal-family members and other nobles are to be liberated and be nationalized. At the same time, all land possessed by them is to be restored to the nation. The ex-nobles are to be appointed state-officials and to be paid according to their ranks.

Article 2. Regulations for the central government system and local government agencies and their jurisdiction are to be drawn up. At the same time, means for the communication of government orders shall be provided all over the land. The regulations for appointment of government officials shall be stipulated.

Article 3. A register of households (*koseki*) is to be made, and registers of accounts (*keichō*) be drawn up, according to which the allotment of rice fields (*handen*) and collection of taxes (*shūju*) shall be made. The taxes shall comprise two large bundles and two small bundles of rice crop on one *tan* (about 0.245 acre) and twenty large bundles on one *chō* (2.45 acres) of rice field.

Article 4. A new tax system in silk, brocade, hemp cloth and polished rice shall be made, besides household surtax and requisition of horses and weapons. Each county-chief is to be responsible for choosing fair girls to serve as court ladies.

In short, the people and land owned by old nobles and local chiefs were nationalized, and the land allotted, as lease, among the people. Another thing was that the central government was set up and run by officials with taxes collected by the central government to be used as the source of national revenue. These two policies were the key ideals of the new government. The discrepancy of ideal and reality, however, made the enforcement of these policies take a zigzag course, sometimes of compulsion, sometimes of leniency or at other times of mutilation. Fundamentally, they were not against the natural progress of the world. Nationalization of the land and people had long been under way before the Reformation. The political feuding and unrest in the capital in the sixth and seventh centuries were, after all, simply the conflicts for power among the most influential nobles. Another factor that stood in the way of the nationalization was the remnant of the old tribal system.

Violent opposition was naturally expected from the old nobles who did not participate in the new government. First, the malcontents among the Soga and Mononobe, in conspiracy with *Furuhiito-ōji*, a relative of the Soga, rose against the government. Then, Soga Ishikawamaro, who had co-operated in the reform movement from the beginning and *Arima-no-Miko* (prince) rose in revolt. These revolts may have been the results of false charges but all the same the situation was critical.

Kōtoku-Tennō died after ten years' reign. *Kōkyoku-Tennō* came to the throne again as *Saimai-Tennō*, *Nakano-ōeno-ōji* still helping the Emperor as Crown Prince.

Ezo tribes in the northeastern part of the land had been pushed as far back as Hitachi (present Ibaraki Prefecture) and Echigo (present Niigata Prefecture) before the Reformation. During the Taika Era two fortresses were set up at Nutari (part of Niigata city) and Iwafune (the name remains as Iwafune county, now). Now and then, Ezo tribes rose against the government whenever an opportunity occurred during strifes in the capital. During the reign of *Saimai-Tennō*, Abe Hirabu was sent on an expedition to subjugate the Ezo tribes. He led his navy along the Japan Sea coast and defeated the Ezo in the Akita and Tsugaru districts and even those in Watajima (present Hokkaidō). It is said that he even conquered Mishihase across the Japan Sea which had backed Ezo.

About this time, the situation on the Korean Peninsula became tense. The T'ang Empire plotting with Silla, began to attack Pakche, with which Japan had long been on friendly terms. When Pakche turned to Japan for aid, the government decided to help, in consideration of their long mutual friendship. The Emperor accompanied by the crown prince, advanced as far as Kyūshū where he died. The crown prince ascended the throne as *Tenchi-Tennō* (661-671). He tried to help Pakche, but the Japanese navy was defeated at Hakusukinōe by the T'ang navy and had to withdraw from the Korean Peninsula.

Pakche was destroyed and five years later, Kokuryō was also swept away by T'ang and Silla. T'ang set up An-tontu-hufu (Government headquarters) at P'ing-fang to rule the former territories of Pakche and Kokuryō. Many refugees from these destroyed states came to Japan and became naturalized as Japanese.

Now, Japan had to make preparation for defense against the invasion of T'ang and Silla. Though it had always been Japan's policy to restore Mimana as it was the dying wish of *Kimmei-Tennō*, *Tenchi-*

Tennō was forced to withdraw completely from the Korean Peninsula and devote all his efforts to domestic affairs and reinforcement of defense. Fortresses were built at Iki, Tsushima, Nagato, Sanuki and Yamato. The capital was shifted to Ōmi in Ōtsu.

In the meantime, Nakatomi Kamatari and others drafted the *Ōmi-ryō* (law). In the ninth year of *Tenchi-Tennō's* reign, the household register system (*koseki*) was set up. This census register was called *Kōgonen-jyaku*, which became a good model in later years. Kamatari, who rendered great service for the Reformation and was given the family name of Fujiwara, died in the 8th year of the Emperor's reign and two years later, the Emperor himself died, without seeing social stability at home or peace in international relations realized.

After the reformation, every effort was made by the new government to avoid conflict with those who had been in power before them, but the social unrest following the reformation was manifest. Complaints against the influx of T'ang civilization and unpopularity of the shift of the capital to Ōmi fanned popular discontent with the new government. When *Tenchi-Tennō* died, and was succeeded by his son, *Ōtomo-no-ōji* as *Kōbun-Tennō* (reign. 671-672). *Ōama-no-ōji*, his uncle, rose in arms at Yoshino, which developed into a civil war, (*Jinshin-no-ran*). *Ōama-no-ōji* won the battle, and rose to the throne as *Temmu-Tennō* (reign. 672-686) at Asuka-no-Kiyomihara-no-miya. As a result, society was stabilized and peace again reigned over the land, so that many policies of the reformation were successfully enforced.

It was in 677 that Silla at last drove the T'ang forces out of the Korean Peninsula and peace also came to Korea. T'ang was forced to transfer the government headquarters from Heiju to Liao-tung. Diplomatic relations between Japan and T'ang and Silla were restored. The Emperor was now able to devote himself to the full realization of the policies of the reformation, paying due regard to the traditions and basing them on actual conditions. He abolished the system of *kabane* and instituted *yakusa* instead. The system

of *jikufū* (household sustenance) was also revoked. Now that all the measures necessary to accomplish the reformation were fully carried out, the Emperor entered upon three great tasks; the establishment of *Ritsuryō* (law), the compilation of the history and the building of the capital. These works were to be completed by his successor at the beginning of the Nara Era.

Handen Shūju

In view of the fact that primitive tribal communities did not blend with the ruling class, some scholars have set the date of founding of Japan at the Taika Reformation. But this opinion is made on a strictly modern definition of a nation for even such scholars ambiguously state that there was a nation in its primitive form before the Reformation.

The Reformation of Taika may, in a sense, be regarded as the period in which Japan was for the first time completely united as a nation, but since Japan existed before that time, the date of its founding may reasonably be set at the period when the local tribes began to be gradually united into a nation with the Taika Reformation as the climax of the long course of gradual development.

The Taika Reformation is regarded as an epoch-making revolution, because a central government under the Emperor was established. The *handen shūju* system set up by the reformation was directly relevant to the life of the people.

One objective of the reformation was the abolition of the old practice of possessing people and land by the nobles and local chiefs. Now the people who belonged to the local chiefs, amounting to one half of the whole population, were given the same legal rights as their former masters. They were liberated as free citizens of the nation under the rule of the Emperor. At the same time, the paddy fields confiscated from the nobles and local chiefs were parcelled out to the people. In other words, they were uniformly given the means of production and livelihood as a basic unit constituting the nation, the proper objects of admin-

istration, and the source of national revenue.

According to this *handen shūju* system, every one above six years old, male or female, was given a certain amount of paddy field with a legal right to hold and till it. This was called *kubunden* (sustenance rice field), the men getting two *tan* (about .5 acre) while the women received two-thirds of the men's share. The lower-class people each got one-third of the share of common people. In principle, the allotment was to be renewed every six years.

The amount of tax levied for the use of the fields changed with the times, but it is presumed that three or four percent of the yield from the field was collected as tax. There were other forms of taxes called *chō* (in kind) and *yō* (commuted tax), which were a kind of income tax and household tax combined; in the local districts, *zatsuzei* and *zatsuto* (forced labor) was also required.

Although in later years, this tax system came to be used by local officials as a means of exploiting the people, it was, originally, enacted to guarantee the means of livelihood to the people, according to the spirit of Confucianism.

Vegetable gardens and housing lots which were equally distributed among the people according to the size of the village, were recognized as private possessions, while woodland and uncultivated land could be utilized by the whole villagers as a common property. This ideal land system was the economic basis of the Taika Reformation, but in spite of this idealism, it gradually ceased to be effective after one hundred years, and was finally given up.

The answer may be found in the following reasons.

1. When this *handen* system is compared with the Chinese *kinden-sei* (equal distribution of land system), it is seen that as a social policy full consideration was taken, but its economic side was overlooked. As it is common in actual life that mere uniform distribution of land does not work, it may have happened that at some places labor power to till the allocated field was lacking while at other places the fields were

too small for all the people to cultivate. So, when the total increase of farm-production became urgent, disorder arose as no measure was taken to remedy this defect.

2. Because of the political structure of those days, particularly the poor condition of traffic and communication, it was impossible to collect taxes once in six years. In fact, outside the Kinki district, tax-collection was made once in ten to twenty years. The result was that the local chiefs remained as powerful as before the reformation.

3. Due to the fact that too great weight was placed on the official ranks with various privileges attached to them, there were, from the beginning, constant struggles for high offices in the capital. Thus, the system was left to take its course without any amendment made or any step taken for its positive enforcement.

Under such circumstances, the effect of the *handen* system was a fraction of what had been expected. It is true that it succeeded in the encouragement of rice cultivation over a wide area, but very soon, farming villages fell into disorder. As destitute tillers ran away leaving their allotted fields lying in waste, private possession of land was permitted as an incentive to reclamation of the land. This gave rise to the possession of large tracts of land by wealthy and powerful persons. Official records of the time reveal that the Imperial Edict issued in 815 A.D. deplored the confused condition of the allotted fields in various parts of the land. The official bulletin issued in 902 declared that the *handen* system existed in name only. In the end, it gave place to the *shōen* system.

Takamaga-hara. Japanese mythology tells that *Takamaga-hara* (the Plain of High Heaven) was the original place from which the Japanese people came to this land. It is impossible to determine where it was, but the ancient people thought *Takamaga-hara* was equivalent to heaven.

Amaterasu Ōmikami. According to the myth, two gods, *Izanagi* and *Izanami*, gave birth to *Amaterasu Ōmikami* (Great Sun Goddess). She was worshipped as the ancestor of the Imperial Family and of the

Japanese people. It is said that she gave the people the seeds of five cereals and the cow and the horse; she also taught them the arts of sericulture, spinning and weaving. She was compared to the sun. She tolerated the riotous conducts of her younger brother, but when he disgraced her and threatened her weavers, she hid herself in *Amano Iwato* (the celestial cave).

Okuninushi-no-Mikoto. He ruled the Izumo district after *Susano-o-no-Mikoto*. He brought prosperity by teaching the people the arts of foresting, sea-traffic, medicine and incantation. Later, at the order of *Amaterasu Ōmikami*, he presented his land to her and retired to the palace of *Kizuki* (where Izumo Shrine now stands).

Sanshu-no Jinki (Three Imperial Regalia). Three sacred treasures the possession of which designates the legitimate *Tennō* of Japan. According to the myth, *Amaterasu Ōmikami* ordered her grandson, *Ninigino-Mikoto*, to descend on *Takachiho-no Mine* in Hyūga (present Miyazaki Prefecture) to rule Japan. She handed him a sacred mirror as the symbol of "eternal reign". The mirror was later enshrined at Ise (in the present Ise Kōtai-Jingū). It is thought to be the divine spirit of *Amaterasu Ōmikami* by the Japanese. This mirror along with the sacred sword enshrined at *Atsuta-Jingū* and the sacred treasure kept in the Imperial Court comprise the *Sanshu-no Jinki*.

Jimmu-Tennō. Legend has it that the first Emperor descended from the gods, *Kamu Yamato Iwarehiko-no-Mikoto*, started from *Takachiho* in Hyūga for Yamato on his expedition to east Japan, subjugated the people in the Yamato district and ascended the throne at Kashiwara at the foot of Mt. Unebi. He was given the posthumous title of *Jimmu-Tennō*, the first Emperor of Japan. The date of his accession to the throne is said to have been 660 years before the Christian Era, but as this text has repeatedly mentioned, it is questionable. It is generally thought that this date came from the mention in an ancient writing that his accession to the throne occurred January 1, in the year of *Kanoto-tori*. In the Meiji Era, the people decided

that the day fell on February 11 by the Gregorian Calendar, and was celebrated as Empire Day.

Sujin-Tennō. He was the 10th Sovereign. He is said to have united a wide area under sovereign rule, by sending *shidō-shōgun* (four generals sent on expeditions to four parts of the land). He also transferred the sacred treasures from the court to *Kasanui-mura* in Yamato (no trace of the place has been found). There is a theory that this transfer was the date of the founding of Japan. Another theory is that *Jimmu-Tennō* and *Sujin-Tennō* are the same person.

Haniwa. In ancient times, when a person of high position died, his followers killed themselves to follow their lord. According to an ancient writing, *Suinin-Tennō* (the 11th Sovereign) prohibited this practice and, at the suggestion of Nomi-no Sukune, ordered, instead, to make clay images of man and horse to put around the burial mound. The images are called *haniwa*. Many such images have been unearthed from ancient mounds, which are important for us to know the customs of the ancient people.

Atsuta Jingū. The sacred sword, one of the three treasures, is enshrined here. The sword has another name, *Kusanagi-no Tsurugi*. According to myth, *Susano-o-no-Mikoto* found this sword in the inside of a monster serpent with eight heads. When *Yamato-Takeru-no-Mikoto*, *Keikō-Tennō's* son, was about to start on his expedition to conquer the Ezo tribes, *Yamato-hime-no Mikoto*, his aunt, gave him this sword. On his way, the natives of Suruga province (present Shizuoka Prefecture) tried to burn him to death in a field but he escaped alive by cutting away the dry grass around him with this sword, the source of the name, *Kusanagino Tsurugi* (Grass cut sword). He returned as far as Owari (present Aichi Prefecture) from his triumphant expedition, where he fell ill and died. A shrine was built at the place where he died to his memory. This is the present *Atsuta Jingū*.

Achiki; Wani. Both are said to have come from Pakche (Korea) and taught

the Japanese the Chinese literature and Chinese characters. Later, they were naturalized in Japan and engaged in the literary profession.

Yuzuki-ō. He was a Chinese who came over to Japan accompanied by 170 other Chinese from 170 provinces, by way of Pakche. They taught the Japanese the arts of sericulture and weaving during the reign of *Ōjin-Tennō*. They were all naturalized in Japan and called by the family name of Hata. They prospered as wealthy local clans.

Kuratsukuri-no-tori. He was a sculptor of Buddhist images. He is said to have carved the images of *Shaka-Sanzon* kept at *Hōryū-ji*.

Hōryūji (temple). The temple was built by *Shōtoku Taishi* at the beginning of the 7th century. Most of the buildings and its treasures are preserved intact. (There is a theory that it was rebuilt some scores of years after it was built. Refer to Fine Art.) It is the oldest wooden building in the world. The *Kondō*, *Chūmon*, the *Gojū-no-tō* (five-storied pagoda) have each its own architectural beauty. The fresco and the three Images of *Shaka* (Buddha) and Buddhist saints (*Shaka-Sanzon*) contained in the *Kondō*, and *Yumedono Kannon* in the *Tōindō* are rare masterpieces of art. The *Tamamushi-no Zushi* (sanctuary decorated with wings of buprestid (beetle)) in the *Kondō* was, it is said, the possession of *Suiko-Tennō*. It is seven *shaku* and seven *sun* (about 2.33 meters) high, ornamented with gilt fixture of transparent arabesque design, under which wings of buprestid are placed. On the inside and all over the pedestal, there is an oil painting called *mitsudaso* oil introduced into Japan from abroad.

Nakatomi Kamatari. He was said to be the descendant of *Ameno-Koyane-no-Mikoto*. He was an intimate friend of *Nakano-Ōe-no-Ōji*, with whom he maneuvered to remove the despotic Soga. They carried out the Taika Reformation. As Minister of Home Affairs, he made efforts for the realization of the reformation. During the reign of *Tenchi-Tennō*, he worked out the *Ōmi-ryō* (law) on the basis of which

the *Taihō-Ritsuryō* was later set up. In 669, at the news of his critical illness, the Emperor, visiting him, awarded him the family name of Fujiwara and the order of the *Taishokukan*. He was buried at Tōno-mine in Yamato. A shrine named *Tanzan Jinja* was dedicated to him. The Fujiwara later became influential and prosperous, entered into matrimonial relations with the Imperial Family. In the Heian Era, they ran the nation as regents and chief advisors to the Emperors. The Fujiwara have descended to the present day in an unbroken line.

Introduction of Buddhism. It is said that in the 12th year of *Kimmei-Tennō* (29th Sovereign) the Emperor of Pakche presented *Kimmei-Tennō* with an image of Buddha and Buddhist scriptures. This was the first time Buddhism was brought into Japan. According to *Nihonshoki*, at that time, there arose a dispute between the Soga, pro-Buddhists and the Mononobe, anti-Buddhists. Through *Shōtoku Taishi's* encouragement, however, Buddhism came to be a great religion of the people. It was assimilated by the Japanese, enriching their spiritual life. But with the spread of Buddhism, the Buddhist priests came to have a great power, and interfered with the nation's politics throughout the middle

ages. Before Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu put the priests under control, they enjoyed extra-territorial rights.

Sakimori. *Sakimori* were soldiers stationed at outlying posts to guard the country in the days of the Taika Reformation. Later, the *Taihō-Ritsuryō* firmly established this system. Soldiers from all over the land were placed at important posts in the eastern part of Kyūshū in three-year shifts for the defence of the country.

Hayuma; Temma. Both are post horses kept at every stage for the government officials to use, a system of communication set up by the Taika Reformation. *Hayuma* (horses) were fast runners, which the officials used on their urgent trips. When they rode *hayuma*, they rang bells given by the government.

Jikifū. By the Taika Reformation, extraliberal chiefs whose land was nationalized were given, in return, orders, ranks and offices. As their income, they received *jikifū* (sustenance households) according to their position. It consisted of a fixed number of farming households with allotted fields. They received half of the tax on these fields, (the other half being paid to the government,) and taxes called *chō* and *yō*.

Nara and Heian Eras

Institution of Ritsu-Ryō

In the reign of *Temmu-Tennō*, the *Kiyo-mihara-Ritsuryō*, based on political experiences gained after the Taika Reformation, was enacted. This law was further revised and enlarged by *Osakabe-Shinnō* and Fujiwara Fuhito. In 701 the *Taihō-Ritsuryō-Ritsu* (penal code) in six volumes and *ryō* (civil code) in 11 volumes—was completed. This continued to be the legal basis of the nation's administration for about 1200 years until the Meiji Restoration.

The civil code contained the government regulations. According to this code, the central government had two departments,

the *Jingikan* and the *Dajōkan*. The *Jingikan*, an office unique to Japan, administered the affairs of religious rituals and supervised local shrines. The *Dajōkan* which took care of general administrative affairs had eight departments: *Nakatsukasa-shō*, *Shikibu-shō*, *Jibu-shō*, *Mimbu-shō*, *Hyōbu-shō*, *Gyōbu-shō*, *Ōkura-shō* and *Kunai-shō*, headed by *Dajō-daijin* (prime minister) with *Sadaijin* (minister of the Left) and *Udaijin* (minister of the Right) under him. *Dainagon* (chief councillors of the state) also belonged to this office. These departments had boards called *Shiki*, *Ryō* and *Shi*. Besides, in the capital, there were such government institutions as *Danjōdai* and *Efu*. The *Danjōdai* was a kind of reformatory

while the *Efu* was the headquarters of the guards that policed the capital and the Imperial court.

The local districts were divided into *Kinai* and seven others. These districts were further subdivided into smaller sections, *kuni* (province), *gun* (county) and *sato* (village), governed by *kokushi* (provincial chief) *gunshi* (county-chief) and *sato-osa* (village chief) respectively. In Kyūsyū, the *Dazaifu* was set up for defence against foreign invasion. In Kyoto, the government placed such local offices as *Sakyō-shiki* and *Ukyō-shiki*, while Naniwa (Osaka) had *Setsu-shiki*.

Each department had *kami* (minister) *suke* (vice-minister) *jō* (third class) and *sakan* (fourth class) officials of four grades.

The systems of paddy-fields and taxes were taken from the Taika systems, the registration list of paddy-field holders was revised once in six years, as in the manner of *handen-shūju*. Taxes were collected in three forms, *so*, *yō* and *chō*. *So* was a tax levied on *kubunden* (sustenance field) at the rate of two large bundles and two shieves of rice plants (202 shieves) from one *tan* (0.245 acre). Incidentally, the yield from one *tan* was estimated at about 50 bundles. *Yō* was originally a labor-service imposed on male adults of ages from 22 to 60, who had to go up to the capital for ten-day labor every year but usually it was a commuted tax in the form of a certain amount of cloth. *Chō* was a kind of requisition in the form of special products, such as cloth, silk or fish.

As regards military service, the universal conscription system was enforced, and one-third of the youths of age were drafted and assigned to military service in various parts of the land. These soldiers were made to serve by turns as *aji* (imperial guard) and *sakimori* (defence corps) in the coastal districts of west Japan.

The *Ritsu* was the penal code. In those days, there was no division of power between the executive and the judiciary for the executive combined the work of the latter. The penal code provided 5 grades of penalties; *chi* (whipping), *jō* (beating with sticks), *zu* (hard labor), *ru* (exile

to distant land), and *shi* (death). Graver punishment was attached to disobedience to parents or superiors.

The *Taihō Ritsuryō* followed the model of the T'ang Law of China, but because careful considerations were given to actual conditions of the country and the customs and habits of the people, it remained effective for a long time.

The point which was different from the T'ang system of law was that the civil code provided that *Jingikan* be independent of the *Dajōkan*, making the organization of the *Dajōkan* much simpler. The characteristic point of the penal code was that graver punishment was given to crimes of failing in duties of loyalty and filial piety, while other crimes were dealt with rather leniently.

The *Taihō* civil and penal codes were revised and enlarged into ten volumes each, in 718, the second year of *Yōrō*, but as no great changes were made, people generally call it the *Taihō-Ritsuryō*, instead of the *Yōrō-Ritsuryō*.

Notes:

Taihō-Ritsuryō: The civil and penal code instituted in the 1st year of *Taihō* Era, in the reign of *Monmu-Tennō*. It contains 8 volumes of penal code and 11 volumes of civil code. The law that remains now under the name of the *Taihō-Ritsuryō* is virtually the *Yōrō Ritsuryō*.

Handen-Shūju: allotment of paddy fields to every one above 6 years of age, according to the registration list of households.

Culture of Tempyō Era

Up to that time, the characteristic Japanese dislike of impurity made every emperor set up a new capital when he ascended the throne. As a result, there was no definite plan or pattern for building a capital. However, as national power increased and exchange of diplomatic envoys with foreign countries became frequent, the capital had to be built on a larger scale than before. For this reason, *Gemmyō-Tennō* (reign 707-715) chose in 701 Nara in Yamato province as the permanent site for the capital and decided to build a magnificent palace there. From that time the habit of transferring the capital with each new ruler ceased.

The palace built at Nara was called the *Heijō-no-Miya* and the capital was called *Heijō-no-Miyako*. It was modeled after Chang-an, capital of T'ang Empire. On either side of *Sujaku-Ōji* (main street) were streets at right angles; the section on the right side of the main street was called *Ukyō* and the left, *Sakyō*. There were eight avenues running across the main street, while blocks were called *bō*. At the northern end of the principal street stood the palace called the *Dairi* surrounded by various government office buildings. It was built on an incongruously large scale for that time. The main building where the executive meetings were held was called the *Daigoku-den* and the building used as waiting rooms for the high officials was called the *Chōshū-den*. The present Nara city is located beyond the old *Sakyō*, which means that only the eastern part of the old capital remains now. The *Chōshū-den* remains as the *Kōdō* (hall) of the Tōshōdai-ji Temple. From this we can imagine how grand the plan of the capital was. Nara remained the capital for seventy years.

In this era, national development based on the system established in the previous periods, was accomplished. Administration was conducted perfectly according to the law. In those days, orders from the central Government were conveyed even to the remotest parts of the land, and law and order reigned throughout the country. With the capital as the starting point, seven highways covered the land: the Tōkaidō, the Tōsandō, the Hokurikudō, the Sanindō, the Sanyōdō, the Nankaidō and the Saikaidō. Post stations were set up along these highways, which the governors of the local districts and the tax-collectors chiefly used. Land and natural resources were more and more developed. As the Ezo tribes in the Tōhoku District gradually came under the central Government, a new province of Dewa including Akita and Mutsu, was added to the territory. The *Tagajō* (fortress) was built in present Miyagi Prefecture. Where peace was established, settlers were brought from other provinces to reclaim the land. In the southwestern part of the country, Osumi Province was set up, since traffic

with T'ang Empire came to be active across the East China Sea. Soon after, the Haya-to tribe in the southern part of Kyūshū was completely subdued. Thus, the whole land, from the northeastern end to the southern extremity came under the rule of the central Government.

Remarkable progress was made in the fields of industry, which added to the nation's prosperity. The reclamation of land was pushed but mining made the most significant progress. Gold, silver and copper were mined in many parts of the land. When copper from Musashi Province was presented to *Gemmyō-Tennō*, she changed the name of the era to *Wadō* (Japanese copper) in commemoration of it and a coin named *Wadō-Kaihō*, the first coin in Japan, was minted.

About this time, Shiragi (Silla) in Korea became very powerful and wanted to trade on equal terms with Japan, which often gave rise to conflicts between the two countries. Another country called Pohai which rose in Manchuria, pitting herself against T'ang and Silla asked Japan to trade with her. Japan entered on diplomatic relations with Pohai in the reign of *Shōmu-Tennō*. The most noteworthy thing in Japan's intercourse with foreign countries at that time was, however, her trade with T'ang Empire.

At that time, T'ang was a prosperous and powerful country, which annexed almost the whole area of East Asia through her great foreign invasions. Since the Saracens, who rose in the near East and conquered wide areas in Europe and Africa, carried on trade with the T'ang Empire western civilization streamed into Chang-an, the greatest cultural center of the East. In order to import T'ang culture, Japan entered into diplomatic relations with her, and sent ambassadors. The ambassadors were called *Kentōshi*. *Kentōshi* had been sent several times since the days of *Kimmei-Tennō*, but in the Nara Era, the envoys were sent in a more pompous manner, although the voyage was very difficult, due to the fact that the people had no knowledge of the art of navigation. The route to T'ang was across the East China Sea,

because Silla barred the way crossing the narrowest part of the Japan Sea. The ambassadors took with them students and scholar-monks and brought the learned and accomplished back home. Although it was only four times that envoys were sent to T'ang during this era, the Chinese culture they brought back greatly helped the advancement of learning, religion and fine arts of Japan. Kibi-no-Makibi (649-775) who came back from T'ang, was given an important post in the Court, while famous Abe-no-Nakamaro (701-770) remained all his life in China. Priest Genbō (died 746) brought back many Buddhist scriptures and Chinese Buddhist priests, Ganjin (673-763) among them. He built the famous Tōshōdai-ji and initiated the Risshū sect of Buddhism. Through these foreign priests, the T'ang civilization exerted a remarkable influence on the culture of Japan in the Nara Era not only in learning but even in the ways of life. The civilizations of India and of the West were also introduced into Japan in this era. Through the influence of western civilization, especially Greek, the origin of Western civilization, the people created great masterpieces of fine art, which could match those of the T'ang Empire; because, while eagerly absorbing these foreign civilizations, they made efforts to develop their own unique culture.

The people thus enlightened by introduction of T'ang civilization, awakened to greater consciousness of their nation, leading them to writing the country's history, first planned by Shōtoku Taishi. This is how it happened. Ō-no-Yasumaro (died 723) took down what Hataribe (narrator) Hieda-no-Are, related. This was *Kojiki* in 3 volumes. The stories of ancient Japan are all based on this book. This book written in Chinese contains the history of Japan from the mythological ages to the reign of Suiko-Tennō (reign 593-628) and was presented to the Emperor in 702. Subsequently a large scale task of compiling the history was undertaken by Toneri Shinō and Ō-no-Yasumaro. *Nihonshoki* in 30 volumes written in Chinese was the result of their efforts. It is the history of Japan from mythological ages to the reign

of Jitō-Tennō (686-697). They wrote it in the style of authentic Chinese history and finished it in 720. Gemmyō-Tennō ordered each province to record the names of the plants, animal and mines, the names and history of mountains, rivers and fields and the traditions and legends of the place as told by the old people. Such records were compiled into a book and presented to the Emperor. This was called the *Fudoki* (local geography), the first of its kind in Japan. The *Fudoki* of Hitachi, Harima, Bungo and Hizen provinces remain today, by which we can gain an insight as to conditions in these regions in olden times.

Another characteristic of the Nara Era is that it was the golden age of Buddhism. Buddhism and national politics were mixed up. Shōmu-Tennō (reign 724-749) had deep faith in Buddhism and ordered in 741 that each province build a seven-storied pagoda with the *Saishō-ō-kyō* (scripture) in it. He also made each province build two temples, one for monks named *Shitennō-Gokoku-no-Tera* and the other for nuns named *Hokke-Netsuzai-no-Tera*. These temples called *Kokubun-ji*, or guardian temple of the province, were built near the seat of each provincial government. The Tōdai-ji in Nara was the *Kokubun-ji* of Yamato Province, in which a gold and copper image of Rushana Buddha were placed by order of the Emperor. The building of this temple was a great national undertaking. Not only the Imperial Family but all the nobles who participated in the administration of the country cooperated in this work. Thus, Buddhism came to exert great influence on the people. The *Kokubun-ji* became the cultural centers of the local districts and did a great service to the enlightenment of the people.

In those days, there were six sects of Buddhism in Nara. They were called *Nanto-rokushū*. Some of the priests of these sects participated in the administration, while others engaged in social work. In many provinces, they set up *juseya* (alms house) and by digging wells, building bridges, and offering ferry service, greatly contributed to travel and the development of local industries. Above all,

Gyōki (670-746) left many good works behind him. The nobles also were interested in philanthropy, building orphanages, charity dispensaries and *hiden-in* (poor house). Because of the people's fervent faith in Buddhism, the temples came to own huge estates and priests enjoyed the respect of the people. After a while, however, there appeared some priests who, overconfident of their power, tried to gain temporal power. They meddled in politics and did a great deal of harm to society. Thus, the confusion of religion and politics disrupted the social order of the latter half of the Nara Era, the whole nation suffering from the priests' outrageous interference in the nation's administration.

The common people lived in their own houses and earned their living by farming. The farming technique did not make any progress, but farming implements were remarkably improved. Besides growing rice they were encouraged to produce other cereals. Sericulture also thrived. Manufacturing was not known among the people, for it was exclusively carried on by the Government, nobles and temples. Markets were opened where people could buy and sell goods. Rice, cloth and thread were used for money. There were peddlers, too. It is true that coin was minted by the Government, but in spite of the Government's effort, it did not become currency among common people. As regards clothing and dwelling, the high ranking nobles in the capital were attired gorgeously after the T'ang fashion, and lived in high-floored houses, of *irimoya-zukuri*, *shichū-shiki*, and *kirizuma-zukuri*. But the common people were clad almost in the same way as the ancient Japanese and lived in thatched huts mostly without floors.

Life in the Nara Era was sumptuous after the manner of the T'ang society, but such a life was enjoyed exclusively by the high class nobles in the capital, while the common people remained as primitive as ever.

In this era, both national power and culture made remarkable strides forward because the authority of the central Government reached the remotest part of the

country, enriching the government treasury. This enabled the high class people to devote themselves to assimilation of foreign culture. Thus, national prosperity and culture reached the peak in the Tempyō Era, in the reign of *Shōmu-Tennō*. Many things made in those days remain today. It is called Tempyō culture. As a matter of fact, T'ang civilization had strong influence on this Tempyō culture as T'ang Empire was at the height of prosperity then. The characteristic features of Tempyō culture are that it was strongly colored with Buddhism, and that it was exclusively the culture of the nobility in the capital.

As traffic with the T'ang Empire became lively, Chinese literature came to be much studied among the people. Long before this time, schools had been founded under the law, where the élite of the society learned Chinese classics, arithmetic, handwriting and music, all based on Confucianism. About this time, law and literature were added to the above subjects, to meet the needs of the times. Great scholars of Chinese literature of this time were Abe-no-Nakamaro, Kibi-no-Makibi, Ōmi-no-Mifune, and Isonokami-no-Yakatsugu. Ōmi-no-Mifune is known to have chosen the posthumous titles of all the *Tennō*, while Isonokami-no-Yatsugu built a library with a collection of many books.

This period produced many writers of Chinese poetry and prose. *Kaifūsō* is the oldest anthology written, in Chinese, by 64 poets of the Nara Era. Many poems in the book can be regarded as excellent comparable even with those by Chinese poets. The passion for Chinese classics stirred up a fashion for Japanese literature, too. As, in those days, there was no *kana*, Chinese characters were used, in a mixed manner, either reading them phonetically or putting Japanese meaning to them. This is called *manyō-kana*. By this means, the Japanese came to be able to put down on paper what was in their mind. Historical books and poetical works were thus born. The representative of the former is *Kojiki* and that of the latter is the *Manyōshū*. The *Manyōshū* is a large anthology of 4500 poems written mostly in the Tempyō

Era. The poems are of three kinds: *tanka* (short poem of 31-syllables) *chōka* (long poem) and *sedōka* (36-syllable short poem). Most famous contributors to the anthology were Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro, Yamano-ue-no-Okura, Yamabe-no-Akahito, Ōtomo-no-Tabito (665-731) and Ōtomo-no-Yakamochi (716-785) who all lived in the middle of the 8th century, while famous poetesses are Nukada-no-Ōkimi and Ōtomo-no-Sakanoue-no-Iratsume (died 728). The characteristic of the *Manyōshū* is that it contains not only poems of the nobles in the capital but also excellent poems of any person regardless of his social position. It has, for example, poems by farmers in the northern part of the land side by side with those by nobles in the capital. These show the life of the various classes of those days. In style they are simple and emphatic, that is, the poets expressed directly and plainly what they felt.

Besides literature, law became a popular subject of study for the purpose of the administration of the central Government, which was by that time firmly established. Even books on interpretation of the law were written. Through the exchange of scholars with the T'ang Empire, medicine, astronomy, the art of divination (Yin-yang-tao), almanacs and military science also made great progress in this era. The temples were used as class-rooms for the priests. The *kōdō* (auditorium) of the *Tōshōdai-ji* show how the priests were taught in those days.

Buddhist culture, characteristic of the Tempyō Era, left many fine works of art and craftsmanship to posterity. In architecture, temples such as *Taima-dera* (pagoda) *Hōryū-ji* (Yumedono) *Yakushi-ji* (*Hondō*) and *Tōshōdai-ji* (*Kondō* and *Kōdō*) bear witness to the flourishing Buddhism and architectural scale of the day. These temples have seven regularly located buildings on the site as is proper to a Buddhist cathedral, their roofs and gates decorated with elaborate designs. They are vermillion-lacquered on the outside and their pillars and walls inside are also painted. Even to the minutest details, the structure and the location of the cathedral buildings

were modeled on the T'ang cathedral. In the field of fine art, many excellent works of sculpture remain today. Masterful skill is shown in the carving of Buddhist statues. The features and the pose of the Buddhist statues of that time are serene and true to life and yet one can also see the ideals of the sculptors in them. The *Yakushi-nyorai* and *Shōkwanon* of the *Yakushi-ji* and a part of the colossal Buddha of *Tōdai-ji* are of gold and copper. The *Shikkon-gōjin*, *Fukū-kenjyaku-Kwanon*, *Nikkō-Bosatsu* and *Gakkō-Bosatsu* in the *Tōdai-ji-Hokkedō*, *Shitenno* in the *Kaidan-in* and *Jūnishinshō* in the *Shin-Yakushi-ji* are plaster or dry-lacquered images. It is presumed that these statues were carved by Buddhist sculptors employed by the Imperial Court but their names are unknown. The craftsmanship of the day is seen in the *gyobutsu* (Imperial belongings) in the *Shōsō-in*, a source of admiration to people at home and abroad. In the *Shōsō-in*, *Kōken-Tennō* (reign 749-758) consigned the belongings of *Shōmu-Tennō* after his death. Successive *Tennō*, regarding it a rare treasure house, made it a rule to fasten the doors themselves, so that it has been kept intact for about 1200 years till the present time. The architectural style of the *Shōsō-in* is known as *azekurashiki*, triangular logs assembled into a building, with its floor elevated nine feet above the ground as to keep off moisture. The three buildings of the *Shōsō-in* contain about three thousand art works consisting of furniture, ornament, mirrors and musical instruments. Some are gold or silver mounted, some, of mother-of-pearl and others are lacquer works. There are also skillful works of crystal, and embroidery and other elaborate fabrics. Some of these treasures were made at home by artisans in the employ of the Imperial Household and the Finance Ministry, while others were brought from the T'ang Empire. Besides these, there are documentary writings. The art works showing the influence of Western civilization are characteristic of Tempyō culture. In the field of painting and drawing, the fresco and the portrait of *Shōtoku Taishi* in *Hōryū-ji* (*Kondō*) and

the picture of *Kisshō Tennyō* in *Yakushi-ji* show the dress-style of the day and traces of foreign influence. *Kako-Genzai Inga-kyō* is thought to be the first picture scrolls of Japan.

Kōken-Tennō donated 10,000 miniature pagodas to *Tōdai-ji*, *Hōryū-ji* and eight other great temples each, to appease the souls of the war-dead. They were called the *hyakumantō* (a million pagodas). The *Darani-kyō* (sutra) put inside these pagodas is known as a sample of the oldest printing in Japan.

There was nothing noteworthy to be called local culture in those days, for the people in the local districts had no way of getting in contact with urban life except seeing the coming and going of the priests of the *Kokubunji*, soldiers and central Government officials.

Heian-no-Miyako. The capital built at Nara in 710, planned on a grand scale and copied after Chang-an, capital of the T'ang Empire. It remained the capital for about 70 years.

Ritsuryō-Seiji. Administration of *Tai-hō-Ritsuryō*. This form of administration was at its height in the Nara Era.

Ezo. People who lived in the north-eastern part of Japan at the time when the central Government was established. They long refused to come under the rule of the central Government.

Taga-jō. A fortress built to the north of present Sendai in defense against Ezo tribes.

Wadō-Kaihō. The oldest coin minted in Japan. It was made in commemoration of copper presented in a great amount from Musashi Province, when mining became an active and prosperous industry.

Kaifūsō. An anthology of 120 Chinese poems of the Nara Era.

Manyō gana. Chinese characters used as Japanese syllabic alphabets, in their embryonic state, before *kana* was developed.

Manyōshū. An anthology comprising 4,500 Japanese poems by persons of all walks of life in the Tempyō Era.

Shōsō-in. A treasure house containing the belongings of *Shōmu-Tennō*. The treasures remains intact today.

Azekurazukuri. A form of architecture built with three-cornered logs. Great consideration was taken for ventilation and keeping off of moisture. The *Shōsō-in* is representative of this form of architecture.

Hyakumantō. One million miniature pagodas with *Darani-kyō* (sutra) inside them, donated to ten temples by *Kōtoku-Tennō* to appease the souls of the war-dead.

Tōshōdai-ji. A temple built by the Chinese priest, Ganjin, who came to Japan after great hardships on his way. It stands to the west of present Nara city.

Kojiki. The oldest history of Japan written in Chinese characters, a mixture of Chinese and Japanese.

Nihonshoki. A history comprising 30 volumes written in Chinese, after the manner of authentic Chinese history.

Fudoki. The oldest books on the geography of Japan, with records of products, topography, traditions and legends of each province.

Kokubunji. Temple for monks and nuns built in each province as guardian temples.

Nanto-Rokushū. Six Buddhist sects in the Nara Era: *Sanron*, *Jōjitsu*, *Hossō*, *Gusha*, *Kegon* and *Ritsu*.

Transfer of capital from Heijō to Heian

The more Buddhism took hold on the minds of the people, the richer became the temples and greater the popular confidence gained by the priests. The result was that the priests came to have temporal power and began to meddle in affairs of the state. The worst example was shown in *Dōkyō* (died 772) who virtually usurped sovereign power for a time, and conducted many outrageous deeds. Seeing this, *Kōnin-Tennō* took the measure of separating religion and politics, ordering the priests to devote themselves strictly to religious matters. At the same time, the building of temples and the carving of Buddhist images were restricted. Further, with a view to realizing complete separation of religion and state affairs, *Kammu-Tennō* (reign 781-806) decided to transfer the capital. He chose Yamashiro

Province as an ideal place for the site of government, for it afforded a good water communication with Naniwa. After staying at Nagaoka for a short time, he set up a new capital at present Kyoto in 794, on the suggestion of Wakeno Kiyomaro. This was called *Heian-kyō*. *Heian-kyō* remained the capital for one thousand and one hundred years till Tokyo became the capital in the Meiji Era. The plan of the city was the same as for *Heijō-kyō* and Chang-an in the T'ang Empire.

In the beginning of the Heian Era, the Emperor focussed his efforts on restoring social stability which had been disturbed at the end of the Nara Era, and repressing the power of priests who came to aspire after political power. For these purposes, the Government cautioned the officials against wrong conduct and at the same time, reduced the taxes which had become too heavy for the people. The Government also prohibited the temples in the former capital from moving to the new capital and kept a strict control over the conducts of priests. It appeared that the Government had completely dropped its policy of promoting Buddhism, which had been in effect since the time of *Shōtoku-Taishi*. But as the necessity of Buddhism for the mental and spiritual well-being of the Japanese remained the same, the Government urged the great priests, Saichō and Kūkai to initiate *Tendai-shū* and *Shingon-shū* and decided to protect these new sects of Buddhism. The difference of these new sects from the *Nanto-rokushū* lay in the fact that they built their cathedrals high on mountain sides, away from human habitation, so that the priests might devote themselves solely to the study of religious teachings.

About this time, as the Ezo tribes in the Ōu District became strong again and attacked the *Taga-jō* (fortress), the Emperor sent Sakanoue-no-Tamuramaro (758-811) as commander-in-chief of the East Subjugating Expedition. He drove the Ezo tribes farther back and moved his headquarters to the *Izawa-jō* (fortress). A little later, all the Ezo tribes were conquered and development of the Ōu District progressed smoothly.

About this time, in order to cut down the enormous expenses of the Imperial Household, a policy was taken to allow princes to descend to the status of subjects, with family titles given by the Emperor. Many of them settled in the local districts and laid the foundation for their later prosperity and power, for there was no place in the capital for their activity. No one except the Fujiwara could obtain any high post in the government. By this time the nature of *kabane* (family title) had undergone a change, for the people came to adopt the place of their dwellings as their family names. During the Kōnin Era (810-823), in order to solve this confusion, *Manta-shin-nō* and Fujiwara Fuyutsugu worked out the *Shisen Shōjiroku* (Newly Compiled List of Family-Names). This list distinguished the lineages of families, dividing them into the categories of *Kōbetsu* (Imperial Family), *Shimbetsu* (Descendants of Deities) and *Shoban* (various local tribal chiefs). This accounts for the Japanese love of lineages and genealogy. By this means, all the powerful lords in the districts came to have one of the four family names, Minamoto, Taira, Fuji or Tachibana, so that one could easily see by the family name to which family tree a person belonged.

In order to maintain administration by the law, instituted in the Nara Era, *Kyaku-Shiki* was worked out during the reign of three Emperors, *Saga-Tennō*, *Seiwa-Tennō* and *Daigo-Tennō*. *Kyaku* was an act according to which the provisions of the law could be amended or abolished. *Shiki* was regulations for the application of the law. The function of the *Dajōkan* also underwent a change, for such practical offices as *Kurōdo* and *Kebi-ishi* were created. They were called the *ryōge-no kan* (offices outside the law). These 2 offices gradually came to have great power, overshadowing all the others.

Kurōdo was the Emperor's private office where state documents were handled while *Kebi-ishi* controlled the police who guarded the city of Kyoto.

In the meantime, T'ang civilization had become overwhelmingly popular throughout the country and Chinese literature attained

its climax. The aristocrats' love of learning, combined with encouragement by the Court, led the nobles in the capital to found schools to educate their own children. Thus, the Fujiwara founded the *Kangaku-in*, the Ariwara, the *Shōgaku-in* and the Tachibana, the *Gakkan-in*. Priest Kūkai established the *Shugeishuchi-in*, quite a different school from the rest, for it was for the education of children of common people.

Since they encouraged the study of Chinese literature, classics and poetry, many masters of Chinese classics and Chinese poems were turned out from these schools. Most famous of them were *Saga-Tennō*, (reign 809-823), Kūkai, Ono-no-Takamura (802-852), Sugawara-no-Michizane (845-903) and Miyako-no-Yoshika (834-879). By Imperial command, the poems composed by these people were compiled into anthologies such as the *Ryōun-shū*, the *Bunka-Shūrei-shū* and the *Keikoku-shū*. These scholars of Chinese classics also compiled five books on Japanese history. They were *Nihon Koki*, *Shoku-Nihongi*, *Montoku-Jitsuroku*, *Shoku-Nihon-Koki* and *Sandai-Jitsuroku*. *Nihonshoki* and these five historical works are called the *Rikkokushi*, six works of Japanese history.

Coin was also continuously minted since the first minting of *Wadōkaihō*, but was suspended in the Ōwa Era (961-963). The 12 kinds of coin issued before the suspension were called *Honchō-Jūnisen* or *Kōchō-Jūnisen* (Japanese twelve coins).

After a time, as the T'ang Empire gradually declined, the number of scholars sent in the face of dangerous sea voyages, decreased and at last, at the suggestion of Sugawara-no-Michizane, the practice of sending students to China was dropped in the era of Kamyō (894). The popularity of Chinese literature subsequently waned.

Izawa-jō. A fortress built by Sakano-ue-no-Tamuramaro in the Enryaku Era as headquarters of the East Subjugating General.

Kyaku-Shiki. Supplements made to Taihō-Ritsuryō, to meet the needs of the times.

Ryōge-no-kan. Offices created in the Heian Era, which were outside the prescriptions of the law.

Shugei-shuchi-in. A school founded by Priest Kūkai, the first educational institution for children of common people.

Ryōun-shū. An anthology of Chinese poems compiled by order of the Emperor. Famous poets were *Saga-Tennō* and Kūkai.

Rikkoku-shi. Six works of Japanese history compiled in the eras of Nara and Heian: *Nihonshoki*, *Nihon-Koki*, *Shoku-Nihongi*, *Shoku-Nihon-Koki*, *Montoku-Jitsuroku*, and *Sandai-Jitsuroku*.

Rise of shōen (manor)

After Fujiwara Fuyutsugu became *Kurodo-no-kami* (chief of the Imperial Private Office) the Fujiwara clan began to establish their power firmly. Yoshifusa, his son, (804-872) rose from *dajōkan* to the post of *sesshō* (regent). Yoshifusa's son also became *sesshō* and later *kampaku* (regent to grown-up Emperor). This was the first time in the history of Japan that a subject rose to the position of regent. The office of *kampaku* was also set up for the first time. A *sesshō* ruled the state during the minority of the Emperor while a *kampaku* administered state affairs parallel to a grown-up Emperor. After Sugawara-no-Michizane was relegated to an ignominious post in an out-of-the-way place, there was no one in the whole country who dared to stand in the way of the Fujiwaras. From this time on, they assumed the highest offices of the state, generation after generation. The administration by *sesshō* and *kampaku* as a permanent institution was called *sekkansaiji*. As the person who held the office of *sesshō-kampaku* was also the head of the Fujiwara clan, combining the highest office of the land with head of the private land, there naturally arose struggles for this post among members of the clan. When Fujiwara Michinaga assumed office, however, he became so powerful that none of the members could match him. He was father-in-law to five Emperors and administered state affairs for 20 years. Yorimichi, his son, reigned as long as 50 years. During this period, the Fujiwaras enjoyed the height of prosperity.

Since *sesshō-kampaku* administered state affairs in the same office where his household affairs were managed, he could exercise his political power to the interest of his own family or divert the national money for use by his family. Thus, his private and state affairs became confused. Michinaga even employed the people in many provinces for his own purposes and put government business aside in order to attend to his private affairs. Under the circumstances, the Imperial Court turned into a place where rites and ceremonies were performed. The courtiers occupied themselves at leisure with the study of *yūsoku* (court rituals and precedents), to which they came to attach much importance.

The government posts came to be hereditary. The birth certificate was the only standard of promotion, instead of opening the office to the talented. This led to the people's loss of interest in politics. Formality and passivity became the fashion. The aristocrats, in the meantime, indulged in luxury and pleasure. They spent day and night in poetry and music, singing and dancing. Not only the Fujiwaras, but all the aristocrats mixed up their private and public life. They spent their days at court and carried on intimate relations with the court-ladies. There developed, as a result, a taste for elegant speech and behavior and beautiful costume. They dressed in *sokutai* (male) and *jūni-hitoe* (female) apparel made of rich fabrics such as damask and brocade. Their pastime was confined to indoor games such as *uta-awase* (poem contest), *e-awase* (picture contest), *igo* (a kind of checkers) and *sugoroku* (backgammon). As conscience and reason left the minds of the people, superstition took their place. Belief in *monojimi* (unlucky days) and *katatagae* (unlucky direction) greatly restricted the movement of their daily life. Every thing was done according to divination, incantation and prayers. Believing the Buddhist doctrine of the cosmic operation of retributive justice, they were resigned to their fate and longed for paradise after death.

Gosanjō-Tennō, intending to improve such corruption, assumed the state affairs

himself, but could not attain his object as the Fujiwaras stood in his way. Emperor Shirakawa, pursued the will of his father and after abdicating his throne, took up state affairs, cutting off relations with the *sesshō-kampaku*. As this government was carried on by a Retired Sovereign, it was called *Insei* (Retired Emperor's Administration) and it lasted for a long time. The *Insei* was carried on in the mansion of the Retired Emperor, and *Insen* (Edict) corresponded to the Imperial Edict. Naturally there ensued a strife between the courtiers at the Emperor's Court and the trusted followers of the Retired Sovereign, and subsequently, between the *Tennō* and the Retired *Tennō*. About this time Fujiwara power began to wane as they had no way of participating in the Retired *Tennō*'s reign.

In the meantime, the process of private possession of estates steadily progressed and the system of *kubun-den* (allotted field system) collapsed. Even under ordinary circumstances, it would have been difficult to get good results from distributing the fields equally, but since the time when private possession of reclaimed land was permitted, many estates of such privately possessed land came into the hands of some Imperial Family members, high ranking court officials, temples and shrines. Thus private estates possessed by various people came into existence. These were called *shōen*. Unlike public land under the control of provincial officials, the *shōen* was independent of any outside control, neither were taxes imposed on it.

With the increase of *shōen* public land decreased and with it, the national income. Thus, the land system under *Ritsuryō* began to fall into decay. As the income of the officials in the central Government decreased, some of them also assumed the posts of provincial chiefs, without going to their place of appointment. This was called *yōnin* (distant office). The provincial chiefs, on the other hand, bought rank or positions, by paying the expenses for building or other purposes to the court. This practice of buying positions was called *jōgō*. They had, by this means, their term

of office prolonged. In this way, local politics also became corrupted. As *shōen* was the source of income to the nobles, they made every effort to get possession of *shōen*. The people in the local districts who held *shōen*, on the other hand, suffered from the corrupt provincial officials. They donated their *shōen* to the nobles or temples or shrines in the capital, and called the receivers of *shōen honjo* or *ryōke*. Such *shōen* were, in reality, in the hands of the native people who took care of them. Thus as the number of *shōen* increased, the public land as well as common people not belonging to *shōen*, decreased.

Seeing this, *Gosanjō-Tennō* (reign 1068-1072) tried to reform local politics by setting up a registration office to regulate the possession of *shōen* and stopping the buying of official posts but he failed in his efforts. The common people at last could not stand the misrule of the local officials, and running away from their land, became outlaws to escape the heavy taxes. Many of them became priests under false names. Many also turned into bandits and attacked the government storehouses, menaced other farmers, or plundered public possessions. Although there were military corps stationed in each province, set up under the *Taihō-Ritsuryō* for the maintenance of public order, they had no power and fell into depravity, because they were under the control of provincial chiefs. At last, they finished themselves off. In such conditions, the people in the local districts lived in danger of losing their own lives as well as their possessions. As social unrest and political instability increased, they sought shelter with some powerful persons. They found life peaceful in the *shōen*.

In local districts, the descendants of the Fujiwara, the Minamoto and the Taira, as well as descendants of the Imperial Family members now became powerful and respected central figures. These people and the keepers of *shōen* now found it necessary to maintain soldiers of their own to protect themselves. So, they came to have a great number of retainers—*ienoko-rōtō*. They encouraged them to master the arts of archery and horsemanship. They defended

their own estates and sometimes made inroads upon public land or fought with one another. The uprisings of Taira-no-Masakado and Fujiwara-no-Sumitomo were typical of these uprisings. Masakado rose in arms in Shimoosa in a fight with his kinsmen and extended his power all over the Kantō District but was destroyed in the following year. About the same time, Sumitomo (died 941) heading a band of pirates, infested the waters of the Seto Inland Sea but was destroyed by Onono-Yoshifuru and Minamoto-no-Tsunemoto. Both were overthrown by powerful local clans, for the court was too weak to subdue these uprisings. The private soldiers kept by these strong local clans were employed by provincial chiefs, under the name of *kebi-ishi*, *ōryoshi* or *tsuibushi*, in order to maintain peace. Common people also obeyed these soldiers for their own protection. These soldiers were the forerunners of the warriors who were to play an active part in later years.

Sesshō-kampaku. Both were regent-ships: *sesshō* ruled the country in the minority of an emperor and *kampaku* reigned in parallel with a grown up emperor.

Sesshō-seiji. Administration by *sesshō* or *kampaku*, as a permanent institution.

Yūsoku. Traditional rites and ceremonies in the Court.

In-sei. Reign by a Retired Tennō in his mansion. Retired *Shirakawa-Jōkō* initiated it.

Shōen. Private estates, the right to their possession was obtained by reclamations. These estates were not controlled by Government officials nor were any taxes levied.

Honjo; Ryōke. Nobles or temples that possessed the *shōen* donated by the reclaimers. The receiver was called *honjo* when he was an Imperial Family member while if he was a noble above the rank of *sammī* (third grade rank), he was called *ryōke*.

Kirokujo. An office set up by Emperor Gosanjō, to reform local politics which had fallen into disorder. He tried to put the possession of estates in order.

Ienoko-rōtō. Retainers of powerful local lords, composed of their relatives and

followers. They were skilled in archery and horsemanship.

Masakado and Sumitomo no ran. Uprisings of these two clans as a result of the corruption of local politics. Masakado rose in arms in the Kantō District while Sumitomo infested the waters of the Inland Sea.

Cultural features of Heian Era

The T'ang Empire collapsed 10 years after Japan ceased sending scholars to study there. The Sung Empire succeeded T'ang, but as Japan had not yet entered into diplomatic relations with her, trade was carried on by the Sung merchants. Only a few priests went over to Sung for study. Nor did Japan have any diplomatic relations with Khiten, which rose in Manchuria, or with Kokuryō in the Korea. Thus, after the era of Engi, no foreign culture was positively adopted by the Japanese, resulting in a rise of new native culture which was called Heian culture. It was a culture of the élite, but it was specifically Japanese, which developed on the nourishment of the T'ang civilization. This culture permeated deep into national life.

While on the one hand, Chinese literature and Chinese characters were a fashion among the people, Japanese literature also made great strides, after *katakana* and *hiragana* were developed from the Chinese characters. These *kana*, by which one's ideas and feelings could freely be expressed, accelerated the popularity of Japanese short poems. In the era of *Jōkan*, poems by Ariwara-no-Narihira (825-880) and Ono-no-Komachi who lived around 855 and others were compiled into the *Rokkasen* (Six Master Poets). After the era of Engi, Chinese literature entirely gave place to Japanese short poems in popularity. In the fifth year of Engi, Ki-no-Tsurayuki (died in 940) and Ōshikōchi-no-Mitsune (died in 907) selected and compiled the *Kokin-Wakashū* at the order of the Emperor. This collection contains old poems written after the *Manyōshū*, as well as those written by the compilers. This served as an example for other anthologies, and from this time till the Muromachi Era,

21 anthologies were compiled one after the other. These 21 anthologies were combined into one large book named *Nijūichi-Dai-shū* (Great collection of twenty one anthologies). The poems of those days were chiefly short. Though elegant, they were not so forcible as those of the *Manyō*; for the poets made greater efforts in polishing their style and mode of expression. But after the poem contests came into fashion, they came to be used as an instrument of social intercourse and entertainment of the fashionable world. Now poetry became meaningless and formal.

Along with poetry, developed prose. Tales were written. The *Taketori-Monogatari* (writer unknown) is regarded as the oldest of such stories. There were others, such as the *Ise-Monogatari*, which dealt with the poems of Ariwara-no-Narihira, *Uta-Monogatari*, and *Yamato-Monogatari*, both, similar to the first. *Tosa-Nikki*, an account of a travel from Tosa to Kyoto by Ki-no-Tsurayuki was the oldest journal in Japan. *Utsubo-Monogatari* and *Ochikubo-Monogatari* were stories written after the era of Engi. The golden age of Japanese literature came in the reign of *Ichijō-Tennō*. Many prominent authoresses were among the courtladies to Empress Jōtōmonin. Among them, Murasaki-shikibu, who gave a vivid picture of the life in the court in her *Genji-Monogatari*, with Hikaru-Genji as its hero. *Makurano-Sōshi*, essays by Seishōnagon, is also a great masterpiece, famous for the keenness of her sense, sharp criticism, and refined taste, expressed in a graceful style. Diaries were also written, such as *Kagerō-Nikki*, *Murasaki-shikibu-Nikki*, *Izumishikibu-Nikki* and *Sarashina-Nikki*. The most remarkable point about them is the fact that ladies played a leading part in literary activities, most famous of them being Murasaki-shikibu (lived around 1003) Izumishikibu (lived around 1003) and Akazome-emon (the same). All these women left their literary works, representative of the time to posterity. One reason for this was that *kana* was chiefly used only by women. As for historical works, prior to this time, only authentic history in Chinese written after the manner

of Chinese history had existed. Now, many family histories were written, such as *Okagami*, *Imakagami* and *Mizukagami*. *Eiga-Monogatari* and *Konjaku-Monogatari* were also written in those days. The stories and journals written in the days of retired sovereign's rule did not have the brilliance and liveliness of their predecessors, but at any rate the Heian Era was the Augustan age of Japanese literature.

In the sphere of fine arts and craftsmanship, the Heian Era developed genuine Japanese works independent of T'ang influence. In architecture, the *Kondō* and the *Gojūnotō* of the *Muroōji* (temple) that remain now, were the buildings of the early part of this era. As the *kōke* (high ranking noble families qualified to serve in the court) and the *buke* (newly rising warrior families) living in the capital were prosperous and rich, they built stately mansions. In the middle of this era, the residences of these people came to be modeled after Buddhist cathedrals. Buildings of *shinden-zukuri* came to be built. The *Hōdō* of *Byōdōin* at Uji is one such example. It was first built as Fujiwara-no-Yorimichi's residence, and was later remodeled into a temple. Another example is the *Konjikidō* of *Chūson-ji* in North Japan, which shows the prosperity and opulence of a local lord. Sculpture of these days was mostly of wood, *Nyoirin-kwannonzō* of the *Kawachi-Kanshin-ji*, and the *Yakushi-Nyorai* of the *Yamashiro-Jingo-ji* being representative of the time. When Michinaga was in power, Jōchō, a master-sculptor, carved *Amida-Nyorai-zō*, now kept at the *Hōdō*, and many other Buddhist images. In pictorial art, the works of the earlier period of this era depicted fierce and gruesome scenes, influenced by the August doctrines of esoteric Buddhism such as *Tendai* and *Shingon*. Later, however, the Jōdoshū sect's mild teaching influenced Buddhist pictures. Such Buddhist painters as Kudara-no-Kawanari (782-853) and Kose-no-Kanaoka (lived around 880) with their Buddhist pictures of *Amida-Nyorai* (Buddha) belong to the earlier period. In the Insei Era and after, the Yamatoe school with human figures and landscape as sub-

jects, rose. Fujiwara-no-Takayoshi was the leading figure. Picture scrolls also came into fashion. The *Genji-Monogatari-Emaki*, *Tomo-no-Dainagon-Ekotoba*, *Chōjū-giga*, and *Shigisan-Engi-Emaki* remain to this day. The calligraphy of the Kōnin Era was of the T'ang style. Kūkai, Emperor Saga and Tachibana-no-Hayanari were called *sampitsu* (3 master calligraphers) of the time. In the Tenryaku Era, Ono-no-Dōfū (896-970) initiated ancient style of Japanese calligraphy. He, with Fujiwara-no-Sari (944-998) and Fujiwarano-Kōzei (972-1029) were called *sanseki* (three master calligraphers). Kōzei's descendants served as court calligraphers. Their hand-writings were called the Sezon-ji school.

Craftsmanship also became independent of T'ang influence. Gold and silver lacquer characteristic of Japan was developed in this era.

The two Buddhist sects, *Tendaishū* and *Shingonshū* started by Saichō and Kūkai respectively, thrived under the patronage of the Imperial Family and the nobles. *Tendaishū* developed into two sub-sects, *Enryaku-ji* and *Onjō-ji*, while *Shingonshū* split into four of *Kongōbu-ji*, *Tō-ji*, *Ninna-ji* and *Daigo-ji*. Many members of the Imperial Family and families of nobles entered the priesthood. Consequently, many temples were built in wide temple estates. As the priests led a life of seclusion, and were devoted to the study of Buddhist doctrines, temples came to be built on hill-sides. They came to have *sangō* (title of mountain) attached to their temple names. Both sects performed incantation and practised faith-cure. The people relied on the power of religion in all matters, from national disasters to individual illness. As a result, Buddhism became quite worldly, and the idea of reward in accordance with good deeds was thought to be realized by building temples and donating Buddhist images to them. Thus, worldly paradise was sought after, by means of riches and power. As the ruling class believed in the power of incantation performed by priests, the priests came to have great influence. They at last began to maintain soldiers of their own, in their *shōen* and forcibly ap-

pealed their cases to the Court or fought between temples. The feud between *Enryaku-ji* and *Kōfuku-ji* was most violent. In the meantime, the Jōdo sect gradually gained ground. Genshin, in his *Ōjō-yōshū*, advocated that one could attain paradise after death, by repeating the name of Buddha. In the era of Hogen, Genkū (Hōnen) paved the way for Buddhist belief among the common people. From this time on Buddhism became nationalized until at last the merger of Shintoism and Buddhism was advocated. They said that the source of Shintō gods were Buddha, and that Buddhism and Shintoism were identical. They came to occupy Shintō shrines and put

Buddhist images therein, as objects of worship.

Kokin-Wakashū. An anthology by poets after the *Manyōshū*, selected under the Imperial order, by Ki-no-Tsurayuki.

Uta-awase. A poem contest, in which contestants taking sides, made poems on the spot. It was a popular game among the élite.

Shinden-zukuri. Grand buildings built by nobles in the Heian Era for their residences, modeled after the Buddhist cathedral.

Sampitsu, Sanseki. Master calligraphers of the Heian Era. The former, of Chinese writing and the latter, of Japanese writing.

Growth of the Medieval Feudal Society

Hogen-no-Ran

When the weak points of the *handen* system became clear, powerful families tried to put *kaikon-den* (newly cultivated land) under their private control. These private *kaikon-den* were beyond the reach of national law and came to have the appearance of self-governing dominions. In order to escape from the bad administration of the local authorities, many farmers cultivating the *handen* left their homes and wandered into other estates. They sought refuge in the *shōen* which was not under control of government officials.

Drawing to the end of the Heian Era the *shōen* was enlarged rapidly. Temples and shrines with large holdings and many farmers gathered under the nobles. The feudal lords who lived in the capital had to entrust the management of their *shōen* and collection of land-tax to the leaders among the farmers. Thus, influential local families or local officers of lower rank were asked to carry out such business. While these managers of *shōen* in various localities were accumulating power during the 10th and 11th centuries, court nobles in the capital were leading a gay life.

As the local influential families gradually gained power and came to possess firmer

control over the land, they did not always obey the orders of the lords living in the capital. As a result their ownership of the *shōen* became nominal and their position tended to become unstable. The fact that the culture of the Fujiwara Era gives an impression of too delicate and sensuous a quality in its literature, arts and way of life can be explained as the reflection of the rootless and unsteady life of those days.

Such tendency resulted in the decline of political authority that had hitherto been exercised by *sesahō* and *kampaku* under the Fujiwara clan.

Thus from the era of *Gosanjō-Tennō* a new type of government called *insei* was devised to take the place of the waning aristocracy. On the other hand local influential families were building up military power for self-defence and to further their political ambitions. Such military force was called *bushi* (warriors) and it was they who disturbed the peaceful atmosphere of Kyoto. In the eastern district there were many rebellions against the authorities, among which revolts in Ōu District called *Zenkunen-no-Eki* and *Gosannen-no-Eki* were the largest in scale. Not only local *bushi* but also *sōhei* or monk-soldiers of large temples near the capital and pirates along the coasts of the Inland Sea became rampant. It was *bushi* and not the legiti-

mate national army nor police that had enough power to suppress these uprisings.

Seen from the social viewpoint, such military riots throughout the country were results of the confusion in the *shōen* system. In some cases influential local families who began to possess actual control over the feudal estates resisted control by the central Government and there were also quarrels among the families themselves. While the *In*, office of an abdicated emperor, and the families of *sesshō* and *kampaku* were having trouble in the capital, the powerful families in local districts organized their own military groups. Some of them even became military commanders and established feudalistic relations with their vassals in the absence of the declining aristocrats.

Some of the groups were organized under nobles who were sent to local districts by the Fujiwara family or the *In*. *Heishi* or the Taira family, descendants of *Kammu-Tennō*, and *Genji* or the Minamoto family, descendants of *Seiwa-Tennō*, were this type of leaders of the *bushi*. Members of both the *Genji* and the *Heishi* served as warriors in the capital for they had connections with the upper class and at the same time tried to acquire close connection with the local families by establishing the relation of lord and vassals. Above all, they performed meritorious deeds in defense of the capital or in the repression of local riots and their official position was raised, their influence became stronger, and their relations with the powerful local families became closer.

In fact, the function of the police was discharged mainly by the *Kebiishi*, prosecutor's office, which was not the police agency under the law as such organizations as *Emonfu* and *Danjodai* that had been set up by law became powerless. *Kebiishi* acted practically; it could perform important jobs for the time being. Gradually, however, like other administrative offices, the appointment and dismissal of its officers came to be controlled by influential persons, and as a result its business became formal and loose. Moreover, officers in the capital, influenced by the teachings of Buddha, came to believe that benevolence and tolerance

were the best virtue and that acquisition of eternal happiness in their future life would be hindered by condemning others. Such thoughts made them feel many contradictions in the exercise of their judicial functions. Thus decrees of amnesty were often issued, for instance, when there were calamities, disease, illness of *Tennō* or *Jōkō* (abdicated emperor), coronation, change of the name of an era, sickness of ministers, completion of temples or various festivals of Buddhism or even at the winter solstice. Mitigation of punishment was praised as a good deed and capital punishment was abolished from the 1st year of *Kōnin* (810 A. D.). From the 1st year of *Chōho* (999 A. D.), Buddhist ceremonies were held at the *Kebiishi*. In some cases the judges tried even to commute the penalty of a thief by deliberately reducing the quantity of the stolen goods.

Yet no major confusion occurred as long as balance was maintained between fear of sin and religious mercy in the mind of the authorities. But after the *Zenkunen* and *Gosannen-no-Eki* the robbers, offenders and burglars became increasingly rampant throughout the country. Such famous rogues as *Kitō-Maru*, *Hakamadare-no-Yasusuke* and *Ibaragi Dōji* were textured in stories of those days.

Above all, shrines and temples which, like the powerful local families, came to possess self-defence forces came to threaten the Imperial Court by bringing out the tabernacle or sacred wood in an attempt to carry their point. In addition to incendiarism, burglary and murder, these group complaints by shrines and temples made the *Emonfu*, *Danjodai* and *Kebiishi* entirely powerless, so that the people had to rely upon the powerful police force organized by the local *bushi*. These *bushi* were now employed by the nobles and the *In*. Thus the local *bushi*, too, entered the limelight.

Accordingly, the general circumstances of the time made it necessary for the nobles and the *In* to appoint *bushi* to higher and more important positions. The *bushi* themselves, having a footing in the local districts, tried to obtain higher ranking in the capital in exchange for their military ser-

vices to the central Government. There had been various troubles within the families of *Sekkan-ke* or competition among the courtiers trying to spread their influence with the *Tennō* and the *In*. No longer was there a way to settle such political confusion except by military action. The result was the *Hogen-no-Ran* (1156 A.D.) or the incident in the year of Hogen. By this battle the private armed forces of local parties became so influential as to settle the political discord of the upper class in the capital. So far the *bushi* had worked only as the tools of the nobles but now they appeared on the political stage and began to play an important part. Minamoto-no-Yoshitomo, a leader of the *Seiwa-Genji*, mobilized the *bushi* or *Tōgoku* (Eastern area) while Taira-no-Kiyomori, head of the *Kammu Heishi* recruited military forces around the coast of the Inland Sea. Helped by both parties *Goshirakawa-Tennō* gained a glorious victory in the battle and representatives of both the *Genji* and the *Heishi* entered the capital. Whether the *Genji* or the *Heishi* would acquire political power first was to be decided by their ability, their background and by the influence of the members of the Imperial Family or the nobles who were supporting either one of the two. Three years later, the battle of *Heiji* (*Heiji-no-Ran*) took place and trouble between the two military factions was settled. *Heishi* was the victor and their leader Kiyomori launched himself into the political world. The age of so-called military ascendancy was thus opened by the *Heishi*.

What should be noticed here especially is the fact that the rulers of feudal society did not emerge from invaders from foreign countries nor from an entirely new caste but from groups having certain connections with the ruling class of the past. This is one of the characteristics of Japanese history.

Insei. *Shirakawa-Tennō*, after his abdication, conducted the affairs of the state for more than 40 years while *Horikawa*, *Toba* and *Sutoku-Tennō* were successively on the throne. This type of administrative system is called *Insei* or politics by the *In* (office of the ex-*tennō*) and it replaced the

administration by the *Tennō* as the orders and decrees of the ex-*tennō* were more respected than those issued by the *Tennō* now on the throne. Such a tendency lasted, with occasional exceptions, until the demise of *Kōkaku-Tennō* in the 1st year of *Tempō* (1840).

Sōhei (Monk-soldiers). Temples, which came to own large *shōen* through commendations of the Imperial Family and the nobles who believed in Buddhism, organized the *sōhei* for their self defense. These monk-soldiers were recruited from among farmers who flocked to the temples in order to escape heavy taxation. Although they wore Buddhist robes, they clad themselves in armor and led a life like *bushi*. People of that age grieved over the corruption of Buddhism. Later, in the Age of Civil Wars, (*Sengoku Jidai*) in the 15th and 16th centuries, the *sōhei* fought on the battlefield together with the *bushi*, but their power gradually declined. *Zenkunen-no-Eki* and *Gosannen-no-Eki*. (First Nine Years' War and Second Three Years' War)

Zenkunen-no-Eki was a rebellion of *Abe-shi*, the rich and powerful family in Ōu District, against the *Genji*. However, *Abe* who ruled a vast territory spreading from present Fukushima Prefecture to Aomori Prefecture was too powerful for *Genji* alone to subdue. So they had to ask the help of *Kiyohara-shi*, influential family of Dewa District. After this battle (1051-1062), *Kiyohara* grew powerful throughout the Ōu District. From 1083, however, a discord occurred within the family and Minamoto-no-Yoshie, governor of Mutsu District, helped *Kiyohara-no-Kiyohira* to defeat *Kiyohara-no-Muneie* (1087). Thereafter the descendants of *Kiyohira* took possession this territory in the name of the Fujiwara family and built a capital at *Hiraizumi*. For 100 years till they were conquered by Minamoto-no-Yoritomo in 1194, *Hiraizumi* flourished as the center of a large domain and was known as little Kyoto. In the grounds of *Chūsonji* built by *Kiyohira*, there still remains the splendid *Konjiki-dō*, in which three remains of the Fujiwara family are kept.

Revival of capital punishment. In the 1st year of Kōnin (810 A.D.), under the reign of *Saga-Tennō*, there was a rebellion of Fujiwara-no-Nakanari and Kusuko, and Nakanari and the others were executed. Thereafter for nearly 350 years no death warrant was issued, at least openly. In *Hōsō-shiō-chō*, a book on crime and punishment written toward the end of the Heian Era, it is stated that although rebellion, high treason and eight other major crimes were punishable by hanging and decapitation, in those days it was so arranged that the penalty might be commuted by one degree and the criminals were not hanged but were exiled. Capital punishment was revived only after the Battle of Hogen when many *bushi* were decapitated as traitors. It is said that in this case, too, several nobles asked for abolition of the death penalty but Fujiwara Shinzei (died in 1159) ignored their opinion and enforced capital punishment. This, together with the administration of police show the change in the trend of the age. Even after the enactment of laws and regulations, the character and system of the central Government were primitive and their application was limited to a narrow scope. Although the Government had been founded as *Rechtsstaat*, thenceforth the age that required a strong military and judicial policy came into existence. It is as it were the birth of a police state.

Kyō (capital) and Kamakura

A number of the *bushi* had been given a chance by the Battle of Hogen to participate in central political affairs, and by the Battle of Heiji they demonstrated their aptitude as political administrators. Although *Minamoto-no-Yoshitomo* was prominent as a warrior, he was no match for *Taira-no-Kiyomori* in political strategy. As a result, the Genji family was annihilated except for his 14 year-old son *Yoritomo* who had been banished to Izu (near Mishima City, Shizuoka Prefecture).

The victor, the Heishi family, representing the interests of the local *bushi* of Western Japan, established *Rokuhara* under

the leadership of *Taira-no-Kiyomori*. The political advancement of the Heishi was so rapid as to surprise the people of that age and its holdings were so vast as to cover more than half of the entire 60 counties in Japan.

An important economic policy of *Kiyomori* was foreign trade. The Heishi, which had a footing in the western part of Japan around the coast of the Inland Sea, had to depend upon maritime transportation for their fortune. Consequently they secured *Dazaifu*, a political centre in *Kyūshū*, resumed the Inland Sea line, constructed a harbour in *Hyōgo* (present Kobe) and built *Kyō-no-Shima* Island. With *Fukuhara* (resort of the Heishi) as its centre, the trade with China and Korea flourished. *Itsukushima Shrine* which was worshipped by the Heishi is thought to be the guardian diety of the Inland Sea line and roles of Buddhist scripture dedicated by the Heishi to the shrine show us the splendor of the time.

In the beginning, Heishi showed possibilities of becoming leaders of new age as they were doing well in maintaining peace in the capital, helped by their comparatively good geographical situation. Although they had sprung out of the *bushi* class, they followed the policies of the Fujiwara nobles. In those days, temples and shrines, and *Sekkanke* had been standing in tripartite relation for long years. Heishi, newly coming into such a triangle, could not held being the cause of friction. Thus Heishi being too eager to gain success, made errors of violating the Buddhist faith and respect for the Imperial Family that had penetrated deeply into the minds of the people. They made trouble with large temples, such as *Tōdai-ji* of Nara and *Enjō-ji* on Mt. Hiei, and also oppressed *Goshirakawa-Hōō* who was respected as the great ruler of the country. Heishi was branded "the enemy of Buddhism and royal justice" and powerful families of eastern Japan who had not been satisfied with the policies of *Rokuhara* now saw reason to rise against Heishi. The campaign ended in victory for the *Hōjō* Family of Izu. It was because they had blood relationship with *Minamoto-no-Yori-*

tomo, the most powerful leader of Genji and also because they were wise enough to stay in their own home-ground and did not go out into the capital to seek reckless adventure.

After the series of battles between Genji and Heishi, the *bushi* of the eastern district succeeded in gaining military hegemony. Genji showed superiority of their armed forces in the successive battles of Ichinotani, Yashima and Dannoura all of which have become themes for many romantic tales in Japanese literature. Thus, Genji, favoured by its geographical background, established in Kamakura its own military government called *Bakufu*.

It was the beginning of the military age in Japan. Being a small island country, Japan can be easily unified politically. At the same time numerous mountains and crooked coastline divide the country into various independent districts. In short it possesses two contradictory elements, unity and diversity, at the same time. Therefore, if someone wants to unite the whole country, it is absolutely necessary to establish a base of operation in the centre of Japan. Geographically "the centre" is near the Fuji volcanic group but historically it is found either in the Kinki District or in Nōbi Plain for the reason that the Tōhoku District has been regarded less important than other parts of Japan. From olden days those who unified the country and carried out the centralization of administrative power set up their headquarters in "the centre" of Japan and extended their sway throughout the whole country. However, in the feudal age when the country was divided into a number of district, another characteristic of Japan, namely geographical complexity, was emphasized. It is natural that those who secure the most favourable districts at the same time can gain strong ruling power. It is also clear that the Kantō Plain is provided with best conditions for it includes a vast territory which is abundant in agricultural products and is known as a breeding centre of horses which in those days was necessary for *bushi* society. Besides, being distant from Kyoto, the people of Kantō had little possibility of learning luxurious ways

of living. Above all, the inhabitants, having been mobilized from old days for battles against *Ezo*, were generally brave.

The success of Yoritomo and Hōjō was due to the fact that they, having a footing in the eastern district, established their quarter at Kamakura and gained control of the powerful families of that district. Thereafter Kantō District became the centre of feudal society.

Spiritual factors should also be taken into consideration. The unity of *bushi* society with its centre at Kamakura was not based on a legal system or a contract but on bonds of affection between the lord and his vassals. As a matter of course agricultural products from the *shōen* were the source of living for the *bushi*. Under the protection of the *Bakufu* they led a self-sufficient life as a general rule. In compensation for the economic protection assured by the *Bakufu*, they were asked to obey the orders of the *shōgun* and other persons of senior rank unconditionally. Gradually such a relationship fostered in the mind of the people the spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to their masters. Thus chivalry which has been long praised as *Bushi-dō* by people of the later generation was established. Practice of chivalry was backed by *Na* or *Myo*. *Na* is the name of a family and of the native land where the *bushi* lived. *Bushi-dō*, different from the forced morals of later days, was put into practice as an inside desire based on their life for they had to choose by themselves whether to make their family name and native land famous or to spoil their reputation.

It is a special character of early feudal society that the maintenance of *bushi* society depended solely upon the practice of chivalry. From another view-point this phenomenon can be explained as the re-appearance of collective life before laws and regulations were introduced into this country.

The next remarkable characteristic is the fact that most of the *shōen* were still in the hands of the nobles, temples and shrines and that these places were still controlled as of old by the laws issued by the Imperial Court in Kyoto. Even the *Bakufu* did not

dare to interfere with these lands, and limited the object of its administrative power only to the control of the people on the *shōen*. There existed so to speak, a dual control by the nobles and the *bushi* throughout the Kamakura Era. It is one of the characteristics of this era that this dual tendency was found in thought, religion, literature, art and ways of living.

It is natural, however, that the *Bakufu*, having control over a substantial force of *bushi*, invaded the range of the *Kuge* (court nobles) by degrees. This tendency was specially spurred by the establishment of the system of *Shugo* and *Jitō*, the chief object of which was to search for Yoshitsune, younger brother of Minamoto-no-Yoritomo.

Shugo and *jitō* were offices set up in November in the 1st year of Bunji (1185) on the advice of Oe-no-Hiromoto. The former was a local police official, stationed in each district of the country. This post was given to persons as reward for services rendered by them and in most cases it also included the function of *jitō*. Literally, *jitō* meant a powerful person who managed the *shōen* and collected its land-tax, but thereafter they were appointed by the *Bakufu*. Being in charge of tax business, they enjoyed economic privileges. The *Bakufu* controlled *jitō* by enforcing *Gosei-bai-shikimoku* and other regulations. Yet the *Bakufu* was unable to control the *bushi* who were growing powerful and took advantage of the post of *jitō* in challenging the feudal lords and in organizing farmers under their leadership. Under such circumstances it was natural that when resolute persons occupied important posts in the Imperial Court, they would try to restore Imperial rule by counter-attacking the *Bakufu*. Thus, beginning with the Revolt of Shōkyū, many disputes occurred one after another. It is one of the characteristics of Japanese history that such battles were not only mere clashes of two opposing groups but also served as opportunities by which the people recalled and emphasized the ancient ideas of the Imperial state.

At the time of the Revolt of Shōkyū, a majority of the *bushi*, being unable to write

nor read, could scarcely understand the theory of loyalty or treason. But toward the end of the Kamakura Era when the battles of Shōchū (1324) and Genkō (1331) took place, the *bushi* of the Kinki and western districts fought for the sake of loyalty, for they had been influenced by the national mobilization against the Mongolian invaders and enlightened by the Chuhsi School of Confucianism.

The attitude which the *Bakufu* had taken on the occasion of the battles of Bunei and Kōan (1274-1281) against the Mongolians has been praised by later generations. Deserving special notice are the courage of Hōjō Tokimune (1251-1284) who, at an early age, took the post of regency in a difficult time and the ability of Hōjō Masamura (1205-1273) who mediated to bring cooperation between the Court at Kyoto and the *Bakufu* at Kamakura. The *Bakufu* mobilized a well trained military force which still had the characteristics of private soldiers. In order to defeat the unexpectedly strong Mongolians, the *Bakufu* had to call for the help of *bushi* in the western district who had no feudal relations with the *Bakufu*. Although the invaders were expelled, the *Bakufu* could not gain enough out of the war to make contributions to the temples and shrines which had prayed for Japanese victory and to reward to those *bushi* of the western district who had fought bravely in the war. Having been insufficiently rewarded, there were many people who were discontented with the *Bakufu*. The result of the war was that the *bushi* became poor and the *Bakufu* itself had to face financial difficulties.

Another result of the war was that it fostered in the mind of the Japanese people a racial spirit or consciousness of *Shinkoku*, or divine country. They thought that they won the war because the national deities had supported the Japanese forces by making *Kamikaze* or the divine wind wreck the Mongolian ships. Such consciousness permeated not only into the intelligentsia but also into the *bushi* who had been compelled to obey the idea of loyalty that was limited within narrow feudal relations. As a result they began to

realize the existence of the state, a wider world than that which they had known before under their feudal lord.

Stability of bushi society in Kamakura Era was maintained by a system in which many *bushi* who were small landowners were united as *gokenin* of the Hōjō Family. With the development of the Jito system, powerful *bushi* became large landlords by means of breaking into the territories of the *kuge* and by subjugating a number of minor *bushi*. Moreover this tendency was accelerated by the fact that most of the *bushi* were impoverished after the Mongolian invasion. It is natural that large and powerful landlords tried to get out of the control of Hōjō.

The various conditions mentioned above accumulated until those who sided with the Imperial Court against the *Bakufu* succeeded in achieving the restoration of the Tennō rule in the Kemmu Era. It is called *Kemmu-no-Chūkō*. It was, so to speak, political activity accompanied by ideological activity. Thus the *Bakufu* collapsed and Imperial rule was restored, although temporarily. (1333).

Minamoto-no-Yoshitsune. Son of Minamoto-no-Yoritomo and younger brother of Yoritomo who founded the *Kamakura Bakufu*. He was called *Ushiwaka-maru* in his childhood. As he was only two years old, he was not killed when Genji was defeated in the *Heiji-no-Ran*. When he grew up he fought many victorious wars for his brother Yoritomo. He was called a strategist. Although it was by Yoshitsune's service that Genji succeeded in destroying Heishi in the battle of Yashima and Dannoura, he, being on bad terms with his brother, died in distress at the castle of Koromogawa in Ōu District. His life has become the theme for many novels and dramas, for he won the sympathy of the people.

Minamoto-no-Sanetomo. Sanetomo, second son of Minamoto-no-Yoritomo, was a wise man but as the political and administrative power of the *Bakufu* was in the hands of *Hōjō-shi*, he could not achieve his political ambition and instead spend his life quietly indulging in poetic pursuits. *Kinkai-shū*, anthology of his poems in *Manyō*

style, is still valued highly. He was killed at Tsurugaoka-Hachimangū Shrine at Kamakura on the day when he was to be raised to the rank of *Udaijin*.

Goseibai Shikimoku. Also called *Jōei Shikimoku* for it was enacted in the 1st year of Jōei (1232 A.D.), is the law of the *bushi* made under the leadership of Hōjō Yasutoki, and possesses a fairly reasonable view-point on trials and lawsuits. Since it is not an imported law like the ones in the Nara Period, it offers material useful for knowing the situation and spirit of the bushi society of the time.

Culture and life of the bushi

As the *bushi* always had to be ready for fighting, it was their leader and his group who became the kernel of their unity. The leaders and their families strengthened this unity among themselves by establishing relations through marriage or adoption of heirs. A family was strongly united under a head and the family property, as a rule, was divided among the children when their father died. Therefore even women were allotted shares. Even after a woman was married, she could dispose her land freely without the consent of her husband. After the death of the husband she could inherit his land and also was permitted to exercise parental authority. In a way, it seems strange that the rights of women were acknowledged in bushi society which was based on military dictatorship, but viewed from the standpoint that bushi society was a re-appearance of rural living conditions of olden days, it can be understood as a matter of fact. However, a new form of marriage life by which husband and wife lived together was gradually taking the place of an old form called *tsuma doi* in which husband and wife led separate lives.

Although many of the leading *gokenin* stayed at Kamakura, others lived in their native place where they became leaders of local power. They built and lived in a house called *buke-zukuri* or bushi style architecture which possessed both practical and defensive characteristics.

Sons of *bushi* learned archery and horse-riding at the ages of five or six and when they reached the age of ten, each of them became an independent *bushi* following a ceremony of "*gempuku*." Games of the *bushi* were limited to those of such martial nature as *inu-oumono*, *yabusame*, *kasakake*, *sumo* or hunting.

Their life was far more simple than that of the nobles. They wore only plain *hitatare* or *suikan* and *hakama* with *eboshi* on their heads, and they were used to living on poor food. By saving on clothing and food, they pursued cultivation of the military arts and fostered courage. They were respected by their followers and servants as reliable masters. Under such atmosphere the spirit of attaching great importance to the proprieties and honour and of placing little value on their own lives was cultivated. Loyalty and filial piety were esteemed as the highest moral.

In course of time, however, the military leaders felt the necessity of acquiring more refinement and culture, and the civilization of Kyoto was gradually adopted at Kamakura. During the age of the *bushi* neither great scholastic works nor literary masterpieces were produced, yet it was in those days that learning began to be diffused among common people who had not been favoured with civilization before. It was the *bushi*'s craving for learning that prompted Hōjō Sanetoki, (1224-1276), nephew of Yasutoki, to establish a library at Kanazawa in the Musashi District (present Kanagawa Prefecture).

In the field of literature, poems of *Manyō* style were composed by Sanetomo, the third *Shōgun* of the *Bakufu*, and *Kinkai-shū*, an anthology of these poems, has been handed down to this day. It is a matter of course that the *kuge* (nobles) had produced more literary works than the *buke* (military clan). *Shinkokin Wakashū* was compiled by Fujiwara-no-Sadaie (1162-1241) and Fujiwara-no-Ietake (1158-1237). The main feature of this anthology is religious sentiment. Thereafter, however, poetry did not develop.

Books of fables such as *Kojidan*, *Kokon-chōmon-shū* and *Jukkin-shō* were

written, but they were mostly concerned with the *kuge* society of the previous era. *Hōjō-ki* was a book of essays based on the philosophy that human life is uncertain. Such thought was formed in the mind of the author who had experienced and observed the vicissitudes of life in the fighting age. Because of this characteristic the book is called the first work of philosophy on "history". *Gukanshō* was a book written by Jien, head priest of Tendai sect of Buddhism, in which he, perceiving the arrival of the age of *bushi*, surveyed the changeable social conditions and explained his ideas that the world was degenerate and mutable.

Representative literary works which show the spirit of the age were such war stories as *Hogen-Monogatari*, *Heiji-Monogatari* and *Gempei-seisui-ki*. These stories dwelt on the rise and fall of *bushi* society, the underlying thought being the view that the world is transient.

Such a view was common to all classes of people during the time from the end of Heian Era to Kamakura Era, and it was based on the idea of "arrival of *Mappō*" (end of law) which was believed by the Buddhists in those days. It was the idea that after the death of Sakyamuni a period of *Shōhō* and *Zōbō* would come, then the period of *Mappō* in which Buddhism would decline, all kinds of evil would spread and men would do nothing but fight. Although there were various opinions about the number of years, it had been believed at that time that the world would enter the age of *Mappō* from about *Zenkunen-no-Eki*, namely the middle of the 11th century. Perhaps, the degeneration of the Buddhists, the rampancy of the monk-soldiers and oppression by the local *bushi* made the people take up such an idea. Due to the prevalence of this idea of *Mappō*, a new type of Buddhism came into existence. In the latter part of the 12th century, *Hōnen Shōnin*, a *Jōdo-shū* priest, preached that any person regardless of his rank or profession could die an easy and peaceful death by only repeating the name of Buddha and this doctrine spread rapidly into both the upper and lower classes. After the death of

Hōnen in 1212, it was criticized bitterly by the Tendai sect as heresy, but his disciple Shinran (1173-1262) completed the doctrine that since the mercy of Buddha (amītabha) was so infinite the wicked would be saved all the more and that if the people believed and chanted the name of Buddha, all the wicked deeds in their past life would be forgiven and they would be able to die in peace. This was called *Jōdo-shin-shū* (Neo Jōdo sect) or *Ikkō-shū*. Its doctrine that people could be saved and die peacefully, not by themselves but by the mercy of Buddha, appealed to those who were groping for salvation.

There is a sprout of humanistic modern thought in the doctrine that the *bushi*, nobles, farmers, merchants, fishermen and all the others were recognized as equals before Buddha.

Moreover other religious sects, such as, *Jishū* (Ji sect) by Ippen, *Hokke-shū* (Hokke sect) by Nichiren were founded at that time. Thenceforth, Buddhism saturated deeply into the spiritual life of the Japanese.

It was also in the Kamakura Era that the Zen doctrine, imported from China, was diffused into bushi society. The Zen sect taught that a man was able to return to the original spirit of Sakyamuni and attain enlightenment by sitting in meditation. Such disciplinary spiritualism was welcomed and protected by the upper class of *bushi*, and has strongly influenced the mind of the Japanese. This idea of Zen, to solve the problems of life and death by concentration of the mind still survives to the present day and occupies a great part in Oriental philosophy.

Such new trends in Buddhism were also reflected in the construction of temples. In reconstructing the Tōdai-ji Temple which was burnt down during the battle between Genji and Heishi, the Tenjiku (India) style suitable for large buildings was used and for the temples of Zen sect, such as the *Enkaku-ji* at Kamakura, the simple *Kara-yō* (Kara or Chinese style) was adopted. Both of these styles were brought over from Sung China.

As to sculpture, sturdy and vividly realistic methods came to be used such as are to be seen in the statues of *Kongō-rikishi*, jointly produced by Unkei and Kaikei, at the South Gate of Tōdai-ji. It seems that such realistic art displayed the spirit of the time more clearly than literature or religion. There also appeared war stories, picture-scrolls which depicted the history of the temples and shrines or the lives of high priests and portraits. Here, a new trend of trying to clear away the idea of *Mappō* can be found.

Buke-zukuri (bushi style house). It was developed from the house style of rich local farmers of olden times. The house, surrounded by a mud wall or moat, had a tower and many huts and tenement houses within the compound and the roofs were thatched with board or grass. The main house in the centre was large and had a number of rooms with little decoration. This style reflected the practical life of the *bushi*.

Genkū (Hōnen Shōnin). Founder of Jōdo sect. He had studied the Tendai and then the Hossō and Shingon doctrines but afterwards he gave up the teachings of the past and preached that if people called the name of Buddha they would be able to attain paradise by the infinite power of Buddha after their death. Once he was accused by the priests of *Kōfuku-ji* and banished to Sanuki, but his doctrine gradually came to be accepted by both the upper and lower classes.

Shinran Shōnin. Founder of Jōdo-shinshū sect. At first he followed the doctrines of Tendai and Hossō, but was converted to *Jōdo-shū* under Hōnen. When Genkū was exiled, he was also banished to Echigo but after his release he tried to evangelize the Northern and Eastern districts. His teachings, simpler than that of Hōnen's, did not require penance and permitted meat-eating and marriage. Yet he himself, having no friend or home and being contented with poverty, spent his life in preaching.

Nichiren. Founder of *Nichiren-shū* sect. Nichiren was not satisfied with the doctrines of the various sects which he

had mastered. Chanting the prayer *Nam Myōhōrengekyō*, he preached at Awa in 1253 the principle that the Hokke scripture was the only and supreme authority of faith. As he criticized the other sects severely, he was suppressed many times but, without yielding, he continued to preach, mainly on the street. He died at Ikegami (in Tokyo) in 1282.

Eisai. Founder of Rinzai-zen sect in Japan. He established *Jufuku-ji* at Kamakura and built *Kennin-ji* in Kyoto. The five temples in Kyoto and Kamakura are revered as the center of the Zen sect up to the present day.

Dōgen. Founder of Sōtō-zen sect in Japan. He studied the Zen doctrines under Eisai, then went to Sung China where he came under influence of the Sōtō sect and after his return constructed *Eiheiji* in Echizen. He espoused religious austerity by which a man should devote himself to discipline in the solitude of a deep mountain or forest, instead of associating himself with the *Bakufu* or the nobles.

Kanazawa Bunko (Kanazawa Library). Hojo Sanetoki and his grandson Akitoki loved learning and established a library at Kanazawa near Yokosuka to store their collection of Japanese and Chinese books. This valuable collection of books is still in existence.

Yabusame. A game played by the *bushi* in the Kamakura Era. Later it became the part of a shrine ceremony. It is a game in which a player tries to hit the mark with an arrow from horse-back.

Ōnin-no-Ran (Revolt of Ōnin)

The Imperial rule was restored by *Kemmu-no-Chūkō* (Restoration in the year of Kemmu) but it lasted for less than three years. This period was specially characteristic in the political history of Japan because of the fact that neither the *Insei*, *Bakufu* nor *kampaku* was in existence during these three years. In a word, *Kemmu-no-Chūkō* was the realization of a dream of loyalists who sought to restore Imperial authority that had been exercised at the time of the *Taika-no-Kaishin*. Activities of the patri-

ots of the Yoshino Dynasty who sacrificed themselves for this aim were highly appreciated by later generations.

Actually, however, the back-to-the-ancient-day policy of the central government ignored reality and could not meet the earnest needs of the *bushi* of that time. The majority of the *bushi*, driven by impending necessity, either took the side of the Yoshino Dynasty or that of Kyoto. Thus, the period of confusion in the Yoshino Era lasted for more than 50 years.

The powerful *bushi* who won in the struggle for existence during this period, gained several posts of *shugo* and *jitō* and turned their ruling land into estates. They later became *daimyō* on these lands. In a word the *bushi* who had freed themselves from the control of the *Bakufu* and scattered throughout the country, were again brought together under powerful authorities.

Ordinary *bushi* deserted their land and gathered in castle towns of the *daimyō*. Thus they became consumers and lived on the allowances given by the *daimyō*. In short, such feudal groups of vassals gathered under the *daimyō*, were to exercise real authority over the common people. *Ashikaga Family* was one of the largest groups of this kind.

To express the general circumstances of the Muromachi Age, the word *gekokujo* has often been used. It means that the established social order was ignored and those who had power dominated the territories. These *Gekokujo* struggles, disputes over inheritance or quarrels over the boundary line of territories were connected by chance with disputes over the inheritance of the *Shōgun's* family and became the main reason for the Wars of Ōnin and Bummei (1467-1477). So to speak, these were the last big wars in the course of the transition from the *shōen* system to establishment of the *daimyō* realms. Although the battles in Kyoto came to an end, destroying most part of the Capital by fire by the ninth year of Bummei, the struggle continued on the estates of local *daimyō* until the entire nation was involved in the civil war called *Sengoku Jidai* or the Age of

Warring Country. During these long battles the *daimyō* tried to expand their holdings by amalgamating the smaller ones.

As the *daimyō* had to depend mostly on agricultural revenue for their fortune, they forced the common *bushi* to leave the land and gathered them in castle-towns and maintained direct control over the land deserted by the *bushi*. They gave the *bushi* ranks or posts and paid them a certain allowance. In order to increase the number of vassals and to improve their quality the *daimyō* tried to expand their territories, sought increase in agricultural production and imposed heavy taxes on the farmers. Upon such an economic foundation the *daimyō* of the Edo Period were formed.

Kusunoki Masashige (1294-1336). *Go-daigo-Tennō* (throne 1318 to 1339) ordered Masashige in the 1st year of Genkō to work for restoration of Imperial rule which had been usurped by the *Kamakura Bakufu*. Masashige did his best to accomplish his task and fought the forces of Rokuhara and Kamakura. Later he constructed Chihaya Castle where he harassed the soldiers of the *Bakufu*. Following his example a number of *bushi* decided to fight for the *Tennō* and finally *Kemmu-no-Chūkō* was realized. Later when *Ashikaga-shi* rebelled against the new Imperial government, Masashige took the side of the *Tennō* but was killed in the battle of Minatogawa. His son Masatsura, taking up the loyal cause protected the Yoshino Dynasty. At Minatogawa Shrine in Kobe, Masashige is deified.

Kinkaku (Golden Pavilion). Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, after resigning from the post of *Shogun* of the *Muromachi Bakufu*, built a villa at Kitayama in Kyoto which consisted of *Kinkakuji* and other buildings surrounded by a pond. *Kinkakuji* burned down in 1951 but has been restored.

Rennyō. A great priest who re-established the *Ikkōshū* sect. By simple words and sermons he increased the number of believers and organized a religious group to obtain the spirit of co-operation and solidarity. The spot where the present Osaka Castle stands was once his retreat.

Sesshū. He learned painting from Josetsu and Shubun and went to Ming

China where he drew famous sceneries of hills and streams for three years. After his return to Japan he produced black and white landscapes of a unique style which are called *suiboku-ga*, or Water-ink Painting.

Renga. It is a compound poem each stanza of which is *waka* of 31 syllables and the beginning word and ending word of the first stanza are used in the following stanzas. Each stanza is composed by a different person and thus the *renga* is a game of composition. Its style and method were established by Nijo Yoshimoto about the time of Ōnin, and completed by Sōgi.

Noh. It is a form of play handed down from ancient times that began to flourish about the time of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. Having its origin in *dengaku* and *sarugaku* it was completed by such masters as Kanami and Ze-ami.

Cha-no-yu (Tea ceremony). Tea was imported to Japan about the beginning of the Heian Era and used for medical purposes. Its use became widespread from about the Muromachi Age as a ceremony of taste and people enjoyed its profound atmosphere. Shukō, Shinnō, Shōō and Rikyū are known as masters of the tea cult.

Ikebana (Art of flower arrangements). From about the Muromachi Era, it became the fashion to put flowers on the *Tokonoma* (alcove) and other places in a house. Arranging the branches to match the shapes and colors of the flowers, people enjoyed its beauty of simplicity. Ikenobō, founder of *Rokkakudō* in Kyoto, was called a master and his successors have become heads of a school of flower arrangement for generations. There are several major schools of this art in present-day Japan.

Development of economic life

The Middle Age in Japan, similar to that of Europe, was a bloody war-like period. But a new element was in the state of formation, which brought a turning point into the lives of the people. It was the development of economic life and its first symptom was the strengthening of the position of handicraft. Up to the previous age,

the farmers who occupied a majority of the Japanese population had engaged, during their leisure, in simple handicraft to make bowls for eating and drinking, farming tools and clothing material. During the middle ages, however, with the progress of technique talented craftsmen had been given an independent social standing. At first, they were employed by the feudal lords, temples, shrines and the *Bakufu*, but gradually they began to serve the general public based on a wage system. In the latter part of the Middle Age they manufactured, not to meet private orders, but to put their products on the market.

Accordingly, the makers and consumers lost direct contact, and thus the phenomenon of differentiation in commerce and industry was accelerated.

It is noticed that when the number of such talented craftsmen increased at the end of the Kamakura Era, they organized a *za* or a kind of guild. Being guaranteed by temples, shrines and *daimyō* of their monopoly in supplying manufactured goods, though they had to pay a certain amount of money in exchange for such a guarantee, more than 60 kinds of *za* were formed in connection with *Kōfuku-ji* alone during the Muromachi Era. Moreover, some wine merchants, storehouses and Shintō priests organized a kind of *za* though they did not use such a name.

The fact that the consciousness of the people engaging in commerce and industry was so improved as to form such a system, stimulated development of both the merchants and the industrialists.

As for commerce, at first, government-sponsored markets were set up in cities of political importance and also in front of temples and shrines. In the course of time these markets came to be opened on fixed dates at fixed places. In the Middle Ages, three-day markets were common but later six-day markets were often opened and moreover daily markets came into existence.

With the progress of the markets, the kinds and quantity of merchandise handled by the markets increased. Communication was established among merchants of various sorts and the range of business was enlarg-

ed. Therefore, it is natural that the limited economy of *shōen* lost out and the wider territory of the *daimyō* became the economic range. Money economy developed, commission agents and *toimaru* (whole sale dealer) came into existence, the system of monetary circulation such as storehouse, exchange, money order and others developed rapidly and thus the basic form of modern commerce was established. As a matter of course, commerce developed hand-in-hand with transportation and a number of new cities were born.

The financial ability of the big merchants in these cities began to exert great influence over the political power of the *daimyō*, and consequently from the end of the Middle Ages the *daimyō* no longer were able to carry out their feudalistic administration without paying attention to them. The *daimyō* castles were transferred to the plains from mountainous regions and castle towns were opened up as centres of economy and transportation as well as centres of political and military affairs.

The increase in agricultural productivity, the general independence of handicraft and enlargement of the business world—all these factors made *Shōen* economy unstable. Thus the economic life of the *bushi* and the farmers saw a gradual change. It became a big problem for the powerful *bushi* and *daimyō* to cope with these commercial and industrial changes so that they might control a large number of their vassals. However, the change in feudal society was not nationwide and there still remained room for further political control by the powerful *daimyō*. In short, the feudal society of the Middle Ages had to be succeeded by another feudal society of the Edo Period under the powerful control of the *Tokugawa Bakufu* before the former could develop into a modern capitalist society.

Jōkamachi (castle town). The powerful *daimyō* held out in their own castles, where artisans and merchants thronged and products were distributed. Thus the towns became centres of politics, military affairs, commerce and industries. Outstanding castle towns in the Age of Civil Wars were as follows:

Yamaguchi. Castle town of *Ōushi-shi* in Suō District. Artisans and merchants of such manufactured articles as engravings and dyed goods gathered here. The town flourished especially after some of the nobles of Kyoto escaped from the capital devastated by the War of Ōnin. Also it was a centre of trade with China and Korea and became the largest city in western Japan. It was called little Kyoto.

Odawara. Castle town of *Hōjō-shi* in Sagami District, where products of land and sea as well as objects of art were handled. Once it was the largest city in the Kantō District. Besides these two, Azuchi, Kōfu, Fuchū, Okazaki and Hamamatsu were castle towns. But the two biggest castle towns were Edo and Osaka.

Sakai. This port-city flourished with domestic and overseas trade. It also was a centre of industry. The citizens at one time set up a kind of self-government. The city was wealthy and was able to withstand control by the *daimyō*.

Toimaru. A house used as a hotel for merchants as well as storehouse for merchandise.

Tokusei-rei. The *Muromachi Bakufu*, when it faced financial difficulty, issued *Tokusei-rei* for the purpose of escaping from its debt. It was an order of benevolent politics by which commercial contracts and those of loan and pawn in general were cancelled so that the debtors might become free. Toward the end of the *Muromachi* Era the *Bakufu* was compelled by frequent riots of the poor to issue *Tokusei* orders. It is said that Shōgun Yoshimasa alone issued *Tokusei* orders 13 times during his administration.

Do-ikki. At the end of the *Muromachi* Era, the farmers organized a self-governing body under the head man of their village so that they might protect their interests against landlords and the *daimyō*. Such movements, called *Do-ikki* or *Tokusei-ikki*, took place in various districts and they tended to break up the feudal bond. For example a move which took place at Yamashiro in 1485 expelled the *Shugo* of that district and put the jurisdiction in the hands of the people. The case in Kaga in

1488 involved priests, powerful local families and farmers who united with the religious group of *Shinshū* sect. As a result, the Kaga District was put under the control of the farmers and the *Shugo* of that district was compelled to commit suicide. This kind of *ikki* (riot) was called *Ikkō-ikki* for it was carried out by the union of believers of *Shinshū* (*Ikkō* sect). With the expansion of the power of the *daimyō*, however, *do-ikki* was gradually oppressed, and from about the middle of the 16th century it began to die out.

Kangō trade. In the commerce carried on with Ming China during the *Muromachi* Era, *kangōfu*, a kind of certificate, was used to distinguish trade ships from pirate ships. Goods exported were sulphur, copper, swords, raised lacquer and writings. The *Bakufu*, temples and others who were engaged in the trade became rich.

Contact with Europe

About the end of the 13th century, Marco Polo, a merchant of Venice, crossed the Eurasian Continent and visited the capital of Yuan China. On his return he reported his observations and experiences in the Orient to the people of Europe. For the Europeans of the Middle Ages the Orient seemed to be a land of mystery. Silk and spices brought by the Arabians were precious to the Europeans. *Jipang* (Japan) which was described by Marco Polo as an island of gold and as being located 1500 miles east of China, strongly stimulated the imagination of European adventurers. Existence of a gold island was impressed on the minds of adventurers in Spain and Portugal and it is said that although Columbus aimed at *Jipang*, contact between Europe and Japan was not realized until the middle of the 16th century.

In 1543, a junk sailing from Siam to Ningpo in Central China drifted to Tanegashima Island off the southern tip of Kyūshū. A Portuguese on board was the first European to come to Japan. The matchlockgun brought to Japan by the Portuguese at that time was called *tanegashima* and was a surprising new weapon for the Japanese.

10 years later, manufacture of the gun was started in various parts of Kyūshū. *Daimyō* were eager to have the new weapon which brought a drastic change to the old fashioned strategies. It is said that the main reason for Oda Nobunaga's hold over the other *daimyō* was his use of the gun.

Thenceforth relations were opened between Japan and Europe, especially with Spain and Portugal. The Portuguese and Spaniards brought raw silk and other materials from China to obtain silver, which they used for buying spices from India and Malacca and took back to Europe. *Daimyō* in Kyūshū enthusiastically welcomed the trade and received spices, gun powder, sugar and woolen fabrics. At that time Ming China forbade Japanese ships from entering Chinese ports for she was afraid of *Wakō* or Japanese pirates who raided the Chinese coast frequently. Therefore, transit trade by Portuguese ships developed remarkably. Portuguese ships also brought Christianity into Japan. It is said that Francis Xavier, a Jesuit father who had been intending to preach the gospel in the Orient, learned from a Japanese whom he met at Malacca about Japan and came to this country. Xavier landed at Kagoshima and was welcomed by the *daimyō* including *Shimazu-shi* of Satsuma and engaged in missionary activities. His teachings spread to the territory of Ōtomo in northern Kyūshū, to Ōuchi in Yamaguchi and even to Kyoto.

To the Japanese people who had spent fearful days during the long period of civil wars, this new religion taught love of peace and gave spiritual happiness. Missionaries extended help especially to the poor, and engaged in charitable work by building hospitals and orphanages. The number of converts increased rapidly including such

daimyō as Ōtomo Sōrin, Arima Harunobu and Ōmura Sumitada in Western Japan.

However, many of the *daimyō* aimed at profit to be gained by trade rather than trying to introduce the Christian faith into Japan. Thus there were occasions where Christianity was suppressed by political authority as well as by the Buddhist priests. Since Ōmura Sumitada had ceded the port of Nagasaki to the Church in 1570, Nagasaki became a centre of both trade and Christian faith. It was Nagasaki that was tinged with the blood of martyrs and it was also Nagasaki that remained the only window of Japan to the outer world as the *Shōgun* closed her doors to the world after the 17th century.

Mission to Europe. Ōtomo, Arima and Ōmura, three *daimyō* of Kyūshū, sent a mission of boys of their relatives, who were less than 16 years old, to Pope Gregorius XIII in Rome in 1582 with Itō and Chijiiwa as formal delegates and Nakaura and Hara as assistant-delegates. The party went around the Cape of Good Hope and met Philip the Second, King of Spain. They then entered Rome and were received in audience by the Pope. Having accomplished their purpose, they came back to Japan eight years later. They were the first Japanese to go to Europe.

Namban-ji Temple. Oda Nobunaga, who showed good will toward Christianity, protected its missionary activities. He received in audience a missionary called Fritz and had him hold a discussion with Buddhist priests. Nobunaga gave him a land of 4 square *chō* in Kyoto to construct a temple in the middle of the 16th century. It was called *Namban-ji* (*Namban* means southern barbarians or Europeans who visited Japan in those days.).

Modern Age

Toward the end of the 16th century the civil war that had been raging for about 100 years came to an end and the nation was, as a whole, united again. Thus for about 250 years after the beginning of the 17th century there were few major wars

in Japan. During these days the tendency for centralization of political power gradually increased and the authority of the *Tokugawa Bakufu* spread over the entire nation. On the international scene the seclusion policy was adopted. Therefore

diplomatic relation with foreign countries was not a major problem in those days. National economy was on a self-sufficient basis and neither the importation of foreign goods nor the exportation of native products gave visible influence to the general picture. In the cultural field, too, it was the age when least influence was exercised by foreign elements and this fact contributed much to the development of indigenous culture. However, it also acted as an adverse factor in the development of certain fields of learning, chiefly natural science and its applied industries. Also, it became the chief reason for the continuation of feudal society.

Unification of the nation

During the one hundred years after the middle of the 15th century there had been no unified government in Japan. The *Muromachi Bakufu* in Kyoto was only nominal and the country was ruled by many warriors called *daimyō*, each of whom dominated a territory of a size more or less equivalent to that of a present-day prefecture of this country. *Ashikaga Shōgun*, head of the *Muromachi Bakufu* was unable to control these *daimyō*.

Consequently the *daimyō* were busy in expanding their territories by waging constant warfare among themselves. There were not a few among them who sought to gain a powerful grip over the others in the absence of control by *Ashikaga* and even tried to go up to Kyoto to replace the *Shōgun*. But as they were afraid of having their territories occupied by other *daimyō* during their absence from home, they could not easily attain their ambition.

At that time there was a man named Oda Nobunaga who lived comparatively near to Kyoto. His castle was located in the vicinity of present Nagoya. His territory produced great quantities of rice and traffic was convenient. He went to Kyoto in 1568 and made *Ashikaga Yoshiaki*, the *Shōgun*. Originally the *Shōgun* was to govern the country for the Emperor, but now Nobunaga held actual power. In 1573 he expelled *Yoshiaki* from Kyoto and be-

came the ruler of this capital city. The authority of Nobunaga permeated from Kyoto to as far as Nagoya covering the width of about one-fifth or one-sixth of the entire country. But there were still many *daimyō* opposed to Nobunaga in various parts of Japan and while fighting against them, he was killed by his vassal *Akechi Mitsuhide* in 1582. *Mitsuhide* was in turn killed several days later by *Hashiba Hideyoshi* who was also one of the vassals of Nobunaga.

Hideyoshi came from a poor farm family and became a low-class retainer of Nobunaga. But as he was blessed with talent he was already a *daimyō* by this time with a territory of considerable width.

In the next eight years he became ruler of the entire country. He was appointed by the *Tennō* to *Dajō-daijin* and was made *Kampaku*. *Dajō-daijin* was the highest position that could be given to common people and *kampaku* was an office which was responsible to the Emperor for the execution of national administration.

By this time, the Emperor had already lost both military and economic powers, but the popular feeling toward the throne, based on religion, was of considerable strength and nobody would venture to put away the Emperor. Therefore even the most powerful *daimyō* felt honored when he was given a position by the Emperor. Thus, as these *daimyō* presented offerings to the Emperor, he was never in economic distress.

Hideyoshi succeeded in the unification of the nation in 1590 and placed under his rule all the *daimyō* and *bushi*. There were at that time not more than 200 *daimyō*. Their holdings were not measured geographically but by the amount of agricultural yield. That is, if the entire amount of agricultural products of Japan in those days was roughly converted into about 22 million *koku* of rice, *Hideyoshi* took 2 million *koku* or about one tenth. His vassal, *Tokugawa Ieyasu*, retained 2 million and a half and there were several other *daimyō* who took 1 million *koku*. Of course there were small *daimyō* who received only 10 thousand *koku*.

Hideyoshi began to fight in 1592 against Ming China and Korea. Opinion is divided as to the reason for the war. One contends that although Hideyoshi desired to trade with Ming China, the latter did not meet his desire, and he sent an expeditionary army. Another opinion states that the merchants of Sakai or Hakata were behind the invasion. Still another emphasized that it was mere aggression that was prompted by personal ambition. It is true that Hideyoshi had a dream of conquering Ming China and of shifting Japan's capital to Peiping. But his concept of war against a foreign country was too simple and he used an army of only 150,000 men, much smaller than the one mobilized in domestic war.

His army occupied Seoul 20 days after its landing at Pusan and a part of the troops invaded further into Manchuria and captured two Korean princes. But the expedition, without sufficient preparation and preliminary study, proved a failure in the long run and with the death of Hideyoshi in 1598 the Japanese army was withdrawn from Korea.

With the aid which came from Ming China and resistance by the people, Korea narrowly escaped Japanese conquest.

By this time Ming China had begun to decline and Nurhachu who later established Ching China was gaining power in Manchuria. Half a century later Ming was conquered by Ching.

After Hideyoshi's death in 1598 his son, Hideyori, occupied Osaka Castle. As he was still a child, disputes arose as to who should take over political hegemony. At last, in 1600, all the *daimyō* of the country were divided into two military camps until Tokugawa Ieyasu gained victory. Ieyasu who lived in Edo (present Tokyo) was the most powerful *daimyō*. As a result he became the de facto successor to Hideyoshi and Hideyori became no more than an ordinary *daimyō*. In 1603 Ieyasu was appointed by the Emperor to the office of *Sei-Taishōgun*, or Grand Expedition General, which was a title given to an outstanding military leader. The machinery by which *Sei-Taishōgun* governed was called

bakufu and as it was then located in Edo, it was called the *Edo Bakufu*. Since in Japan the name of the political center was usually used to name a period, the years from 1600 to 1867 are called the Edo Period.

Sei-Taishōgun

The post of *Sei-Taishōgun* to which Ieyasu was appointed was handed down to his descendants for 15 generations. *Sei-Taishōgun* was also called the *Shōgun* and foreign missionaries residing in Japan in the 17th century used to call him the emperor. As the *Shōgun* used a title of *Daikun* or great prince in his diplomatic papers, the 19th century Europeans sometimes called him the *Daikun* instead of the *Shōgun*.

Although the *Shōgun* was appointed by the Emperor, all of the de facto political offices were in the hands of the *Shōgun*. It is believed that the *Tennō* has been the ruler of Japan for more than 2,000 years and even if it was only nominal, the most powerful military leader did not dare to abolish the Throne. He resided in Kyoto and his palace was called the *Dairi*. Therefore foreign missionaries in the 17th century called him *Dairi-sama*. Sometimes the missionaries compared the *Tennō* with the Pope in Rome, but the former did not have such authority as that enjoyed by the latter. Even the function of the *Tennō* to give honorary titles to the Japanese subject was a nominal one.

The same situation was seen in giving a name to an era. Asian countries give special names to each political period. In some cases a name may be given to the whole period of one ruler and in another case the name may be changed by some reason or other during the period of the same ruler. For example, during the Ming and Ching dynasties of China only one name was given to one ruler's era and in Japan, too, the same regulation was made after the Meiji Era. But before the Meiji Era the names of periods could be changed when, for example, there were such an unhappy events as bad crops and plague or

other particular events. There was an example of changing the name when a strange cloud was seen in the sky. This was because the people considered that the name of the period would influence the destiny of man. The significance of naming an era was great. Therefore, to name an era was the privilege of the sovereign in some Asian countries and felicitous names were selected. If a country became a tributary to another country, the former would refrain from using names peculiar to itself but would apply the name used in its suzerain. In Japan the naming was the function of the *Tennō*, but actually he had to show the selected name to the *Shōgun* for his approval.

The holdings of the *Tennō* was 10,000 *koku* in the beginning of the 17th century, but it increased gradually to 30,000 *koku* around 1700. The *Shōgun* also gave land to vassals of the *Tennō*. All these territories, including that of the *Tennō*, amounted to no more than 100,000 *koku*. Extraordinary disbursements for such matters as rebuilding of the palace was also borne by the *Shōgun*.

The holdings of the *Shōgun* was 2,500,000 *koku* in the beginning but increased gradually and became as much as 7,300,000 *koku* in 1700. This was a little more than one fourth of the entire land of this country. Of this, about 4,000,000 *koku* was under the direct control of the *Shōgun* and the remainder was divided among *hatamoto* and *gokenin*, both vassals in a direct line to the *Shōgun*. Most of the *Shōgun's* territories were located around Edo and the others were scattered over the country.

The *Shōgun* allocated a little less than three-fourths of the entire area of Japan to the *daimyō*. Among these some had been holding their land even before control by the *Shōgun*. But now all the *daimyō* could have their holdings guaranteed by being given a *Shōgun's* unit which prescribed the name of the land and the amount of *koku*. Among the big *daimyō* were the Maeda Family of Kanazawa who owned a million *koku*. Next was the Shimazu of Kagoshima with 770,000 *koku* and Date Family of Sendai holding 620,000

koku. Smaller *daimyō* usually owned 10,000 *koku*. The *koku* was, as explained before, the amount of agricultural crops indicated in quantity of rice and was used as the basis for taxation. Each *daimyō* further divided his lands among his vassals. Otherwise he granted them rice which was levied as tax. The latter form of grant was customary and the vassals were given about 40 percent of the entire revenue of a *daimyō*.

The foreign missionaries in Japan used to call these *daimyō* king. When the three sons of Japanese *daimyō* were sent to Rome in 1585 to see Pope Gregorio XIII and were honored as Knights of the Golden Spur by pouring the water on the hand of the new Pope Sisto V at his coronation, these sons were treated as princes. In fact the relation of *Shōgun* and *daimyō* in Japan somewhat resembled that of the kaiser and king in the German Empire before it was unified by Prussia. The *Shōgun* was the most powerful of the *daimyō*. Each *daimyō* was free to exercise political power within his territory and side by side with the laws and regulations promulgated by the *Shōgun*, the *daimyō* could enact his own laws.

But the *Shōgun* had greater power than the German kaiser for he could shift the territories of *daimyō* at will and he could also confiscate all or part of the territory of a *daimyō* who failed to abide by his order. Sometimes he even ordered the death penalty to a *daimyō* although the *Shōgun* gave consent to *seppuku*, a kind of suicide, in order to save the honor of the doomed *daimyō*.

It was the *daimyō's* duty to spend one year in his own land and another in Edo where the *Shōgun* resided, whereas his wife and children had to live in Edo all the time. They served as a kind of hostage because if the *daimyō* revolted against the *Shōgun*, his family in Edo could easily be captured.

At times the *Shōgun* levied a part of the revenue of the *daimyō* chiefly by asking them to undertake at their own expense a part of the construction work of the *Shōgun's* castles or embankments. Such a burden frequently depleted the coffers of the *daimyō*.

The government of the *Shōgun* was called the *Bakufu* and its rule was two fold: one covered entire Japan and the other was limited to territory under direct control. There were several high officials called *rōjū* at the *Bakufu* who were appointed from among the *daimyō*. The *daimyō* were divided into three categories: *fudai-daimyō* who had been the *Shōgun*'s vassal from the beginning, *shimpan-daimyō* who was a kin of the *Shōgun* and third, *tozama-daimyō* who had once been a vassal of Oda Nobunaga or Toyotomi Hideyoshi like the Tokugawa Family itself. The word *tozama*, outsider, meant that its relations with Tokugawa were not close. Therefore, *tozama-daimyō* could not be appointed to the *rōjū* and other important positions of the *Bakufu*.

There was at one time an official called *tairō* above the *rōjū* but it was rather rare. Next to the *rōjū* were several *waka-doshiryō* also appointed from among the *daimyō*. Under these two positions were the *shaji-bugyō*, *kanjō-bugyō* and *Edo-machi-bugyō*. The *shaji-bugyō* was appointed from among the *daimyō* and took charge of temples, shrines, monks and priests as well as a part of the lawsuits. The *kanjō-bugyō* administered the territory under the *Shōgun*'s direct control and a part of the lawsuits. The *Edo-machi-bugyō* had control of administration, police and jurisdiction in and around the city of Edo. The latter two positions were appointed from among the *hatamoto* who received less than 10,000 *koku*.

There was no clear distinction between administration, legislation and jurisdiction and all the officials of the *Bakufu* handled the three functions. More or less important political decisions of the *Bakufu* were made by the *rōjū*, *wakadoshiyōri* and the *bugyō*. These officials were also in charge of law-courts including not only those within the *Shōgun*'s estates but also those concerned with disputes between the *daimyō*. There were occasions when the *Shōgun* himself discharged administrative functions or acted as a judge, but in most of the case the government functioned by a council system.

The territories under direct control of the *Bakufu* included agricultural regions, such major cities as Edo, Kyoto, Osaka, Nagasaki and Sumpu (present Shizuoka) and important mines at Sado and Izu. *Bugyō* were sent to these places.

Kyoto especially, was regarded as important because it was the capital and an office called *shoshidai* was stationed there. The *shoshidai* was an important position next to the *rōjū* and was in charge of lawsuits in the Kyoto District and of keeping watch over the *Tennō*.

The officials who governed the agricultural districts were called *daikan* and totalled about 50. In their functioning they divided the territories among themselves. Some of the *daikan* continued to live in the same place inheriting their ancestors' positions, but most of them were shifted from one place to another. Many of them had mansions in Edo and dispatched their vassals to the place of their administration. Their chief duty was to levy taxes and to judge lawsuits arising within their territory.

The rule of a *daimyō* was more or less similar to that of the *Shōgun*. It was customary for all the officials of the local *daimyō* to live in and around the *daimyō*'s castle which was built in the centre of the territory.

Ranks of bushi class

The *Shōgun* and the *daimyō* mentioned above were all *bushi* or warriors. In the beginning the *bushi* lived in the country and engaged in agriculture with many peasants and serfs. This was true, at least until the 16th century. However, in the 16th century in the course of frequent warfare the stronger *bushi* became *daimyō* or the *Shōgun* and the weaker ones became vassals or farmers. Toward the end of the 16th century many large castles were built and the *daimyō* and their vassals lived in and around it. Thus the *bushi* class was separated from agricultural life and ceased to be the producing class. In peace the *bushi* were engaged in politics and in war they went to battle. There also were those who had no position, whose number, includ-

ing their family, occupied about 6 to 7 per cent of the entire population.

Among the *bushi* those who were given holdings of more than 10,000 *koku* by the *Shōgun* were called *daimyō* and those with smaller grants were called *hatamoto*. Lower than the *hatamoto* was the *gokenin* who was paid rice or money instead of land. In the middle of the 18th century the number of the *daimyō* was about 260, *hatamoto* about 5,200 and *gokenin* about 17,000.

The *daimyō*, besides their residence or castle, had mansions in Edo, which numbered between 34 and 78. The *hatamoto* and the *gokenin* all lived in Edo. Also in Edo were about 500,000 *bushi*, their families and servants. Besides, there were about the same number of merchants and manufacturers. It is estimated that in 1700 the population exceeded one million. In those days there was no population census but compared with 840,000 inhabitants of London which was the largest city in Europe in 1800, Edo should be regarded as an extraordinarily big city.

In many of the cities which were built around local castles of the *daimyō*, the number of *bushi* and other townsmen was almost equal. Such big cities as Nagoya and Kanazawa had as many as 100,000 inhabitants. The powerful *daimyō* owned land larger than the present prefectures, but the smaller ones had only several thousands farmers on their land.

The estate of the *hatamoto* was smaller, including several villages and several hundred farmers. Some *hatamoto* owned even less. Further below were many vassals of *daimyō* and *gokenin*. These vassals were called *bushi* and were paid in kind and in cash. Thus for example a *bushi* might be granted each year 50 *koku* of rice or 5 *ryō* in money and 20 *koku* of rice. Since one Japanese consumes about 1 *koku* a year and one family may, for example, consist of 10 persons including servants, about 10 *koku* is consumed by a family each year. The remaining rice was sold to buy vegetable, fish and clothes. A *bushi* with grant of less than 50 *koku* was not considered well off. Moreover, the *bushi* was prohibited from engaging in commerce and other occupa-

tions. Therefore he engaged in some kind of handicraft secretly at home and sold the products to augment his living expenses.

Taxation system

Even after the 17th century, taxes were, as a rule, levied in kind. The chief item liable for taxation was farm products, especially rice. The basis of assessment was, as mentioned before, the amount of agricultural produce converted into that of rice. The method of fixing the conversion rate was established during the time of Hideyoshi and was practiced throughout the country. It was called *kenchi* by which the area of the arable land was measured and each land graded according to nature of the soil, irrigation facilities, sunshine and other conditions. In this way the amount of crops from the land was estimated and finally converted into that of rice.

One *tan* of land, on the average, produced a little less than one *koku* of rice in a year.

Thus the standard amount was set and about 40 percent of the amount was levied as tax. This standard was not fixed each year but every 10 years or every 100 years. Therefore, in the course of years the actual amount of produce used to exceed the standard and accordingly the tax ratio was less than 40 percent. Yet this ratio was very heavy for the peasants. It is generally admitted that taxation in feudal society was imposed on the entire profit and it was true in the case of Japan.

Many of the Japanese farmers cultivated land of from 5 *tan* to 1 *chōbu* with each family consisting of 2 working persons. Those who owned more than several *chōbu* hired servants. Among the servants some were sold permanently to their master since their fathers' time like slaves while others were sold for certain period. Still others were hired only during the harvest season. But in the 18th century agricultural management by means of hiring servants began to decrease and those who had big holdings started to rent it out to tenant-farmers for profitable farm-rent. Thus they cultivated a small part of their land and the

remainder was rented to tenants. In Japan where arable land is scarce the burden of the tenant-farmers was naturally heavy. They had to pay the owner as much as two-thirds of their entire harvest. The land-owners paid in turn to the master of the estate a half of the farm-rent. Thus the master, land-owner and tenant each obtained one third of the entire harvest. The tenant, as a rule, paid in kind.

Unlike European development in which the people were divided gradually into land-owners, agricultural managers or agricultural laborers, most of the Japanese farmers continued to be both managers and laborers concurrently. Therefore they had to be content with a scale of management which could be pursued at the hand of each family. Speaking of the area of land, the limit was about one *chōbu*, but actually most of the farmers owned less than that. Thus they had to toil day and night in order to pay the tax and gain a living. The monsoon season in Asia brings a rapid growth of weeds and the fields are covered with weeds if left unattended for 20 days. Thus the farmers had to continually pull out the weeds by hand.

Most of the farmers owned neither horses nor cows because they had no pasture for these animals. The arable land in Japan about 20 percent and they were scattered near the seashore or along rivers. Except these arable lands, the topography was too steep even for meadows. Also the farmers were too poor to engage in animal husbandry. Even if there were horses or cows they were used for only 10 days or so throughout the year. Another reason that acted against the development of stock-farming was that the Japanese were not in the habit of drinking milk. Thus the farmer engaged in hand labor with only the hoe and plough.

The tax imposed by the master of the estate, that is by the *Shōgun* or *daimyō* was levied chiefly in rice. Sometimes wheat or beans or even cash was accepted. The farmers brought them to the warehouse designated by the master. Some of the *Shōgun*'s estates were scattered far away from Edo and the farmers had to use horse or boat

for transportation of the tax. In this case, for the first 5 *ri*, transportation fee was borne by the farmer. As the rice levied from the farmer was to be sold by the master, he required a high quality of rice and the inspection was severe. Those farmers who paid in rice of low quality used to be punished. The master also imposed tax on merchants and manufacturers, the amount of which was comparatively small. Thus the farmer was regarded as the chief source of the master's revenue and was obliged to obey various regulations in order to fulfil his duty of paying the tax.

The farmer engaged in cultivating land was not allowed to give up his land. Even when he wanted to quit the land because of too heavy taxation, he could not freely leave unless someone else took his place. If a farmer escaped, it became the responsibility of the village to which he belonged and the villagers had to bring him back or to look for other man who would cultivate the abandoned land.

The *Shōgun* also prohibited the selling of land because he feared that the land would be concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy farmers and the farmer who sold his land would be impoverished. Likewise, in order to prevent the increase of small farmers, it was prohibited for a farmer who owned less than one *chōbu* of arable land to divide it among his sons. As a rule the eldest son was the only one who was given the right to inherit, whether he was a farmer, *bushi* or merchant. Only wealthy people could divide their fortune among their second and third sons. Yet in this case, too, the allocation was far less than that which was given to the eldest. Also, it was customary that daughters were not given the right to inherit if there were any sons in the family. The daughters were given clothes and household utensils when they married. A wealthy family could give the daughters a part of the land or money. But in any case they did not inherit the property when their father died. This method of inheritance was in practice until the end of World War II.

Foreign relations

Foreign countries that had been in contact with Japan from ancient days were China and Korea. But in 1543 a Portuguese came to *Tanegashima*, a small island off the southern tip of Japan. This was the first visit to Japan of an European. The Portuguese came around Africa and reached Goa of India in 1498 from where they came eastward and in 1516 they arrived in Canton. The Portuguese who landed on *Tanegashima* brought a gun. At that time the Japanese were engaged in civil wars and very soon the gun begun to be used in this country as a new weapon and thus replaced the bow and arrow.

In 1549 Francis Xavier visited Japan. He went to Kyoto from Kyūshū and preached the gospel. Later many Jesuits and other Catholic missionaries came to this country. Portuguese merchants, too, engaged in trade with this country. Thus Sakai, Hirado, Nagasaki, Kagoshima and other ports were opened. In 1584 the first Spanish ship visited Japan. Thus toward the end of the 16th century Portuguese and Spanish ships visited Japan frequently and brought new goods. Guns were the most coveted by the Japanese *daimyō*. They therefore permitted merchants to engage in foreign trade and foreign missionaries to spread the gospel. The *daimyō* in Kyūshū tried to give better conditions for the Europeans so that European ships might enter the ports in their territories. A *daimyō* called Ōmura who was governing Nagasaki went so far as to commend this port city to the Society of Jesus. At that time Father Valignani came to Japan, and stayed here from 1579 to 1582. When he left Japan he advised Ōtomo Sōrin, a *daimyō* of Bungo in Kyūshū, to send a mission to Rome. He thought that it would be convenient for later missionary activities to let the Japanese people observe how the Pope was respected. Thus Ōtomo, Arima and Ōmura despatched boys from their own families. Two were 13 years old and one was 14. They went through many hardships to reach Rome and saw Gregorius

XIII. They came back to Japan in 1590. But by this time the new ruler of Japan, Hideyoshi, had already prohibited Christianity.

It was in 1587 that Hideyoshi banned Christian teachings. The reason was that those who were converted into Christianity had destroyed temples and shrines which had been the centre of traditional religious life in Japan. Buddhist images were also destroyed. Also, it was rumored that the Portuguese and Spanish merchants, with the help of the missionaries, bought wives and children of poor Japanese farmers and sold them as slaves in the southern colonies. Although Hideyoshi expelled foreign missionaries from Japan, he allowed merchant marines to enter Japanese ports. Christianity, therefore, continued to spread. In 1600 it is said that there were as many as 300,000 converts and that by 1610 the number had increased to 700,000. The missionaries built schools, published books or opened hospitals, all of which must no doubt have helped their work.

In 1600 a ship came from the Netherlands which had become independent from Spain. The pilot of this ship was an Englishman called William Adams. Tokugawa Ieyasu who became the ruler of Japan after the death of Hideyoshi obtained the consent of Adams and a Dutchman called Jan Joosten to stay in Japan. The two foreigners received good treatment and advised Ieyasu in his policy toward foreigners. Adams was given a land of 200 *koku* in Miura Peninsula and lead a life like that of an English noble. His Japanese name was Miura Anjin. Anjin meant pilot. His estate was situated in present Yokosuka and a town where his mansion in Edo was located was called *Anjin-chō* until the 20th century. Jan Joosten's mansion was located near the present Tokyo Station and the name Yaesu still remains.

Out of the competition there occurred severe conflicts between the Catholic Portuguese and Spanish on the one hand and the non-Catholic Dutch and Englishmen on the other. The Dutch contended that the Portuguese and Spanish tactic was to preach the gospel first and then to colonize

Japan in the end. Even some of the Spaniards supported such a slander. One of them who met Ieyasu in 1605 told him that in order to conquer Molucca a big ship from Nueva España (Mexico) had arrived in the Philippines with many soldiers and ammunitions. Ieyasu was afraid of Spanish aggression. He also feared that the Christian converts in Japan would not obey the secular ruler and that the *daimyō* might use the foreign powers or Christianity in their revolt against himself.

In 1612 an order was issued to ban Christianity. The foreign missionaries were ordered to leave Japan and 400 Japanese Christians were expelled to the Philippines. From this time the prohibition became strict and the Christians were driven to give up the faith or to die. During the next 25 years the Christians in Japan suffered severe persecution and were almost eradicated.

In 1623, England stopped trade with Japan and in 1624 Spain also withdrew from this country. Before the prohibition the *Shōgun* had given European ships many privileges including free entry to Japanese ports, unlimited commerce and extra-territorial rights. But these privileges were now gradually restricted.

Since the end of the 16th century some Japanese had gone to southern Asia and built their own towns in Annam, Tongking, Cambodia, Siam and the Philippines. These were called the Japanese towns, some of which had a system of self-government. The merchant ships of those days were sent not only by the *daimyō* but also by merchants and even the *Shōgun* who bought the imported goods. But as Japan did not have enough products to export, she had to pay out much in gold and silver. It is said that between 1601 and 1647 about 4,800,000 *ryō* (one *ryō* contained 4 *me* of pure gold) of gold and 750,000 *kan* of silver were paid to foreign countries. But it was not possible to let such amounts of gold and silver flow out of the country continuously. Also free trade would develop domestic commerce and eventually destroy the self-sufficient economy which was the basis of feudal society. Thus the *Bakufu* gave up its *laissez faire*

policy and in 1633 prohibited the Japanese to repatriate from overseas and placed all the oceangoing ships under its strict supervision. In 1636 the overall prohibition was enforced and neither Japanese individuals nor ships were allowed to visit a foreign country.

From October 1637 to February 1638 there occurred the farmers' riots against the *daimyō* in Shimabara Peninsula and Amagusa Island of Kyūshū. More than 30,000 farmers fought bravely against an army of as many as 120,000 *bushi*. But finally the riots failed and most of the rebels were killed, including many farmers who had been converted to Christianity. Thus the *Bakufu* regarded Christianity as all the more dangerous and in 1639 prohibited Portuguese ships to enter Japanese ports. Now the only Europeans in Japan were the Dutch who were shifted from Hirado to Nagasaki and were allowed to live on a small island called Deshima. Deshima was a reclaimed island of about 4,000 *tsubo* and was connected by only one bridge with the city of Nagasaki. The branch office of the Dutch East India Company was built on this island and the director and other officers of the Company lived there. The Japanese called the director of the foreign firm "Kapitan." The Kapitan went to Tokyo once a year to present himself at the *Bakufu* and report to the *Shōgun* briefly about the European situation. This was the only chance given to the Japanese to gaining knowledge of the outside world. But the contents of the report were not made known to ordinary people who remained ignorant of what was going on in Europe. This situation was called *sakoku*, the closing of the country, and it lasted for about 200 years. Besides the Dutchmen, Chinese merchants were allowed to come to Nagasaki. The Koreans sent to Japan a mission to celebrate the accession of the new *Shōgun*.

The 200 years' segregation contained the people within the small islands of Japan. All social organizations and economic activities were made independently of foreign contacts. No visible foreign influence was seen in the fields of art and learning. As

a result in some fields Japan was to lag far behind and in others to achieve unique development.

Transition of the Bakufu's politics

The first *Shōgun* Tokugawa Ieyasu rose to the power in 1603 and two years later gave his position to his son Hidetada. But Ieyasu retained actual political power until his death in 1616. He showed brilliant talent in governing the *daimyō* and was also good at economic policies. He put the gold and silver mines at Sado and Izu under his direct control. He bought necessary goods from foreign countries. At his death he left gold and silver of 2 million *ryō* and the equivalent value of clothes and other goods. About 10 years after his death his grandson Iemitsu dedicated a shrine at Nikkō in his honor. This is called the *Tōshōgū* and is still attracting many tourists with its gorgeous buildings.

During the second *Shōgun* Hidetada's rule the coffers of the *Bakufu* were full and he left 3 million *ryō* for his successor.

In the reign of the third *Shōgun* Iemitsu the seclusion policy mentioned above was enforced. The administrative system of the *Bakufu* had begun to take concrete form by this time. The control over the *daimyō* was tightened. Sometimes the *daimyō* or the *hatamoto* faced financial hardships and borrowed money from the *Bakufu*. Sometimes there were riots of farmers who could not bear the burden of heavy taxation. The farmers petitioned their masters for mitigation of their tax burden and if they failed they resorted to riot with their hoes and ploughs, since they were not allowed to have such weapons as guns and swords. Sometimes the farmers came to Edo to file a direct petition with the *Shōgun* or with the officials of the *Bakufu*. Such petitions were disregarded and the petitioners were put to death in most cases. But when misconduct by a *daimyō* was discovered, their estates were confiscated by the *Shōgun*.

Iemitsu died in 1651 leaving four million *ryō* behind him, but this was lost during the reign of the fourth *Shōgun* Ietsuna. One of the reasons was that the amount of gold

and silver produced from the mines at Sado and Izu decreased. Also, the prohibition of foreign trade proved adverse to national finance. Moreover in 1657 a great fire occurred in Edo destroying almost half of Edo Castle, about 500 mansions of the *daimyō*, 300 shrines and temples, 9,000 warehouses and many houses of ordinary citizens. It was estimated that no less than 100,000 people were burnt to death. The *Bakufu* had to spend much money for reconstruction of Edo Castle as well as for loans to the *daimyō* and *hatamoto* in distress. Besides these reasons, there was another fact that the living standard of the *bushi*, who belonged to the consuming class, had risen since the middle of the 17th century.

As mentioned before a *daimyō* had several mansions in Edo and many servants were hired to work there. In the mansion of the Maeda Family who was the greatest *daimyō* there were about 7,000 vassals and servants when the master was in Edo and when he went back to his home estate, some 4,000 remained in the mansion in Edo. It is not clear how many people lived in Edo Castle but it is said that 3,700 female servants were dismissed following the death of Iemitsu.

Tsunayoshi became the fifth *Shōgun* in 1680. He was the younger brother of the fourth *Shōgun* Ietsuna. Tsunayoshi was a monomaniac. He encouraged learning and built *Bakufu* schools where he himself lectured on various schools of Confucianism including the *Analects of Confucius*, the *Discourses of Mencius*, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of Songs* and the *Scripture of Documents*. As an example, he lectured 240 times between 1693 and 1700 on the *Book of Change*. But as he was very fickle, his vassals became restless. One of his misrules was that he enforced an order to love living things, especially dogs because he was born in the year of the dog. In Japan, China and some other countries of Asia, twelve animals are in turn designated to each year and the year 1600, for instance, was the year of the rat and those who were born in this year were to have the age of rat.

The year of rat comes every twelve years. This habit still remains in Japan.

With Tsunayoshi's order to love dogs, people could not beat or chase dogs. Thus dogs were not afraid of man and slept on the road and wild dogs increased. He who hurt a dog was exiled to a far-off island or put to death. Later the *Bakufu* built large kennels for wild dogs. Not only dogs but also birds and fishes were protected and even mosquitoes were safe from human attack. The period in which animals were loved by the miserable human beings continued for 22 years until Tsunayoshi's death. The period around 1700 when Tsunayoshi was in power was called Genroku Era in which a characteristic Japanese culture flourished.

The fortunes of the *Bakufu* began to decline during Tsunayoshi's reign. The *Bakufu* built many kennels as well as many temples and shrines. Thus the *Shōgun* tried to profit by giving consent to the opinion of the *kanjō-bugyō*, official in charge of finances, who recommended the lowering of the quality of gold and silver coins. Coinage was controlled by the *Bakufu* and the minting was done by a special guild designated by the *Bakufu*. The coins minted in the beginning of the 17th century were of high quality. The gold coins contained 84 percent gold and 16 percent silver. The silver coins contained 80 percent silver and 20 percent copper. Tsunayoshi increased the ratio of silver in the gold coins and that of copper in the silver coins. Thus the profit gained by the re-coinage between 1695 and 1703 amounted to 2,520,000 *ryō*. Since then the chief source of the *Bakufu*'s revenue was gained in this manner. The chief problem of the *Bakufu* was how to reinforce its finances. The eighth *Shōgun* Yoshimune carried out great reforms. He came from a *daimyō* in Wakayama which was a branch family of the *Tokugawa Shōgun*, as the sixth *Shōgun* had no heir to succeed him.

Yoshimune issued strict orders for austerities to cut expenditures of the *Bakufu* and raised the taxation ratio of his direct estates. He encouraged cultivation of new land to increase the land tax. He also

cut the period of a *daimyō*'s stay in Edo by half and decreased their financial burden. However the *daimyō* were ordered to deliver to the *Bakufu* one percent of the rice produced in their estates. The salaries of the *Bakufu* officials were lowered. Thus the finances of the *Bakufu* was improved at the expense of the ordinary people. Accordingly, some of his policies were given up several years later. In those days people often said, "The high likes hunting and hardship of the low", or "Those who lament are millions of common people".

Yoshimune ordered compilation of a code of lawsuits. Up to his time civil as well as criminal cases were judged by customary laws and no written code was used. At first the newly compiled code was not made public but became known gradually to the ordinary people. The characteristic of criminal law was that disobedience to the elder was regarded most important and hence the death sentence was to be given to the servant who hurt his master, including his former master. The offender against the family of the master was put to similar punishment. As to crimes against a kin, the one against lineal ascendants was punished more severely than the one against lineal descendants. An idea of retribution was seen in the punishment of burning at the stake for the crime of arson. The main aim of the law was to emphasize punishment rather than respect for human life and therefore capital punishment was given widely, even for the theft of only 10 *ryō*.

Punishment included death, exile to a far-off island, purge and tattooing. The death sentence was practised by sawing, crucifying, exposing of head on a gibbet and other methods. There was a complicity system in which innocent children were involved in their father's punishment. Yoshimune tried to mitigate the punishment by complicity but did not abolish it. Up to around 1700 the punishment by complicity was strictly practised. For example, when a servant killed his master and was put to death by sawing, his two brothers and children were also given death sentences. In order to avoid such complicity

people devised a method called *kandō* or disinheritance. For example, if a son was apt to offend, his family would purge the son from the family register. Though the purge needed permission of the estate-master, in any case the crime committed by the purged son would not involve the family in his punishment.

In those days there were frequent *shinjū* or double-suicide of a man and a woman. They might commit *shinjū* when they loved each other but were not allowed by their parents to marry. Such *shinjū* became the main theme of many novels and plays. Yoshimune made efforts to prevent such a tendency and a couple who failed to die in *shinjū* was exposed on the highway and then demoted to a class called *hinin* which meant non-human. The *hinin* was not allowed to wear the same clothes as ordinary people and had to live as beggars.

After Yoshimune's period there had been frequent attempts to improve the finances of the *Bakufu* but they were not successful. The *Bakufu* had to rely on re-coinage or loans from the common people. The *Bakufu* still retained the right of coinage as well as large territories. But most of the *daimyō* were in economic distress and tried to lower the salary of their vassals. The salary was decreased to half in the 18th century. The tax was increased and special goods produced in one estate was monopolized by the master. They, too, borrowed money from merchants. Some of these merchants went bankrupt as they were not paid back. Further the *daimyō* cut expenditures for construction works including irrigation facilities and embankments and the result was bigger damage to their estates by floods and other disasters.

Toward the end of the 18th century and also in the middle of the 19th century many famines occurred in Japan. Especially in the Tōhoku District the situation was the worst and several hundred thousands died of hunger. Even the city-dwellers could not buy rice which was now very high in price and many starved. Thus in 1787 poor merchants and factory-workers of Edo attacked and looted the wealthy people, rice-dealers and money-lenders. In 1837

a *bushi* called Ōshio Heihachirō criticized the *Bakufu*'s policy and set fire to a wealthy town in Osaka. He looted goods and money and gave them to the poor people. Ōshio was a former official of the *Bakufu* and a famous scholar. The incident sounded the knell for the *Bakufu*'s authority.

Opening of the country and its result

Since the beginning of the seclusion policy in 1639 Japan remained ignorant of situations abroad except some knowledge brought by the Chinese and the Dutch. During the seclusion great changes were taking place outside Japan. It was in the 15th century that the Russians got rid of the 200 years' domination by the Mongolians. Ermak-Timofeevich who was chieftain of the Cossacks went eastward and reached Alaska in 1742. He discovered fur-seals, sea-otters and whales near the Aleutian Islands. In their eastward drive for the fur on land the Russians now discovered fur on the sea. Since that year the Russians began to move into the North Pacific. A school for Japanese language was opened at Irkutsk and preparation was made for negotiations with Japan. Sometimes the Russians approached Hokkaidō, Kuriles and Sakhalin and conflicts between them and Japanese natives occurred. In 1792 Catherine II despatched A. Laksman to Nemuro of Hokkaidō to negotiate for trade. In the next year the *Bakufu* told him that diplomatic negotiations would be held at Nagasaki. Then in 1804 Alexander I sent Rezanov to Nagasaki for negotiations but was declined by the *Bakufu*. The Russians wanted to make clear the borders of the Kuriles and Sakhalin but the *Bakufu* did not agree to begin the talks. In 1821 the Russian Emperor declared that Russia would claim domination over the Pacific coast and territorial waters north of latitude 51 degrees north.

During the interruption of her negotiations with Russia Japan began to have contacts with Britain which had been engaged in trade at Canton. Her relations with Japan had been cut since the beginning of

the 17th century. In the 19th century Napoleon conquered Holland and thus the latter became an enemy of Britain. In 1808 a British man-of-war named *Phaeton* invaded the port of Nagasaki and tried to capture the Dutch merchant ships. The *bugyō* of Nagasaki took responsibility and committed suicide. Later British ships came to the Ryūkyūs, Uruga, Ogasawara and even to the east coast of Japan in 1824. They sometimes committed lootings ashore. The *Bakufu* in 1825 ordered that all foreign ships that approached the Japanese shore should be expelled regardless of reason.

In 1840 Britain was engaged in a war against China and by the Nanking Treaty of 1842 she seized Hongkong and made China open up five ports. Upon receiving this information the *Bakufu* withdrew the order of 1825 and so arranged that fuel, food and water would be supplied to foreign ships.

In 1844 the Dutch King Wilhelm II dispatched a man-of-war to Japan and sent a letter to the *Shōgun*. The letter explained the Chinese misfortune caused by the Opium War against Britain and warned that the same would happen to Japan. He advised Japan to give up its seclusion policy now that the world had become narrower by the development of steam-ship. But the *Bakufu* did not answer as there had been no exchange of official diplomatic letters between the Netherlands and Japan. The Dutch King sent a second advice and warned that as the Americans were planning to send a fleet it was wise for Japan to conclude a treaty first with the Netherlands and have other countries follow its pattern. Yet the *Bakufu* did not take action. Soon the American fleet visited this country.

Shortly after its independence in 1783 the United States took part in the Chinese trades and concluded a commercial treaty with China in 1844. She was also engaged in whale fishing in the North Pacific and began to approach the Japanese shore. The reason for American desire to establish relations with Japan was to seek good refuge harbors for the whaling-boats. Edmond Roberts, American Minister to Siam, was ordered to bring a message to the

Shōgun but died in Macao in 1837. At that time seven Japanese who were wrecked off the American coast and drifted to the Philippines were sent to Macao. The York Orient Company which was engaged at Macao in Chinese trades sent back these Japanese on board the *Morrison* and planned to open relations with Japan. But because of the expulsion order of 1825 the ship was bombarded at Uruga and Kagoshima and went back in vain. In 1846 James Biddle, commander of the East Indian Fleet, visited Uruga by order of President John Taylor and sought to conclude a commercial treaty. The *Bakufu* answered that national law prohibited diplomatic or commercial intercourse with foreign countries. Later an American whaling-boat was wrecked and its crew drifted to Japan. Misunderstanding occurred out of language difficulty and difference in laws and customs. The crews reported to their homeland that they had been ill-treated. This made the Americans desire more strongly to establish a treaty with Japan.

In 1848 the United States gained victory in the war against Mexico and expanded its territory to the Pacific coast. The navigation route between San Francisco and Canton or Shanghai was opened and it became indispensable to have a port of call in Japan. In 1851 President Millard Fillmore authorized the commander of the East Indian Fleet to conclude a treaty with Japan. But on his way to East Asia he was relieved of the post and was succeeded by Commodore Perry. Perry intended to ask Japan (1) for protection of American crews who might take refuge in Japanese ports or drift to Japanese shores, (2) opening of one or more ports in Japan so that American ships might enter them for fuel, food and water and to establish a coal yard in Japan and (3) to allow American ships to enter Japanese ports for trade. In July 1853, 4 men-of-war under Perry's command entered Uruga with their guns charged and the crews in fighting trim. These battle-ships surprised the Japanese who had seldom seen steamships before. Perry was resolved to take a firm stand with the Japanese and when asked to go to Nagasaki, he re-

fused and even began to take measurements of Edo Bay. This proved successful and the *Bakufu* was obliged to receive the letter of the American President which Perry brought and promised that their answer would be given the following year. So Perry came again in 1854 and succeeded in concluding a treaty of amity at Kanagawa (present Yokohama). Japan promised to open two ports at Hakodate and Shimoda. She also admitted the one-sided most favored-nation treatment for the United States.

The news reached quickly to Britain which sent Commander Sterling of the British East India Fleet, to Nagasaki where he concluded a treaty similar to the one between Japan and the United States. Russia was then engaged in the Crimean War against Britain and France but she sent E. V. Putiachin from Kamchatka to Osaka Bay by way of Hakodate in November of 1854. He then went around to Shimoda and asked for a treaty. Thus in 1855 the Shimoda Treaty was concluded in which it was agreed that the Kuriles north of Uruppu Island belonged to Russia and south of Etorou (Staten Island) belonged to Japan. Sakhalin was not divided and people of the two countries were to live there together. The other articles contained conditions similar to the Americo-Japanese treaty.

A treaty with the Netherlands was concluded in 1856 and the right of Dutch residence at the Deshima was recognized.

In 1856 the United States sent T. Harris as counsellor to Shimoda. His mission was to conclude a commercial treaty and he succeeded in opening Nagasaki to American ships and in gaining Japanese consent to establish extraterritorial rights by the Shimoda Treaty of 1857. These extraterritorial rights enjoyed by countries in Europe and America became the object of long resentment by the humiliated Asians.

By the commercial treaty of 1858 Japan opened ports at Kanagawa, Nagasaki, Niigata and Hyōgo (present Kobe), allowed free trade and admitted freedom of religion as far as foreigners were concerned. Later, commercial treaties were concluded in turn with Russia, the Netherlands, Britain and

France, in each of which extraterritorial rights were established and custom duties were to be decided not by Japan but by the mutual agreement of Japan and the foreign country concerned. This brought big economic loss to Japan.

With the beginning of foreign trade in Japan the Chinese and the Dutch lead at Nagasaki. In Yokohama, Britain ranked first and in 1864 they held eleven-thirteenthths of the entire amount of foreign trade at Yokohama. Next to the Britain were the Americans and the Dutch. France was in the lower rank and Russia, Prussia and Switzerland were at the bottom. The chief exported goods from Yokohama were silk, tea, oil, copper, medicine, beans and seaweeds. Especially, silk was of high quality and the dealers gained as much as 40 per cent profit. The silk industry in Japan developed rapidly in the 17th and 18th centuries and it became the most important export-good from Japan. Imported from abroad were drapery, calico, printed cloth and hemp.

The foreign trade greatly influenced Japanese economy. For example, the rise in silk price proved fatal to many silk-weavers in the Nishijin of Kyoto or Kiryū and Ashikaga of east Japan. They went bankrupt and many of the workers were out of job. With the rise of prices of export-goods, prices on the domestic market also began to mount and city-dwellers met hardships. This led to anti-foreign movements. At times foreigners were injured or even killed. Of course, these incidents arose not only from economic hardships but from internal political disputes.

Meiji Restoration

It has been explained that early in the first half of the 19th century the fortune of the *Bakufu* was declining. In those days the *Bakufu* made up the deficit in its tax revenue by re-coinage. Though revenue gained by this means was very great, it was an indication of the break down of the finances of the *Bakufu*.

Each *daimyō* tried to reform the tax system in order to cope with the situation.

Many were borrowing money from money-lenders in Osaka, Kyoto or Edo. The debt of Shimazu of Kagoshima amounted to 5 million *ryō*. His *karō*, or manager of the *daimyō*'s office, arranged that the debt would be cleared by paying 20,000 *ryō* yearly in 25 instalments. In such a case, as the money-lenders could not sue the *daimyō*, many of them went bankrupt. Shimazu held a monopoly on sugar which was produced in his territory and made considerable profit. He was also engaged in trade with China by way of the Ryūkyūs. By the seclusion policy of the *Bakufu* a *daimyō* could not engage in foreign trade. But after Shimazu owned the Ryūkyūs since 1609 the Family made it a nominal independent country so that it might carry on commerce with China. Thus the people of the Ryūkyūs brought Chinese goods to Kagoshima. By this method Shimazu profited and toward the middle of the 19th century the family was somewhat well-off.

About the same time Mōri of Hagi carried out a tax reform and financial re-arrangement was successfully conducted. There were some other *daimyō* in southwestern Japan who were successful in their financial reforms, many of whom adopted the method of monopolization, that is, to monopolize the purchasing and selling of special goods produced in their territories. It was a kind of feudalistic control by the *daimyō* of the gradually developing production. The *han*, clan of the *daimyō*, which succeeded in economic reform adopted European methods of producing weapons or of military training. These knowledges were gained through Dutch books. After the opening of the country some *han* sent students to Britain or bought spinning machines from that country.

The authority of the *Bakufu* began to wane not only in economic sphere but also in its political hegemony. That the control of the *Bakufu* had been very strong can be understood from the fact that there had been no *daimyō* revolt during the 240 years since 1615. But this power began to fall when Perry came to Uraga in 1853. At that time, the chief-*rōjū*, Abe Masahiro, showed the letter from the United States

Government to officials of the *Bakufu* to seek their advice and further consulted *daimyō* who were not officials of the *Bakufu*. This was an unprecedented case. The *Bakufu* even reported to the Imperial Court and showed the letter to the *Tennō*. It was the first time in the history of the *Bakufu* that they reported to the *Tennō* about political affairs.

Since the 17th century it was Confucianism that had been the centre of learning. Confucianism was a Chinese school of philosophy which was systematized by Confucius about 2,000 years ago. Its thought contained several elements that were convenient for maintaining the feudalistic social order. But it also taught that government by power was not the best and that the best way was to make people obey spontaneously through virtue. There was a thought which contended that once the rule by the *Tennō* was good but now politics had been entrusted to the *Shōgun* who was the military leader. That is, it was now thought by some people that the rule of the *Bakufu* was the result of *Tennō*'s mandate.

There was a group of scholars studying the ancient history of Japan. They thought that in older days the people had been honest and innocent. They also thought that with the introduction of Confucianism and Buddhism the good had become distorted and thought had become biased. Thus they advocated a return to ancient ways. It resembled more or less to the European thought of a return to the ways of ancient Greece but the social influence of the former was far weaker than that in Europe. In the ancient history of Japan there was no clear idea of democracy or respect for humanity as was found in Greece—though the latter was based on the slave system and hence differs from the present one. Since the ancient history of Japan was described more abstractly, there was no clear criteria as to which the Japanese were to return. The advocates of such an idea, however, contended that the best period of Japanese politics was the one which was governed by the ancestors of the *Tennō*—the oldest one was a sun-goddess. This doctrine gained many supporters, at least in regard to the

necessity of more respect for the *Tennō*. The *Tennō* who had been living in Kyoto and outside the political arena since the beginning of the 17th century began to draw increasing popular concern from the middle of the 18th century. This concern became stronger in proportion to the increasing criticism against the *Bakufu's* politics.

Also, among officials at the Imperial Court the number of those who stood for the stronger position of the *Tennō* began to increase. And the *daimyō* who were not pleased by the *Bakufu's* policy were now interested in utilizing such concern of the people over the *Tennō*.

Abe Masahiro, by seeking advice of the *daimyō* and reporting to the *Tennō* in regard to the American request for re-opening of the country, tried to escape his responsibility and further to mitigate public criticism that was expected to arise when the decision was made. The *daimyō* were divided to those for re-opening the country and those against. Likewise, the rank and file of the *bushi* was divided. Masahiro led the anti-foreign group and tried to tide over the situation by appointing Tokugawa Nariakira of Mito, a branch of the *Shōgun's* Family, to the position of highest adviser of the *Bakufu*. Masahiro seemed to have a desire to change the *Bakufu* dictatorship into a coalition of influential *daimyō*. He even asked a Dutch scholar to teach him the political system of Germany. But Masahiro died in 1857 during negotiations with Harris on the Americo-Japanese commercial treaty. He was succeeded by Hotta Masamutsu who anticipated severe criticism against the *Bakufu's* conclusion of a commercial treaty on its own authority and tried to gain imperial approval on the matter. Thus the *Tennō* was put above the *Shōgun* in the matter of politics. In this way the *Tennō* and his court began to have a voice in politics, which was to exercise great influence over the history of later Japan.

As the *Tennō* now played an important role in the decision of concluding treaties, the two groups began to approach the Imperial Court. The political position of the *Tennō* was regarded as increasingly im-

portant. But the Imperial Court was dominantly conservative and did not know the strength of the men-of-war which Perry brought to the Japanese shore. Nor did they have more knowledge on European or American situations than officials of the *Bakufu*. Furthermore, the *Shōgun* had no son and opinion was divided in this case, too, as to the selection of a successor. One opinion recommended a son from Tokugawa of Wakayama while the other sided with a son from Tokugawa of Mito, both being branches of the *Shōgun's* Family. Hitherto, the selection of a successor had been made by the will of the *Shōgun* himself or that of the man most-trusted by the present *Shōgun*. But now every *daimyō* recommended openly a person of his choice. They approached the Imperial Court and so arranged that the will of the *Tennō* should be the key in deciding the new *Shōgun*. That is, there were movements for making the *Tennō* decide on the conclusion of treaties as well as on the selection of a new *Shōgun*.

The *Tennō* did not give consent to the conclusion of treaties. Accordingly, the *Bakufu* asked Harris to postpone negotiations but was refused. In the incident of the S.S. Arrow the Anglo-French alliance had defeated Ching China. Harris was afraid that the allied fleet of the two countries would come to Japan to conclude a treaty before him. Therefore, Harris warned the *Bakufu* about a possible military action by the Anglo-French allied fleet against Japan and persuaded that it was wise to conclude a treaty with the United States immediately. Many of the *Bakufu* officials were moved by his warning and Ii Naosuke, who was then the highest official, finally agreed. The commercial treaty with the United States was thus concluded in 1858 without Imperial sanction.

Naosuke chose a son from Tokugawa of Wakayama to succeed as *Shōgun* and punished the group under Tokugawa Nariakira of Mito who was the father of another candidate for *Shōgun*. In 1859 he ordered

punishment, including capital punishment, to many of those who had been criticizing the *Bakufu* or advocating respect for the *Tennō*. Although Naosuke agreed to sign the commercial treaty, he did not have a progressive mind. He was rather conservative and tried to reinforce the *Shōgun's* dictatorship. He was even opposed to encouraging European learning in Japan. Thus he was assassinated in 1860 outside Edo Castle by the vassals of Tokugawa Nariakira.

After his death the political scene was dominated by those who sought a stronger dictatorship by the *Shōgun*, who tried to grasp political hegemony by utilizing the *Tennō*, or who wanted to arrange a political compromise between the *Shōgun* and the *Tennō*. Not only the *daimyō* but also their vassals and even *rōnin* became active. The *rōnin* was a *bushi* who had no master and hence received salary from no one. The *rōnin* were united with wealthy merchants or farmers in their demand for political reform of the *Bakufu* or of the *daimyō's* offices. But it was not easy for the bourgeoisie to establish a capitalistic society at the expense of the feudal one in such a country as Japan where development of commodity economy was not full-fledged and the dawn of industrial revolution had not yet begun. As the social position of many of the merchants were protected by the *Shōgun* or the *daimyō*, they did not want to see the decline of feudal authority. They even tried to associate themselves with such an authority. The farmers were, as mentioned before, not able to become independent. They did not develop into two groups, of agricultural manager and agricultural laborer. In industry even the manufacture was not full-fledged and it was not that the manufacturers developed into capitalists but that the merchants were in control of manufacturing. The feudalistic pattern of production was so strong that it was hard to give birth to a bourgeois revolution. Although there were frequent

uprisings of poor farmers or city people, many of them ended in mere confusion and only succeeded in mitigating the tax temporarily. They did not become a permanent power which might defy feudal society.

But with the beginning of foreign trade it was now necessary for domestic industry to adopt capitalistic production methods so that it might compete with foreign goods which were produced at lower cost in modern factories.

The feudalistic power strengthened itself by voluntarily adopting new methods of production. On the one hand there was the struggle between 2 groups: one for maintenance of the political machinery of the *Bakufu* and the other for creation of the Imperial Government under the *Tennō*. The struggle ended in victory for the latter in 1867 and the *Shōgun* returned his political power to the *Tennō*. Thus the *Tennō* became the ruler of the entire country. This was called *Ōsei-fukko* or the restoration of Imperial rule as it was in ancient times. In the course of this event minor fightings occurred against those who asserted the maintenance of the *Bakufu's* authority. Also, France supported the *Bakufu* while Britain sided with the anti-*Bakufu* group, but such movements remained behind the screen. Opinion is divided as to the interpretation of the transition of power from the *Shōgun* to the *Tennō*—the *Ōsei-fukko* or the Meiji Restoration. One opinion regards it as a bourgeois revolution and the other contends that it was the establishment of a government based on absolutism. At present, the latter theory is more favored. One reason that accounts for such a tendency is that the reason for Japanese defeat in World War II was sought in the undergrowth of democratic politics and further back in the situation created in the Meiji Restoration. However, it is not always suitable to compare the period after the Restoration with that of the absolute monarchy in Europe.

Present Age (Middle of 19th century—Present day)

Reform of the Meiji Government and promulgation of the Imperial Constitution

Meiji-Tennō remained on the throne for 45 years from 1867 to 1912. This period was called the *Meiji-jidai* or Meiji Era.

The Meiji Government started when the *Shōgun* returned in 1867 the political authority to the *Tennō*. In the next year Edo was renamed Tokyo and was made the capital of Japan. In those days the *daimyō* were still in control of their estates and the land under *Tennō* control was not very large. It was then so arranged in 1869 that the *daimyō* should return their holdings to the *Tennō* and that they become the governors of their former land as His Majesty's officials. In 1871 this system was abolished and new prefectures were created, and new governors were appointed. In the beginning the country consisted of 305 administrative zones but were gradually reduced to 46. The *daimyō* were granted peerages together with many privileges which lasted until the enactment of the new Constitution of Japan in 1946.

The *bushi* in those days numbered about 408,000 and they were given public bonds and the title of *shizoku* or warrior-class. Other privileges were cancelled. They became government officials, merchants or farmers. The Government adopted in 1872 the conscription system in the absence of the bushi class.

The taxation system was reformed in 1873. The traditional levy in kind was abolished and the payment in cash was now adopted. The taxation ratio did not change. But with the increase in the price of rice, the ratio became proportionately lower and the land-owners profitted because payment in kind was maintained between the land-owner and his tenant-farmer until the land reform after the World War II. Until 1877, there had been frequent upris-

ings in this country. Some were started by discontented former *bushi*, others by those who were opposed to the new systems or organizations and still others by farmers who were against the newly introduced conscription system. Some people stood up in protest against the dictatorship of the government. There were also disputes in the Government itself. But resistance by force had ended by 1877.

By this time European systems and habits were being introduced one after another. The school system followed the French pattern but later changed gradually. The percentage of school attendance became higher and almost all the Japanese children went to school by the end of the Meiji Era.

No more did a man bundle his hair in a topknot nor did a woman blacken her teeth after her marriage. The Oriental lunar calendar was abolished and the solar calendar was introduced. In some parts of Japan, however, the old lunar calendar is still in actual use and there are districts where people celebrate the new year by the lunar calendar. Also, the Japanese now began to eat meat and a peculiar dish called *sukiyaki* was developed. They also began to drink milk.

But above all it was the development of transportation and communication that greatly influenced Japanese life. Transportation began to develop when a railroad was opened first in 1872 between Tokyo and Yokohama. In the same year a telegraph service was established between Tokyo and Kyoto. *Jinrikisha* or rickshaw was devised by taking a hint from the European carriage. In Japan the Kyoto nobles had used cow-carriages between the 9th and the 12th centuries but horsecarriages had not been used for transportation of man. It was used only for moving goods and that, too, was limited to the city of Kyoto and its vicinity. Such being the case the first Japanese who went to the United States were surprised by the horse-carriage used for human transportation. In Japan hu-

man labor was cheap. Thus manpower was preferred to horse-power. The rickshaw became popular in this country very quickly. It was later exported to China and other Asian countries for the popularity of the rickshaw coincided with the cheap labor of man.

But it can not safely be said that the development of transportation and communication brought an essential change to Japanese society. It meant merely that life had become more convenient. The industrial structure of this country had to be so adapted as to be able to compete with the advanced capitalist countries which had undergone industrial revolution. The facilities for transportation and communication meant a step toward the revolution. But private capital was not yet fully accumulated for the commencement of mining and industry on a modern scale. Thus the government established with its capital industrial facilities under government control. Iron mills, ship-yards, spinning mills, silk-yards, cement factories and glass factories were built and agricultural stations, pastures, factories for farm tools were established. Among them were those for manufacturing goods for the use of the government as well as to provide models to private industries. This was the same policy as that adopted in European countries in the age of mercantilism. And in the same way its purpose was to strengthen national wealth and military power.

When private capital had accumulated to some extent after 1880, the governmental factories were sold to the civilians. In the accumulation of private capital the government played a major role with its economic policy. It is especially significant that large amounts of unconvertible bank notes and public bonds were issued. The governmental policy was made possible by levying taxes, the core of which was the land tax—that is, the capital was accumulated based on the land tax paid by farmers. The agricultural districts were the suppliers of the labor indispensable to modern industry.

The products of modern industry were supplied to the domestic market. But the farmers who occupied as much as 80 per-

cent of the entire population were suffering from heavy taxation and had no surplus purchasing power. On the other hand Japan faced many obstacles in her competition with advanced countries as she lacked independent customs control. After 1890 when Japan developed to the stage where she sought overseas markets, the first country which Japan approached was Korea.

As the Meiji Government strengthened its tendency toward absolutism, opposition arose and demands for establishment of a parliament were heard. Active movements were seen in various localities. But those who became the centre of this movement differed among themselves. Some were wealthy farmers, others were poor; many were concerned with politics for selfish reasons. Among government people, such a man as Ōkuma Shigenobu advocated the establishment of a parliament by election. The government, however, was opposed to parliament by election or at least thought it too early. When the advocates of *Jiyūminken-ron* or theory of free and popular sovereignty blamed the government in 1881 in connection with a scandal, the government declared that parliament would be opened ten years later and expelled the Ōkuma faction from the government. This was a concession made by the government but was also a move to cool off the movement for popular sovereignty.

The drafting of the Imperial Constitution was carried out by the Meiji Government in the name of the *Tennō*. Leading figure in the drafting was Itō Hirobumi who had gone to Europe in 1883 to study constitution laws and other governmental systems. He studied chiefly the German Constitution and was engaged secretly in the drafting after his return to Japan in the following year. The draft was presented to the *Sūmitsu-in* or Privy Council which was established as an advisory organ to the *Tennō*. The Constitution was promulgated in February, 1889 under the name of *Dainihon Teikoku Kempō* or Great Japanese Imperial Constitution.

According to the Constitution, the sovereignty of Japan rested with the *Tennō* who was to be sacred and inviolable. The

parliament was to be composed of two houses and the members of the *Kizoku-in* or House of Peers were to be either those elected by the nobles or those appointed by the *Tennō*. The members of the *Shūgi-in* or House of Commons were to be men of the age of more than 30 and were to be elected by men who were above the age of 25 and who paid a direct tax of more than 15 *yen*. The voters in the beginning numbered about 450,000 which was only 1.1 percent of the entire population.

The *naikaku* or the cabinet was established early in 1886. The *daijin* or ministers of the cabinet were responsible to the *Tennō* and not to the parliament. The ministers of the army and the navy were selected from among professional soldiers and this system took on an importance when soldiers later became united in their political activities. The power of the parliament that could be exercised against the government was limited to the right of budget deliberations.

Before promulgation of the Constitution local administration had been established by enforcing the system of municipality and of towns and villages to clear the way for local autonomy. This system was based on the Prussian pattern and was authored by a Prussian called Mosse. Civil right was given to only those men who paid a direct tax to more than two *yen*. But even among holders of civil right there was a difference in franchise according to the amount of the tax. Such difference was intended to prevent a majority decision by the lower class people. Even after parliament was opened, several imperial ordinances which were as powerful as the laws enacted by parliament were issued. The *chokurei* or Imperial Ordinance was promulgated by the *Tennō* with the approval of the Privy Council.

The first Imperial Parliament was convened in 1891. But long after this, as the Cabinet of Japan was not formed on the basis of a political party, the parliament, especially the House of Commons, had the appearance of an opposition party. Thus if the House moved to cut the budget, the government would dissolve the House in response. The dissolution of the House of

Commons was carried out in the name of the *Tennō* but the actual decision was made by the Cabinet.

Foreign relations and revision of treaties

As has already been mentioned, the treaties which Japan concluded with the countries in Europe and America after 1854 could not be unilaterally ended after preliminary notification. Therefore the only way left open to Japan was to revise them.

In order to prepare for revision of the treaties the government sent Iwakura Tomomi in 1871 to Europe and America as ambassador plenipotentiary. But he realized that in order to abolish consular jurisdiction it was necessary for Japan to establish a modern criminal code and that the clause on most-favored-nation treatment prevented Japan from entering negotiations with more than one country at one time. He further saw that domestic reform was a necessary prerequisite.

In 1877, Foreign Minister Terajima Munenori, in a move to recover independent customs right started talks with the United States. The American attitude was favorable to the revision and a new treaty was signed in 1879 in which Japan's wish was now recognized. But the treaty contained a reservation to the effect that the new treaty would enter into force only when other countries concluded the same kind of treaty as the one between America and Japan. In the following negotiations with other countries Britain, France and Germany took the opposite stand and Terajima's attempt at restoration of the customs right failed. In 1878 a Briton smuggling opium, was discovered by the Yokohama Customs and tried under consular jurisdiction but was declared innocent. Next year, with cholera spreading over western Japan the government issued a regulation that the ships coming from the west should be placed under quarantine. A German consul in Yokohama placed German ships under the protection of a German warship and allowed them to enter Yokohama without passing through quarantine. American

President Grant who was then in Japan said that if a German ship behaved in such way in the United States, the ship would be bombarded.

Thus, there developed in Japan an opinion that not only customs right but also jurisdiction should be restored to the Japanese. But, actually, the new criminal code was enacted only as late as in 1882 and foreign criticism on the poor state of Japanese jurisdiction was unavoidable.

In 1887, Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru drafted a reform plan by which foreigners were permitted to live among natives and would be subject to Japanese jurisdiction but that the government might hire foreign judges to try the foreigners. He secretly contacted foreign authorities and obtained their consent. But the secret leaked to the public who opposed the plan bitterly and Inoue met failure. Inoue contended that in order to revise the treaties the Japanese must behave like foreigners and advocated the so-called Europeanization. He therefore frequently held dance parties sponsored by the government and tried to imitate Europe superficially. His policy was blasted by the public.

Restoration of jurisdiction was first achieved by Foreign Minister Mutsu in negotiations with Britain in 1894. It was followed by other countries and new treaties came into force after 1899. At the same time the most-favored-nation clause was changed to work both ways. Customs right was restored in 1911. But leaseholds given to foreigners at open-ports were converted to ownership, which was enjoyed by foreigners in Japan until 1942.

Foreign relations in Meiji Era

The Shimoda Treaty of 1855 between Japan and Russia stipulated that no national boundary should be fixed in Karafuto (Sakhalin) where the nationals of the two countries were to live together. Because of this, frequent disputes occurred. Especially, a small unit of Russian troops was stationed there and the Japanese were at times mistreated by the soldiers. The Japanese government began to take action

on Sakhalin and concluded a treaty with Russia in 1875. By this treaty Sakhalin was given to Russia and in exchange Japan became the owner of the Kurile Islands. Russia paid compensation for Japanese buildings in Sakhalin. Before this treaty opinion existed in the government in favor of Japan's taking over all of Sakhalin by purchase from Russia. This opinion was informally recognized by the Russian acting-minister but later the negative opinion became dominant in the Japanese government.

It is said that Ogasawara or Bonin Islands were so named after Ogasawara Sadayori who discovered the islands in 1593. But the islands had not developed rapidly and were inhabited by sea-wrecked Japanese. The *Bakufu*, however, made an official survey of the islands in 1675.

Captain Beechy of the British man-of-war Blossom re-discovered the islands and claimed them for Britain. In 1830 an American, Nathaniel Savory, and his group came there to live. Before Perry's visit to Japan in 1853 he had gone to the islands to build a coal-yard. Thus he rebuffed British protests by quoting many documents on the chronology of the discovery of the Ogasawara Islands and stated that they had been explored by the Japanese before the Britons came. Thus, the Japanese Government thought it unprofitable to neglect the islands and sent there in 1861 a *gaikoku-bugyō* or official in charge of foreign affairs to claim ownership and then sent inhabitants from Hachijō-jima Island.

In 1875 the Japanese Government confirmed the declaration of ownership of 1861 and the islands formally became Japanese territory.

Judging from ethnological and linguistic facts, it is believed that the inhabitants of Ryūkyū or Loochoo Islands are of the same origin as the people in Japan. Ryūkyū appeared about the 8th century in the history of Japan as having relations with this country and after the Shimazu expedition of Kagoshima in 1609 the islands became his possession. His ownership was recognized by the *Shōgun*. Shimazu enacted laws in the Ryūkyū, set up a taxation system and

sent officials to supervise administration. But the profit made by selling to Osaka merchants the goods which came to Kagoshima from China by way of Ryūkyū was regarded by Shimazu as far more important than the tax revenue collected from the islanders.

When the feudal clans were abolished and new prefectures were created in 1871 the Meiji Government put the Ryūkyū Islands under the jurisdiction of Kagoshima Prefecture. In the same year 66 Ryūkyūans drifted to Taiwan or Formosa and 54 of them were killed by the natives. When the government protested to Ching China, the latter turned it down by saying that Formosa was out of Chinese jurisdiction. Accordingly Japan sent an expedition to Formosa in 1868 which ended in the conclusion of the Tienchin Treaty between Japan and China. By this treaty China recognized that the Japanese expedition to Formosa was legitimate and that China would pay compensation for the murdered Ryūkyūans. Thus Ching China recognized Japanese domination of the Ryūkyūs. Later China stated that it was not proper for the Ryūkyūs to belong exclusively to Japan. But this contention came to an end when the war broke out between the two countries in 1894.

Korea was a country which had been exchanging state-letters with Japan throughout the Edo Period. She sent missions to Japan to celebrate the succession of the *Shōgun*. But diplomatic relations between the two countries were suspended after 1811. The Meiji Government sought to resume diplomatic intercourse with Korea. In those days the Korean king was yet too young and his father held actual power. The father was a conservative dictator and adopted a policy of antiforeignism. Korea was in dispute with France and the United States in 1866 and in 1871 respectively. And when Japan proposed resumption of diplomatic relations, Korea declined. Anti-Japanese feeling became strong in Korea and in 1873 she refused to supply food to a Japanese diplomatic mission in Pusan. Thus the Japanese Government had to decide whether to withdraw all Japanese residents from Korea or to open

diplomatic relations by force. The government chose the latter.

But at that time the mission headed by Iwakura Tomomi and Ōkubo Toshimichi returned from the United States and Europe. As they were opposed to a Korean expedition, the faction headed by Saigō Takamori, who favored the move, retired from the government. This event was called the *Seikanron* Incident, dispute over the Korean expedition, and was regarded in Japan as a very important event. Among the group which retired from the government were Saigō Takamori and Etō Shinpei both of whom died in the rebellion later and Gotō Shōjirō and Itagaki Taisuke who had worked for the establishment of parliament by election so that the government might not be dominated by a few influential persons.

In 1875 a Japanese man-of-war which was engaged in measurement off Kanghai Island was bombarded by the Korean fortress and entered into fighting. Japanese sailors landed on the Korean Island. As a result, a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded between Japan and Korea in 1876. Article I of the treaty provided that Korea was independent and had equal rights as Japan. But Ching China continued to regard Korea as her dependency, and this became the reason for disputes between China and other countries including Japan.

By the treaty of 1871 Japan and China recognized each other's consular jurisdiction. It was the first fair treaty concluded between the two countries. In order to celebrate the Imperial rule and marriage of Emperor Tongchih, Foreign Minister Fukushima Taneomi went to China in 1873 as ambassador plenipotentiary and exchanged the ratification text of the treaty.

As the result of Sino-Japanese conflicts which occurred in Seoul, Korea in 1884, another Tenshin (Tienchin) Treaty was concluded between the two countries in 1885. The Treaty provided that the two parties should withdraw their armies from Korea and should report to each other when the necessity of sending an army to Korea occurred in the future. Japan signed the Jinsen (Inchon) Treaty with Korea by

which she retained the right to send an army to Korea when necessary. Accordingly the Japanese army was withdrawn. Since Japan had made certain concession to China by the Tienchin Treaty, China began to take the initiative in Korea and sent Yuan Shih-kai to train the Korean army. Russia too, began to approach Korea. It was in those days that Britain occupied the Komun (Kyobun) Island and Russia tried to construct a naval base at the Bay of Yungtung (Eikō).

As has been stated, Japanese economy had so developed as to necessitate overseas markets by 1890 when parliament was opened. Ching China, too, was involved in the economic competition of European countries and tried to seek a market in Korea. Thus Japan, China and Russia began to compete in Korea. At this time a riot took place in South Korea. It was caused by a religious group called Tonghako against the misrule of local Korean officials. The rebels were strong and the Korean government had to ask China to send troops. China reported to Japan in accordance with the Tienchin Treaty while Japan sent an army by exercising the right provided in the Jinsen (Inchon) Treaty. The two countries entered into fighting on land and sea. China seemed to think that Japan had no strength to fight as the government and parliament were in dispute ever since the promulgation of the Constitution. Neither Russia nor Britain expected Japan to win. But Foreign Minister Mutsu Munemitsu wrote in his memoir that the policy of the Japanese Government was to take the initiative in military action if diplomatic negotiations failed. The war began in July 1894 and ended in March 1895 with victory for Japan which occupied as far north as the Peninsula of Liaotung.

On April 17, 1895 the Shimonoseki Treaty was concluded. It contained the following items: (1) China should recognize the independence of Korea, (2) China should give Liaotung Peninsula, Formosa and Pescadore Islands or *Hōko-tō* to Japan, (3) China should pay 200 million taels (300 million Japanese *yen*) to Japan as compensation, and (4) a Sino-Japanese treaty

should be concluded following the examples of the treaties between China and European countries.

Several days after the signing of the treaty, Russia, France and Germany presented to the Japanese Government a note which read that Japanese domination of the Liaotung Peninsula would endanger Peiping, the Chinese capital, and be a menace to peace in the Far East. The fleets of the three countries demonstrated near the Japanese shore. Russia had long been seeking an ice-free port. She opened a port at Vladivostok and further wished to retain Lüshun, Port Arthur, which would be made impossible by Japanese ownership of the Liaotung Peninsula. France was then in alliance with Russia. And Germany regarded it profitable to leave Russia busy with her eastern policy. Due to the pressure brought by the three countries, Japan was obliged to return the Peninsula to China and in exchange received 30 million taels (45 million *yen*). China suffered hardship in payment of the compensation, and was assisted by Russia and France.

Although Japan lost the Liaotung Peninsula, the entire amount of the compensation paid to her was more than that of the private capital in Japan and was far greater than the money that Japan had spent in the war. By virtue of such a huge income Japan was able to establish the gold standard and most of the compensation was used for strengthening her military power, especially the building of the navy. New men-of-war were mostly ordered from Britain. The Sino-Japanese War resulted in development of Japanese economy and increase in military power. The heavy industry was enlarged and Japanese commodities flooded the Korean markets as well as that of China. Weaving and other industries were expanded. It is generally regarded that the industrial revolution in Japan was achieved during this period.

Russia which had put China under its obligation by the three-power intervention in Liaotung Peninsula concluded a secret treaty with a Chinese statesman, Li Hung-chang, who was sent to Moscow in 1896 to

attend the coronation of the Russian emperor. By this treaty Russia gained the right to build a railway from Chita to Vladivostok by way of Manchuria. This charter was given to Russia in return for promise of Russian military aid to China in case the latter was attacked by Japan. This Russo-Chinese alliance was kept secret until the Washington Conference 25 years later.

The secret treaty marked an epoch in the Far Eastern policy of Russia as she began to push eastward actively thereafter. In November, 1897, a German missionary was killed by natives in Shantung Province of China. Germany and Russia took advantage of this incident and the former occupied Chiao-chow Bay while the latter sent a fleet to occupy the mouth of Port Arthur. The German Kaiser sent a congratulatory cable to the Russian emperor and promised to aid Russia in her great undertaking. Russia, too, promised to help German moves in China. By the treaty concluded in March, 1898, with China, Russia leased Port Arthur and Talien and gained a railway charter between the East China Line and Talien together with other rights along the railway. Thus, the area which was regarded dangerous to peace in the Far East if it was dominated by Japan now came under Russian control. Russia also was busy in expanding its influence into Korea.

The anti-foreign Boxer Uprising took place in China in 1900. In those days Russia, Germany, Britain, France were expanding their economic power and interests in China by leasing land and gaining railway rights in Chinese territory. The Boxer Uprising took place in such background and hence its purpose was to protect China against foreign pressure. The European powers quickly sent troops to the outskirts of Peiping and demanded compensation from China. Russia took advantage of this incident and sent an army to Manchuria. They even crossed the Yalu River into Korean territory. Japan, in the mean while, discussed measures to curb the Russian advance. One major opinion, which was backed by influential politicians favored conclusion of a treaty with Russia

to avoid conflict while another advocated by diplomats favored an Anglo-Japanese alliance to stand against Russia. The latter opinion won and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was born in 1902. Thus the situation came to the point where war was inevitable unless either Russia or Japan gave way.

In Russia, Finance Minister Witte, who favored peace, was discharged and Army Minister Kuropatkin came to have a big voice in the government. By 1902, most of the Siberian Railway had been completed except for a part around Lake Baikal. Russian withdrawal from Manchuria was to be made in 1903 but was not carried out. In Japan, too, some socialists and pacifists voiced opposition to a war but they were gradually drowned out. In 1903 the Japanese government revealed to Russia its terms for a status quo. They included protection and independence of China and Korea, equal opportunity in commerce and industry, Japanese predominance in Korea and Russian predominance in the management of railways in Manchuria. In response, Russia rejected the protection of Chinese territory and the equal opportunity clause and proposed that Japan should sever relations with Manchuria and that the territory north of latitude 39 north should be made a neutral zone.

In January, 1904, the Japanese government decided to oppose the Russian proposal concerning the creation of a neutral zone in Korea and notified the Russian minister to that effect. In February, the government decided to cut diplomatic ties with Russia and the two countries entered a state of war. The war was fought by Japan and Russia not for the defence of their own soil but in an attempt to expand their own colonies or spheres of influence in Korea and China.

The fighting progressed to the advantage of Japan. The Japanese navy destroyed the Russian Pacific fleet and encircled Port Arthur which was occupied by the Japanese army in January, 1905, after a fierce struggle. The fall of Port Arthur was followed by the battle at Mukden and the naval clash on the Japan Sea. The battle on land

was not fatal to the Russian army but on the sea the Russian Far Eastern fleet was almost destroyed. But at the same time, the military strength of Japan had reached its limit. Accordingly, Japan asked American President Roosevelt to intervene.

The Portsmouth Treaty was concluded between Japan and Russia and the latter recognized Japanese hegemony in Korea. Politically, economically and militarily Japan was now in a position to control, protect and lead Korea. Russia gave Japan the railway rights in Manchuria, leasehold of Port Arthur and also Sakhalin south of latitude 50 north. Russia also promised to give Japan the right to fish off Primorskaya Province (*Enkaishū*). Russia's material loss was not so great but the defeat in the war was fatal to her politics and society, which opened the way to the revolution of 1917. The Japanese had expected to receive an indemnity from Russia but the treaty did not specify it and when the results of the Portsmouth Conference were reported the discontented people rioted in Tokyo.

Early in February, 1904, immediately after the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, Japan signed an alliance treaty with Korea and gained a voice in Korean politics. In 1905, after the conclusion of the Portsmouth Treaty, Japan took over diplomatic rights in Korea. But Korean foreign affairs had not functioned through normal diplomatic channel but had been conducted by the Emperor himself who negotiated with foreign residents in Korea who, in turn contacted their home countries. Therefore Japanese domination of Korean diplomatic right was not complete. The Korean Emperor sent a secret mission to the Second Peace Conference held at the Hague in 1907 and tried to persuade world opinion to condemn Japanese pressure upon Korea. As this was a breach of the Japan-Korea Treaty, the Korean Emperor was forced to abdicate. The treaty was revised in favor of Japan which now gained actual control of Korean politics. In 1909, Itō Hirobumi who held the highest position in the Japanese Government was assassinated at Harbin by a Korean. Later, the Korean

Prime Minister Lee Wan-yong, also, was wounded by a countryman. Japan took advantage of these incidents and in 1910, Korea which had been no more than a dependency of China, was annexed by Japan.

Japanese industry in the beginning of the 20th century

By the end of the 19th century Japanese industry had achieved the establishment of industrial capital in the field of consumer goods. Later, it took advantage of the expansion of armaments and the Russo-Japanese War and also became a full-fledged producer of producer's goods. The chief characteristic that appeared in the course of such a development was the overwhelming ratio of ammunition industry and the industry became unbalanced as arms production outgrew other fields. This phenomenon was just the reverse of the industrial revolution in Europe. For instance, transplation or manufacturing of engineering machines was realized earlier than weaving machines and the development of engines for naval craft was favored at the expense of that for ordinary use. Also, more emphasis was given to the arms manufacture than to ordinary industries, to military than to civil, and to urban rather than to rural undertakings. Such being the situation, even the arms industry could not but be weak in structure.

Another characteristic of Japanese industry at the beginning of the 20th century was the existence of medium and small industries with poor technology and outdated facilities. Many of them were still in the stage of cottage industry, which continued to exist widely and for a long time. Some of them were independent, such as the production of matches, dry goods, spinning, weaving, dyeing porcelain and brewing while others belonged to the larger industries as for example in the case of manufacturing machines. These medium or small scale industries had insufficient facilities, inefficient production and feudalistic labor relations. The larger industries were managed on the foundation of such medium and small industries so that Japa-

nese industry as a whole was not stabilized. Labor conditions were bad as was the case in Europe in the days of the industrial revolution with low wages, long working hours, extensive use of women and children and semi-feudalistic labor management. As was generally known, the worst was the position of women workers in cotton-weaving which occupied the chief position in Japanese industry. In case of masculine labor the miners received the worst treatment. The first factory law to protect workers was enforced as late as 1916.

The chief source of labor power was the agricultural districts. Japanese agriculture in the 20th century was still small scale family labor and there was no large scale capitalistic management. The narrow arable land made it difficult for the Japanese farmer to change his ways and at the same time brought up the problem of surplus labor, which could not fully be used by agriculture only. Thus this rural overflow was converted to low wage labor in industry. When the factories faced depression, the workers returned to the agricultural districts to exist on a minimum standard of life. In other word, agricultural districts had always been the source of potential unemployment.

This fact was closely connected with the old inheritance law of Japan, which regulated that the eldest son should be the heir and if there was no son in a family, the eldest daughter was to take over. Generally speaking, daughters were usually given only clothes and certain properties when they became members of other families by marriage. The second or third sons, if they were fortunate, would be given a part of land or forest, but if the family was poor or if the eldest son's livelihood was likely to be endangered by dividing the family property among the sons, the eldest took all and the second or third sons became factory or mining workers or apprentices of a merchant so that they might become independent. When the second or third sons were thrown out of jobs, it was the duty of their fathers or elder brothers to feed them. In this way the agricultural dis-

tricts were constantly fostering labor reserves.

Thus, the low wages in Japan were the result of the existence in agricultural districts of this labor reserve or potential unemployed. The fact, in turn, became the reason for the impoverishment of the Japanese farmers. Since the farmers did not have a large consuming power, Japanese industry had to seek overseas markets from an early stage in its development. It was especially notable in the cotton industry. The expansion of Japanese market to Korea in competition with China is regarded as one of the factors that led to the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-95 and victory in that war made it possible for Japan to extend her market farther to China. The industrial capital in Japan was thus established. The steel works, for instance, developed only after Japan, by her victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, gained access to Chinese iron ore and coal as well as control over the steel works and related facilities in Manchuria and Korea. As has been explained before, Japan gained these overseas markets and natural resources by her military operations. Thus was Japanese colonial policy, upon which Japanese industry relied in its accumulation of industrial capital, developed.

These factors mentioned above were the decisively weak points in Japanese industry and have been in existence from the beginning of the 20th century up to the present day.

Establishment of monopolistic capital

It can be said that industrial revolution in Japan had been achieved by the beginning of the 20th century when Japan developed from the stage of industrial capital to that of monopolistic capital. Following the Russo-Japanese War, accumulation of capital by means of concentrating industries was initiated. However, in Japan industries were mostly medium or small scale. In 1914, factories with less than 99 workers occupied as much as 96 percent of the entire picture. Factories with more

than 500 workers accounted for only 0.7 percent but the total number of these large factories reached 25 percent since such large scale factories had under them many small factories of low productivity.

In regard to the establishment of financial capital, nationalization of the railways in 1906 should be mentioned. Up to that time 31 percent of the entire mileage of Japanese railways was under government control and 69 percent under private ownership. But now, with most of the railways in Japan nationalized, the value of the railways rose considerably and the banks which were the largest stock holders of private railways gained huge profit. There is no saying that the nationalization was favorable for military purposes. It was an epochmaking event and the amalgamation of banks also was accelerated in those days for the consolidation of the controlling power of large banks.

In due course, the powerful financial cliques gradually strengthened their machinery to establish themselves as *zaibatsu*, the most conspicuous in Japan being Mitsui and Mitsubishi. The Mitsui family consolidated its foundation in the 17th century. The family once operated a pawnshop and a brewery in Ise and also owned land. It opened a clothing shop in Edo and then in Osaka and began to accumulate capital by operating money exchanges in Edo, Osaka and Kyoto. Then the family cultivated new land and became the owner of large estates. In the Meiji Restoration the Mitsui family gave financial aid to the government and was later rewarded by the latter which sold to Mitsui the Miike coal mine in Kyūshū. Mitsui ran many side businesses, including warehouses, spinning, paper and sugar mills based on the large profits which came from banking, mining and foreign trade.

Mitsubishi had its foundation in the shipping business which was begun by Iwasaki Yatarō after the Meiji Restoration under government protection. Mitsubishi monopolized military transportation in the *Seinan-no-Eki* or the rebellion of Saigō Takamori and his group. It also received, free of charge, 31 vessels from the govern-

ment. Thus the family became the center of Japanese marine transportation by establishing the *Nippon Yusen Kaisha Ltd.* It gained huge profits from the wars with China and with Russia.

Sumitomo *Zaibatsu* established itself early in the 17th century by copper-mining. After the Meiji Restoration it carried out modernization of the Beishi Copper Mine and began to extend its management to coal-mining, copper-refinery, iron-works, banking, foreign trade, warehousing, silk-industry, camphor production and electric lines. Sumitomo thus became the largest concern in Japan next to Mitsui and Mitsubishi.

Yasuda *Zaibatsu* was also established after the Meiji Restoration. It expanded through banking, especially by controlling many local banks through the Yasuda Bank which was established after the Russo-Japanese War. It also operated actively in the fields of insurance, railway and electric apparatus.

Hand in hand with the development of these *zaibatsu*, Japanese capital expanded to Korea, Manchuria, China Proper and Formosa. Especially, the South Manchurian Railway Company which was established in 1906 by taking over the right from Russia was a combination of Mitsui and Mitsubishi interests. The company which became the center of Japanese domination in Manchuria also controlled the Anshan Iron Works and the Fushun Coal Mines. Ōkura *Zaibatsu* operated the Penchifu Coal and Iron Company. All these were indispensable to the establishment of the steel industry for Japan's military purposes.

The Korean resources were exploited by Tōyō Takushoku Company, Ltd. which was established in 1908 with the joint capital of the government and private concerns. The Chōsen Bank was established by the government in 1911. The Japanese control of Formosa was chiefly pushed forward by the establishment of large sugar companies in the 20th century after the opening of the Taiwan Bank in 1899.

Thus the Japanese imperialism became full-fledged during the period between the

Russo-Japanese War (1905) and the outbreak of World War I (1914).

World War I

World War I broke out on August 1, 1914. Under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Japan was duty-bound to fight for Britain only when the fighting spread to Asia. But on August 7, Britain asked Japan to attack the German fleet in the China Sea. The Japanese Government was dominated at that time by the *Kaishin-tō* or the Progressive Party headed by Ōkuma Shigenobu. That night, an emergency Cabinet meeting was held in which the Foreign Minister Katō Takaaki said, "At present the situation has not yet so developed as to necessitate Japan's entry into the war under the obligation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. But partly for friendship with an allied country which has requested Japan's participation in the war and partly for strengthening of Japan's position in international politics by wiping out German influences from the East, I think it a better policy to enter the war. On the other hand, however, there is another way by which Japan may increase her national strength by remaining neutral. It may be a safer policy. Although I am inclined to favor our participation in the war, we can not be too careful in considering the matter as it is directly related to the destiny of our country." The discussion continued and the Cabinet meeting came to the conclusion that Japan should enter the war in accordance with the alliance with Britain and as retaliation to Germany which had taken part in the three-power intervention over the Liaotung Peninsula. This was at two a.m. on August 8. The same night a conference was held by the *genrō* or the state-elders, and the final decision of Japan's entry into the war was made 36 hours after the British request. Under the Constitution, the right of declaration of war or peace rested in the hand of the *Tennō*. Each State-Minister of the Cabinet was to take responsibility in his advice to the *Tennō*. The *Tennō* also had an advisory organ called the *Sūmitsu-in* or Privy Coun-

cil which was established by the Constitution. Moreover, there were *genrō* who were given this position on account of their achievements in national affairs and who were in a most important position after the Meiji Restoration. The *genrō* was somewhat similar to life-membership of the Upper House under the Third Republic of France. The *genrō*, in those days, were Yamagata Aritomo, Inoue Kaoru, Ōyama Iwao and Matsukata Masayoshi.

When parliament was established toward the end of the 19th century, the Cabinet was formed on the basis of the political party then in power. Later, however, in the course of the development of the party cabinet there occurred, as a transitory phenomenon, a habit in which the *genrō* recommended to the *Tennō* a person who should form the new Cabinet. Because of such a habit, the *genrō* wielded a powerful voice in the administration by a Cabinet. The *genrō* system remained in existence until the first stage of Shōwa Era and was especially strong in the days of the World War I. Their opinion was respected in the decision of Japan's entry into the War.

When Japan notified Britain of her decision to participate in the war, Britain cancelled her request for Japanese aid since it was feared that if Japan entered the war, she would control the Far East and the Pacific and that British holdings in China would be endangered. Also, that if Japan was allowed to carry out free military operations it would perhaps be opposed by Australia and New Zealand and even by the United States. But Japan contended that the decision which was made to meet the British request could not be changed and gained British consent. Accordingly, Japan declared war against Germany on August, 23.

By speedy military operations the Japanese army occupied the German leasehold at Tingtao by November of the same year. The navy seized the German islands near the equator. The allied powers repeatedly asked Japan to send reinforcements to Europe, but she declined the requests stating that Japan's object was to wipe out German influences from the Far East. The

only exception was the dispatch of a special fleet to the Mediterranean when Germany began unlimited submarine warfare in 1917. Britain, in return, gave consent to Japanese domination of Shantung Province and of the Nanyō Islands (South Sea Islands) north of the equator. Japan, in turn, recognized British control of the German islands south of the equator.

Problem of the Twenty-one Articles

The Ching Dynasty fell due to the 1912 revolution and a republic was established in China. The leading figure of the revolution was Sun Wen. He had once been exiled in Japan and Britain and had many supporters in these countries. After the revolution, however, Sun Wen recommended Yuan Shi-khai who had made the revolution a success, as the first president.

In November, 1915, the Japanese Government presented him with requests and desires consisting of 21 articles under five major items. The Twenty-One Articles included the administration of Shantung Province which Japan had taken from Germany. But the fifth item was not a request but a mere "desire" of Japan. The item included several articles concerned with invitation of prominent Japanese to advise in the political, financial and military matters of the Chinese Government, recognition of land-ownership by Japanese hospitals, temples and schools, establishment of Sino-Japanese joint police in the major Chinese districts and invitation of many Japanese nationals for these purposes.

The original purpose of Foreign Minister Katō had been incorporated into the second item which aimed at the solution of the Manchurian problems, especially, the extension of the lease of Port Arthur and Talien and that of the rights of the South Manchurian Railway and the railway between Antung and Mukden. He also had intended to solve all problems that might become the source of later disputes in relation to Japanese concessions on railway and mining. But many other requests had been raised by various circles including the

genrō, army and capitalists and so the "desire" had been tacked on to the Japanese proposal. Japan had kept the fifth item a secret but China made it public and appealed for third party aid to thwart Japanese ambition. Rebuffed by the Chinese Government, Japan withdrew the "desire" and modified other articles. She further sent an ultimatum to China and obliged her to accept the Japanese demand. Thus in May 1916 the Sino-Japanese Treaty on South Manchuria and East Inner Mongolia was signed. The treaty included nine articles. In China, the treaty was regarded as a step in Japanese encroachment upon China and anti-Japanese feeling began to develop. May 9 the day on which the treaty was ratified by the Chinese Government was designated a "national disgrace day".

Foreign Minister Katō became a target for verbal attacks as many regarded that his policy was a failure. Even the *genrō* bitterly criticized his secret diplomacy. Thus Katō was obliged to resign and Prime Minister Ōkuma also took responsibility for a scandal in the Home Ministry and stepped out of office. He was succeeded by General Terauchi who had been recommended by the *genrō*. In those days the *genrō* were led by Field Marshal Yamagata Aritomo.

Siberian Expedition

The major foreign relation land mark during the Terauchi Cabinet was the Siberian Expedition. By the revolution of 1917 the 300 year-reign of the Romanov Dynasty had come to an end. The newly-born U.S.S.R. denounced all treaties with the allied powers and concluded a peace treaty with Germany. The allies were afraid that Russia might come under the German influence, and a group in the Japanese army tried to take advantage of this opportunity to send an army to Siberia so that a new anti-Soviet regime might be established under Japanese leadership. Also, at that time there was a huge stock of weapons and ammunition sent from the United States for the use of the allied powers at Vladivostok, and it was necessary to keep them

from falling into the hands of the German army. Also in Siberia was a Czech army of 50,000 men, which the allied powers tried to save and move to the western front. For this purpose they asked Japan to take part in a Siberian operation. Following negotiations, Japan sent an army together with the United States and Britain in August, 1918. Next year, in May, Britain withdrew its army and in January, 1920, the United States followed the British example. In March of the same year, 700 Japanese men and women including the consul were all murdered by the Russians at Nikolaevsk. Because of this incident, Japanese withdrawal was postponed until September, 1922. The Siberian Expedition was not supported by public opinion. Moreover, military operations were costly and many lives sacrificed.

War and national life

In the first year of the Siberian Expedition a big riot had taken place in Japan. With the development of the Expedition, commodity prices began to rise, reaching 230 percent in 1918 as compared with that in 1914.

Rice which had been 15 *yen* a *koku* in August 1914 rose to 41 *yen* in the same month of 1918. The reasons were found not only in the bad crop and in the decrease of imports but also in the cornering operations by rice-dealers and wealthy people. The poor could not buy rice and began to riot. It had been initiated by wives of fishermen on the Japan Sea coast in Toyama Prefecture and spread nationwide with as many as 700,000 men and women, including farmers, fishermen, merchants, soldiers and students, asking for lower price of rice. It involved 24 prefectures and 103 cities, towns and villages, out of which the army was called out at 42 places.

The riot, which took place without any organization or leaders, was the first occasion in which the common people stood up against the government.

Riots, heretofore, had been caused by political disputes but this time the reason was impoverishment of the common people.

Up to that time neither the government nor the political parties had no effective policy for such economic problems of the ordinary people but henceforth they began to pay more attention to the people's life. It also stimulated the workers to feel the necessity of labor organizations.

The rice-riot made the people realize the maladjustment of society, difference between rich and poor and that of classes as well as the fact that the politics of the day had least relations with these people. The Terauchi Government prohibited any report on the riot, but it was bitterly opposed by the newspapers. Thus the government fell in September, 1918, and was succeeded by a new Cabinet under the leadership of Hara Takashi, then president of the Seiyū-kai Party. In November of the same year World War I came to an end and the Treaty of Versailles was concluded in 1919.

Enactment of Universal Manhood Suffrage Law

The Hara Cabinet was composed of members of the Seiyū-kai Party excepting the ministers of the army and navy. It was, so to speak, the first party cabinet after the establishment of parliament in Japan 30 years before. Also, Hara was the first commoner to become a prime minister since former prime minister had all been selected from among the nobility.

But the right to vote for members of the House of Commons was limited by the amount of taxation an individual paid. The Election Law of 1889 limited suffrage to those who paid a direct tax of more than 15 *yen* annually. Under this law the number of the voters was limited to only 450,000 persons out of a total population of 42 millions. In the course of time the limit was lowered gradually and it became 10 *yen* in 1900 and three *yen* in 1919. Yet suffrage was still limited to some extent and the Japanese women had no right to vote. Draft laws in favor of universal suffrage had been presented to almost all sessions of the parliament since the Meiji Era. But in each case they had been voted down by those who feared the power of the public.



← Straw pattern potteries (Earlier, early and middle periods of Jōmon Culture)



→ Straw pattern potteries (Later and latest periods of Jōmon Culture)

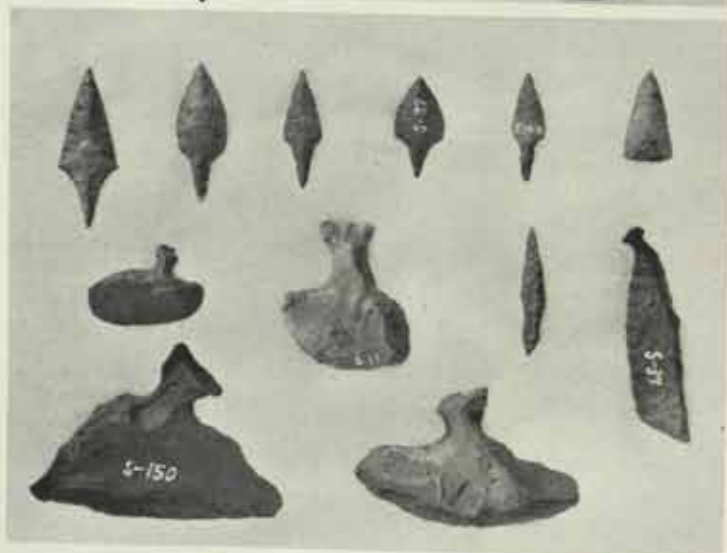


← Yayoi type potteries (Early, middle and later periods)

→
Stone implements (Axes
and rods in middle Jōmon
Period)



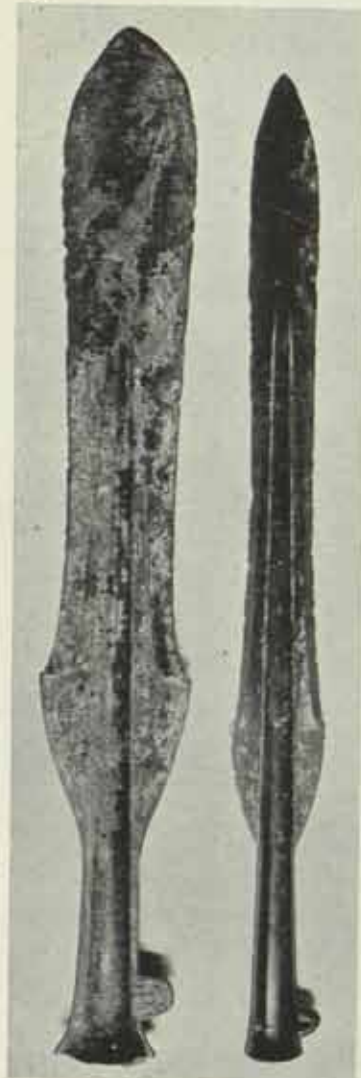
↓
Flint arrowheads,
scrapers and drills
(Later stage of
Jōmon Period)



Bronze halberds

Right: Introduced from
the Asia Continent and used
as a weapon.

Left: Made in imitation
of those made in the Conti-
nent. Used for festivals.



→
Bronze swords and bronze halberds

Left: Sword introduced from the Continent.
Used as a weapon.

2nd and 3rd from left: Swords made
in Japan. Used perhaps for festivals.

Next to right: Bronze halberd made in
Japan.

Right: Bronze halberd introduced from the Continent.

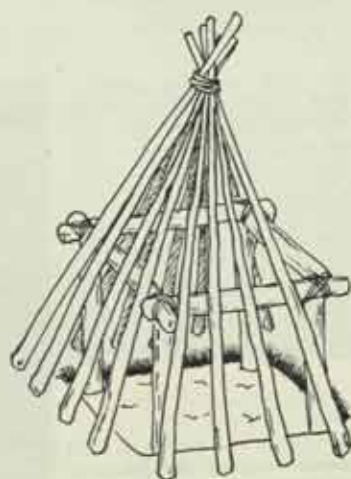
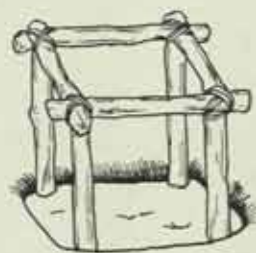




↑
Bronze bell of middle and later periods of Yayoi Culture. Empty, eggshaped. The use is not certain, but perhaps it served as a musical instrument in festivals. On the surface, the manners of living in those days are engraved.



↑
Site of ancient dwelling
Four holes in which four pillars stood and the mark of hearth in the center. They dugged the earth from 50 cm. to 1 m. deep and lived there.



↑
Restored ancient dwelling (pit type)

→
Parts of the bronze bell. The upper pattern is hunting, the lower is a storehouse.





← Clay images unearthed from old tombs →

Left: A woman with a cup.

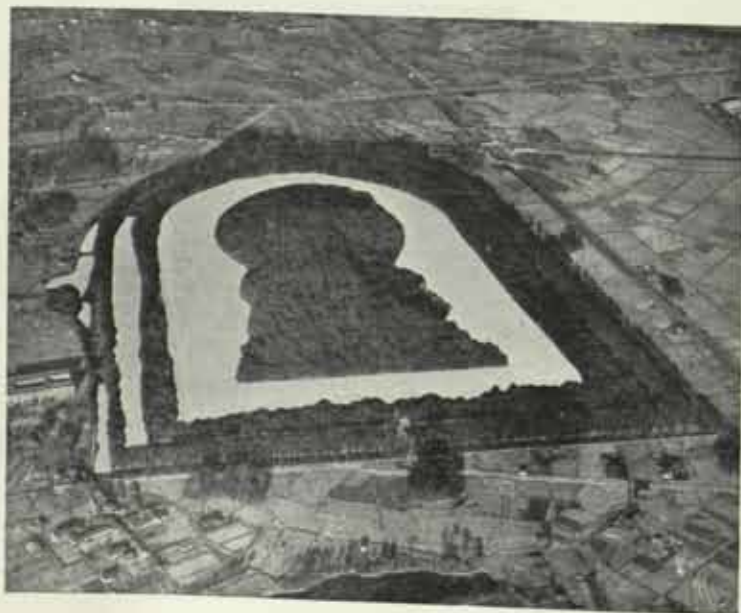
Right: Generally, animal clay images are horses, though hens or water birds are sometimes represented.

Upper: The house put in the center of a tomb, just above the dead body.



↑ A mirror. Many metallic (bronze) mirrors were unearthed from the old tombs. This, made in Japan, resembles to a Chinese mirror. 29 cm. in diameter.

→ The Imperial tomb of the Emperor Nintoku, in the suburbs of Sakai City in Osaka Prefecture. Square in front and round in back. This belongs to the middle stage of Old Mound Period. The mound is 486 meters long and 35 meters high and surrounded by treble moats. The total area covers 140,000 tsubo.





← A bird's-eye view of Hōryūji Temple.



↑ Daibutsu-den in Tōdaiji Temple. Tōdaiji in Nara was first established by the Emperor Shōmu in 745. The present main building was built in the Genroku Period (1688—1703). The biggest wooden building in the world. 48.666 metre high.



↑ A portrait of Prince Shōtoku. Painted around 7th or 8th century.



↑ A huge statue of Buddha at Tōdaiji Temple. Casting was started in 745 and was finished in 752. Due to earthquakes and fires, it was mended or partially recasted three times. The height of the body is 16.212 m., the length of the face is 4.844 m., and the length of the thumb is 1.636 m.

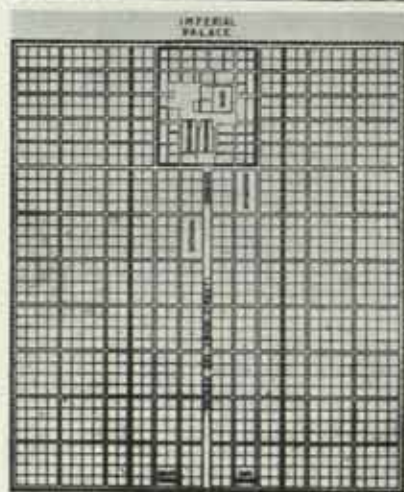


← Shōsōin Repository. This is famous for the treasure-house of Tempō Culture. Originally, it belonged to Tōdaiji Temple, and afterwards became the Imperial repository. The wooden building with tile-roof. Its method of construction is called "Asekura-zukuri" (walls of interlocked triangular timbers to keep the inside air dry). It preserves the Emperor Shōmu's mementos. It is about 9.2 metres deep, 9 metres high, and 2.7 metres high under the floor.

→ The Imperial Kyoto Palace. Built in the northern part of the Capital of Heian (Kyoto). The present palace built in the end of the Edo Period is on the smaller scale than the ancient one, but closely resembles it.



← Nobles of the Heian Period take pleasures. A picture representing the Emperor Goichijō and the nobles who visited Fujiwara Yorimichi, the chief minister of the state, in 1024. A part of picture-scroll of "Imperial visit on horseback".



↑ A map of Heian city. The plan follows after the Capital of Heijō (Nara), but on larger scale.

→ Monk soldiers (Photo—Daiel Motion Picture Co., Ltd.)



← Samurai (warriors) ready for departure to battle ground (Photo—Daiel Motion Picture Co., Ltd.)



Itsukushima Shrine

Itsukushima is a small island in the Inland Sea. Taira-no-Kiyomori reconstructed the old shrine of the island to make it a guardian god for his family. Famous for a big red torii and a corridor built on the sea.



Taira-no-Kiyomori (1118-81) in the formal costume of the noble in the Heian Period.



Minamoto-no-Yoritomo (1147-99)

A typical portrait sculpture of the Kamakura Period. Yoritomo established military government at Kamakura, which continued to the 19th century though with several interruptions.



Sacred dances and music of Itsukushima Shrine. Through the chief channel of court dances and music, amusement for the Heian nobles can be found now in the music department of the Imperial Household, some part of them still remain at Itsukushima and other shrines and they are performed regularly several times a year as dedication to the guardian god.



Common people in Kyoto. In the Fujiwara Period pretty colored picture paper was used to copy Buddhist scriptures. This is one of those paper painted in the Kamakura Period. Among passengers, in the centre is a noble lady followed by a maid. A shop at left is dealing with leatherworks and the centre shop seems to be a vegetable shop.



← Ashikaga Takauji (1305—88)
He overthrew the government established by the Emperor and nobles and laid the foundation of the Ashikaga Government.



↑ Boat dispatched to Ming. From the Picture-Scroll of the History of Shinnyō-dō Hall. Since ancient times traffic with Asian Continent was important for the development of Japanese civilization, and governmental boats were often dispatched to the continent.



← A shopping street in Kyoto.
A part of a folding screen, describing the manners of people on the streets of Kyoto in the Azuchi-Momoyama Period. A man in black and wearing a bamboo hat is a monk. Others are samurai and tradesmen.



← Nambanji (Christian temple)

As Christianity was spread, many temples called Nambanji were built. The picture is a large Nambanji in Kyoto, established in 1568 and rebuilt by Organtino, a missionary, in 1587.



↑ Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-98), painted six months after his death, by Kanō Sanraku, famous master of painting in those days.



↑ Procession of "southern barbarians". One of folding screens which were made in 1590-1640. A picture describing a procession of Portuguese visiting a Christian temple at the right where a portrait of Christ is seen.



↑ Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), Kanō Tanyū, a great painter, painted it by the order of Tokugawa Iemitsu, third Shōgun and grandson of Ieyasu. A person in front of him is Zenkai, a high priest.



Tradesman's houses. A part of the "Kyoto city and suburbs" painted by Sumiyoshi Gukei. Tradesman's houses in the Genroku Period (latter part of the 17th century).



Sacred image used for treading. In order to exterminate Christianity, the Tokugawa Government forced people to tread on a copper or wooden tablet with a crucifix or the Virgin Mary and those who refused to tread were regarded as Christians and were executed. The treading of the sacred image was conducted every New Year since 1628. The center is the Holy Mother, worn out by having been trodden.



Procession of a feudal lord
In the Edo Period, feudal lords travelled in such processions along the highways. The feudal lord is in the palanquin at the left, and the commoners are prostrating themselves on the ground.



Echigoya draper's shop. The most prosperous draper's shop in the Genroku Period.



← Furnace for casting of cannon. In 1855, Egawa Tarozaemon (1801-55), the local magistrate of Nirayama in Izu province (Shizuoka Prefecture) built this furnace to cast cannons. A cannon ball is seen on the lower right side.

→ The Kanrin-maru. A warship of Tokugawa Government, the first Japanese ship which crossed the Pacific Ocean in 37 days in 1860. 250 tons.



← "Black Ship". American fleet which visited the Tokyo Bay in 1845 (the second visit).



First Railway

In 1872 a railway was opened between Tokyo and Yokohama. Townsmen of those days were dressed in a blending of Japanese and foreign styles.



Interior of Tomioka Silk Factory. The greatest export article in those days was raw silk. The government set up a model factory at Tomioka in Gumma Prefecture and diffused the new technique of silk-reeling method introduced from Europe.



Ginza Street

A shopping centre of Tokyo in the Meiji Era. Brick houses and a carriage in Western style are seen.



Ceremony of promulgation of Japanese Imperial Constitution in 1889. A personage sitting in the chair in front is Emperor Meiji.



↑ Emperor Meiji (1852—1912) who contributed to the modernization of Japan.



↑ Admiral Tōgō (centre) on the battleship Mikasa at the Battle of the Japan Sea in 1905.

→ Tokyo, capital of Japan. From its complete destruction of the War Tokyo has recovered and is developing as the centre of Japanese civilization. It has a population of more than 8 million.



Peace Centre in Hiroshima

↓ The place where the atomic bomb exploded is now made a park for citizens as Peace Centre.



↓ San Francisco Peace Treaty. Yoshida Shigeru, the chief delegate and Japanese Prime Minister in those days is signing the Treaty (September 1951).





← Mt. Fuji: Typical new Kanide type volcano

→ The Hida range



← Elevated seashore, the Shino-no-Misaki point

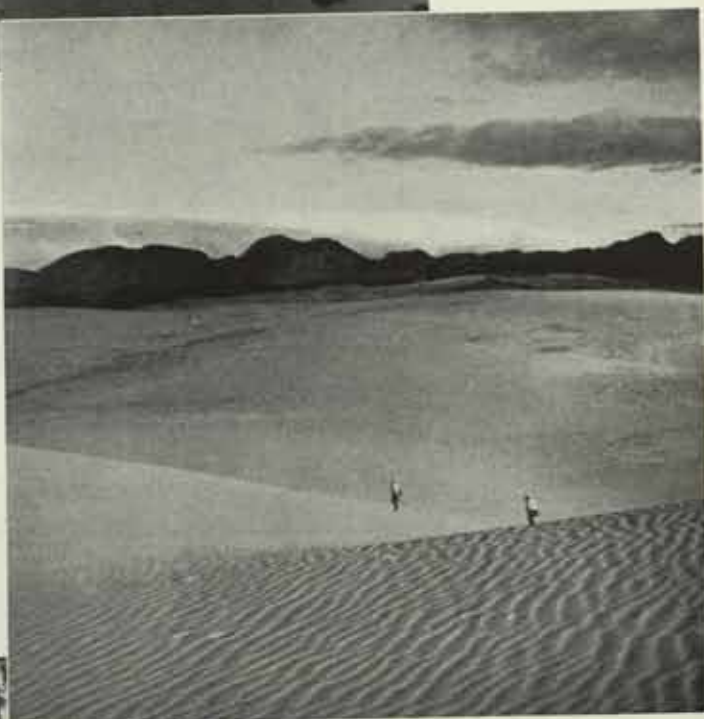
→ A basin, southern part of Zenkōji-daira





← Kujyûku-shima; Rias
type seashore and islands,
Nagasaki Prefecture
(Photo—Ministry of
Welfare)

→ Sand beach, Tottori Prefecture (Photo—
Japan Tourist Association)



← Silver and white fir mixed forest in Hokkaidô
(Photo—Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry)



↑ Salt manufacture by hot spring heat, Ohama, Nagasaki Prefecture

↓ Snow lies deep in winter on the Japan Sea coast



↓ Badger



→ Salamander

↓ Akita dog

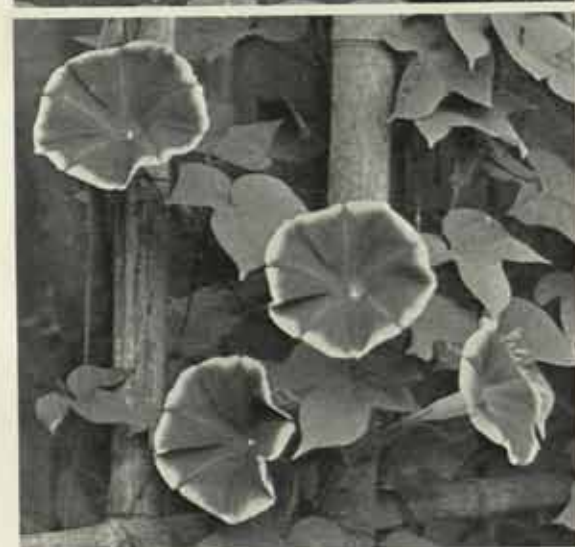


↓ Japanese monkeys





← White crane with a red crest



← Morning-glory



↓ Gold fishes

→ Long tail rooster





← Full face of Japanese man



→ Full face of Japanese woman



↑ Side face of Japanese man



↑ Side face of Japanese woman

→ Textbooks of secondary school printed in horizontal and vertical lines. Mixture of Chinese characters and Japanese syllabaries



However, during World War I, the position of the workers became higher and their political consciousness was gradually raised. Thus, the movement for universal suffrage became more active and *Kensei-kai* and *Kokumin-tō*, both opposition parties, began to advocate the immediate practice of universal suffrage. In February, 1920, a demonstration joined by more than 50,000 people was held in Tokyo. The opposition parties presented to the House a universal suffrage law but it was defeated by the government party which held a majority.

About this time an economic crisis was taking place as a result of the World War and one bank or firm after another went bankrupt. Socialism and anarchism were advocated and the weak points of capitalism came to be openly criticized. The Hara Cabinet, backed by the majority party, took a firm stand against the opposition parties in order to maintain the status quo of class distinction. But the Prime Minister was assassinated in 1921 and confusion followed.

On September 1, 1923 a great earthquake occurred in the Tokyo and Yokohama area. About 694,000 households were involved in the disaster and 95 percent of Yokohama and 73 percent of Tokyo was destroyed. The greatest loss was caused by fire, which occupied 54 percent of the total damage. Those who suffered from the disaster numbered 3,400,000 including 91,000 dead, 13,000 missing and 52,000 injured.

Large amounts of relief goods were sent from overseas and reconstruction work started immediately, but because of the great earthquake and fire about half of Tokyo was replaced by new buildings, most of which were simple and crude.

The Universal Manhood Suffrage Law finally passed the parliament in 1925 and all Japanese men over 25 were given the right to vote for members of the House of Commons regardless of the amount of tax.

The Suffrage Law came into force in 1928 and eight members were elected from the *Shakaiminshū-tō* (Social Democrats) and other proletariat groups but these parties could not achieve such development

as was made by the Labor Party of Britain. The parliament of 1925 passed the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace. This law was enacted against those who conspire to change the national polity, especially Communists. However, this law was later misused by the government and socialists or even those who opposed the government were condemned to severe punishment.

Economic panic

Japan had taken part in World War I and sent a part of her army to Chingtao in China, the South Sea Islands and the Mediterranean Sea. But no war had been fought on Japanese territory and together with the United States which entered the war at a later stage, Japan had profited greatly by the war. She had received orders for ammunition from European countries and exported goods to former German markets in Asia and Africa. Her export trade had flourished as never before. The total amount of trade in 1918 had tripled the 1914 mark with an over-export of 1,400 million *yen*. Besides, Japan had income of 1,400 million *yen* outside of trade. Thus a total of 2,800 million *yen* had flowed into this country during the war and Japan had now become a creditor country (In 1914 Japan's debt had been 1,100 million *yen* but in 1920 her credit was 2,800 million *yen*). The flourishing trade and shipping business stimulated various fields of export and ship-building industries and further made possible the development of dye and pharmaceutical industries which had hitherto been relying on imports from Germany and other countries. The situation can be seen from the following figures before and after the war. The 100 in 1914 rose in 1919 to 845 in transportation, 1,734 in mining, 1,487 in electric industry, 9,675 in spinning, 1,711 in chemical industry and 1,143 in machines and apparatus industry. The development of capitalism was not confined to Japan but expanded to the Asian Continent, especially to Manchuria.

It was from this time that industry predominated agriculture in Japan. Fac-

tories equipped with motors increased rapidly and modernization was much accelerated. At the same time capital was more and more stabilized by the development of banking.

With the end of the war in 1918, however, a reactionary phenomena took place. Beginning with the slump in the stock market in March 1920, the panic spread to the commodity market and many business firms and banks went bankrupt. The government tried to tide over the crisis by making the Bank of Japan loan out great amounts of capital and was successful for a time.

However, Japanese capitalism had not yet been firmly established. Moreover, as it had gone too far in expansion and investment during the period of the war boom, it created a grave inconsistency in post-war management. Similar situations were seen even in Europe and America. Another heavy burden had been brought on Japanese economy by the great earthquake of 1923, which had caused a total loss of 5,000 million *yen*. For the reconstruction work in Tokyo and Yokohama Japan had to import a great quantity of construction material and the balance became unfavorable. Thus, in 1924, she borrowed from Britain 550 million *yen* at a usurious rate of 6 percent.

In 1927, an unprecedented financial panic occurred, involving many banks and medium and small industries. Speaking from the result, however, this panic proved favorable for the concentration of deposits in the large banks which survived the crisis. The Banking Law was enacted in 1928, by which small banks were prohibited and conditions were now arranged for domination by financial capital based on large banks.

The world-wide panic of 1929 which began in the United States spread to Japan. The commodity and stock markets slumped, medium and small industries received fatal blows and many firms were disorganized. The workers suffered from unemployment and low wages. In 1930 there were as many as 350,000 unemployed, many of whom went back to their native

places with their wives and children. But the agricultural districts, too, were involved in the economic slump. The most profitable business for farmers to gain cash in those days had been to raise silk worms, but cocoon prices fell to one tenth of the post-war period as the American market could not buy the silk.

Against such an adverse economic background the movements of the workers and tenant-farmers against the capitalists and landlords became active and communism spread among the students, workers and farmers. In the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt who had become president in 1933 worked out the New Deal Policy and saved the situation. But in Japan a countermeasure was sought not from within the country but from overseas.

Manchurian Incident

In North China, Chiang Kai-shek was engaged in a military campaign with his Nationalist Revolution Army and when he entered Peiping in June, 1928, Field Marshal Chang Tsuo-lin was dominating Manchuria and North China. At that time a Japanese army was stationed in Shantung Province to protect the Japanese residents there. Colonel Kawamoto of the Kwangtung Army, Japanese forces in Manchuria, blasted the train on which Marshal Chang was riding and killed him. This fact was not made known to the Japanese people but was known in other countries and regarded as another step to realize Japanese ambitions in Manchuria. Chang Hsueh-liang, son of Marshal Chang, pledged allegiance to Chiang Kai-shek thus impeding Japanese advance in Manchuria. In Japan, too, the Tanaka Cabinet was blamed, though not openly, and it resigned to be succeeded by the Hamaguchi Cabinet. The new Foreign Minister Shidehara took the policy of international amity.

Japan participated in the disarmament conference which was held in London in 1929-30 and signed an agreement concerned chiefly with auxiliary battle-ships. But opinion which was opposed to this agreement was strongly expressed in the army

and navy and the Naval General Staff blasted it as an offence against the Imperial prerogative of the Supreme Command. Article 11 of the Constitution provided that the *Tennō* should command the army and navy and Article 12 provided that the *Tennō* should decide the organization of the army and navy and the regular number thereof. It was contended that as the chief of the Army General Staff and that of the Naval General Staff were responsible for the advice to the Imperial Command, neither parliament nor the Cabinet could be permitted to meddle. Thus the military tried to hinder the ratification of the agreement by the *Tennō*. From those days the army began to force its opinion through the Army Minister and if it failed the army tried to carry its point by referring to the Imperial Command. Differences of opinion occurred also between the ministries of the Army and the Navy on the one hand and the General Staff of the Army and the Navy on the other. The Imperial Command became a major problem in the later history of Japanese politics. Prime Minister Hamaguchi was shot by a young man who was discontented with the result of the disarmament conference.

On September 18, 1931 the South Manchurian Railway was blasted near Mukden in Manchuria. The Kwangtung Army in Manchuria regarded the incident as a conspiracy by the Chinese army and quickly took action. The Japanese army in Korea, too, crossed the Yalu River into Manchuria. Such action by the Kwangtung Army and the Japanese army in Korea, was not taken in accordance with the order of the Japanese Government. Also, the blasting of the railway was not clear as an express train passed the place one hour after the alleged deed. Although the government had a different opinion from the Army in regard to the action of the Kwantung Army, it did not try to stop the movement.

Thus in March, 1932 a new state was born in Manchuria and Henry Pu Yi, the last emperor of the Ching Dynasty in China, was made emperor of the new state. Manchoukuo was a state newly become independent from China and its national pur-

pose was said to give happy life to the people of 30 millions. The new state was to become a paradise and the Kwangtung Army was to merely help the Manchurians who were to play a leading role in this task. As soon as the railway incident occurred, Chiang Kai-shek appealed to the League of Nations and asked the United States to make efforts for the maintenance of peace in the Far East. The League of Nations and the American Government urged Japan to stop military action but the latter answered that it was exercising its right of self-defence. The Japanese Government was unable to check the military action and merely made vain excuses. The League of Nations set up a committee for settlement of the Sino-Japanese dispute and sent its chairman, Lytton, to Manchuria to make a survey. The Lytton Report which was made public in October, 1932, concluded that Japanese action in Manchuria exceeded the right of self-defence and that the establishment of Manchoukuo was not a result of the voluntary independence movement by the Manchurian people. As the Japanese government foresaw the adverse effects that might be caused by the Lytton Report, it took the initiative and recognized the independence of Manchoukuo in September of the same year and thus tried to build up a *fait accompli* in Manchuria. In February, 1933, the League of Nations passed by the vote of 42 to 1 a warning against Japan and Japan declared her withdrawal from the League. The League could not exert further pressure on Japan but she was now an international orphan.

Japanese domination of Manchuria was strengthened in the course of time. Japan sent to Manchuria her surplus population as immigrants and tried to seek solution of her economic difficulties in Manchoukuo which was no more than a Japanese colony. She was successful at least in a part of her Manchurian policy. The government as well as the ordinary people were at first opposed to the behavior of the military but when they realized the economic profit gained from Manchuria, they gradually became inclined to overlook the actions taken by the military.

End of party politics

It was in 1918 that party politics had come to exist for the first time in Japan. Later not all the cabinets were based on political parties but since 1924 the custom had been for the majority party in the parliament to form a cabinet and it was regarded as proper under constitutional politics. Therefore the recommendation by the *genrō* to the *Tennō* of a candidate for the prime-ministership had become a mere formality. But party politics did not last for long and came to an end by 1932. Since then those who had no relation with political parties were appointed to the prime ministers.

Since the beginning of Shōwa Era, which had begun with the coronation of the present *Tennō* in 1926, the instability of daily life had stimulated the growth of popular opinion which distrusted capitalistic social organization and favored socialist society. This thought had been gaining supporters among young people, especially students. The government took a firm stand against this thought and even those who studied Marxism were regarded as revolutionary and were strictly punished. Among them, of course, were Communists who under the directives of the International put the thought into practice for establishment of a society based on socialism. But their movements were more or less driven underground and became weaker as government coercion became stronger.

The fascists, on the other hand, gained strength as parliamentary politics began to be rejected as not reflecting the true wishes of the people. It was alleged that political parties were connected with *zaibatsu* and that they worked out policies favorable to the *zaibatsu* in exchange for donation of election expenses and that the medium and small industries, farmers and soldiers were being disregarded. Such blame did not foster socialism but was directed toward destruction of parliamentary politics. With growth of fascism in Japan there occurred several cases of assassination or of attempts at social revolution by violence. In 1932 the former Finance

Minister Inoue Junnosuke and Baron Dan Takuma, leading figures of *Mitsui Zaibatsu*, were assassinated. In May of the same year Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi was killed by a group of young officers of the army and navy. The military justified the assassination and opposed the formation of a new cabinet on a political party basis. Thus Saitō Makoto, former governor in Korea and retired admiral, formed a national coalition cabinet including several leaders from the political parties. This was the beginning of the downfall of party politics. Even the court justified the motives of the assassins though it blamed their behaviors.

In February, 1936, a group of army officers and the rightists conspired to assassinate the government leaders by using troops. They murdered Finance Minister Takahashi, Keeper of the Privy Seal Saitō, Inspector-General of Army Education Watanabe and other men and attacked newspaper companies. The rebellious troops controlled the center of Tokyo. But as they had made no preparations for establishment of a new fascist regime by their coup d'état, the rebellion was soon defeated. However, from this time the cabinet of Japan became no more than a puppet of the military. Thus, those who had failed to gain support of the military could not form a cabinet even if they were ordered by the *Tennō*. In the same year it was decided that the minister of the army or navy should be either a general or admiral or lieutenant-general or vice-admiral on the active list. Therefore, if the military did not offer ministers, the cabinet could not be formed. In this way the military wielded a veto in the formation of cabinets. General Ugaki who was ordered by the *Tennō* to form a cabinet failed in his task as he was opposed by the military on account of his cooperation with political parties in the past.

On the strength of the Imperial Command the military now had the right, independent from parliament and cabinet, to act freely as the "army of the *Tennō*". They went so far as to offend the *Tennō*. Thus a state operated by the military was born.

Newspaper and public opinion which at first opposed the growing power of the military was gradually overwhelmed and finally became indifferent to the latter's rampant behaviors.

China Incident

The growth of Manchoukuo was steady. Japanese modern industries there developed rapidly. The Japanese dominated the power in every sphere of the central as well as local administration. Outwardly the fascists and the military were successful in their Manchurian policy. But they were not contented with Manchuria only.

Following the clash between Japanese and Chinese armies in a suburb of Peiping in 1937, the two countries entered into hostilities. In December of the preceding year Chiang Kai-shek had been confined at Hsi-han by Chang Hsueh-liang. Chiang was soon released by promising, it was reported, that he would adopt a pro-communism and anti-Japanese policy. In China there had been anti-Japanese movements which had flared up since problems arose in regard to the Twenty-One Articles and the return of Shantung Province at the conference of Versailles. Especially after the Manchurian Incident, anti-Japanese movements had become more active and were incorporated even into school education. The Chinese pupils were taught about Japanese aggression and anti-Japanese songs. This time Chiang was resolved to fight. In January, 1938, the Konoe Cabinet declared in a statement that Japan would not deal with the Chiang Regime. This statement made it impossible for the two countries to reach a compromise.

The Japanese army occupied almost all the important cities of China but it was said that the Japanese occupation was only on the dots and lines and had no width since it was difficult to achieve complete control of a wide land such as the China Continent. Moreover, Japanese interests gradually came to run counter to the rights enjoyed by third parties, especially those of Britain and France in South China.

Against Russia in the north, Japan had concluded the German-Japanese Anti-Communism Pact in 1936, to which Italy joined in the following year. By the Pact the parties thereto undertook joint action against Russia. These three countries were so called "have not" countries in Asia and Europe and had achieved national unification about the same time. They had more or less similar points in economy and in politics. Moreover, all of them were fascist countries. In 1939, on the border of Manchuria and Russia, fighting broke out and the Japanese army was badly beaten by Russian mechanized troops. It was called the Nomenghan Incident. In the same year Germany invaded Poland and Britain and France declared war against Germany. Thus World War II began.

World War II

Unequality in the distribution of economic profits tends to stimulate class struggle or to lead to war. Since the panic of 1929 each state had tried to protect its domestic industry by tariffs and other policies. Countries which were blessed with rich natural resources and wide markets were able to adopt such policies, but those which had to import raw materials and export manufactured goods were obliged to look to overseas. The "have not" countries have not usually resorted to international diplomacy but to military force. Moreover, the successes in the early stage of their ambitious operations, that is, Japanese domination of Manchuria, German occupation of Poland and Italian conquest of Ethiopia have driven these countries to further adventures of military aggression. With regard to Japan the turning point came in 1939. In this year the United States notified Japan of the abolition of the commercial treaty between the two countries and Britain notified that the Anglo-Japanese negotiations in Tokyo would be dropped. Germany, on the other hand, made a surprise move and signed a non-aggression pact with Russia. Thus, the tripartite anti-communism pact against Russia was annul-

ed. The Japanese were shocked. To stop military operations in China, however, meant the breakdown of military fascism. Therefore the war was continued. Britain and the United States supplied the Chiang Regime with war materials and tried to suspend their exports to Japan. In July, 1941, commercial treaties with Britain, India, and Burma were in turn abolished. Japan tried to get oil and other materials from the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) and opened negotiations with the Dutch authorities there. But it, too, proved a failure. The Japanese now believed that they were hemmed in by the A.B.C.D. line. On December 8th a war was declared against the United States and Britain.

Post-war period

In the beginning stage the Pacific War progressed favorably for Japan. But soon she became short of war materials. The poor natural resources of Japan and the weak foundation of Japanese industry became gradually obvious and the tide of war turned. The Japanese army and navy which had advanced as far south as the South Pacific islands were repulsed by the allied powers, which at last approached the mainland of Japan. The U.S. Air Force, in order to minimize losses in the allied operation on the Japan mainland, dropped two atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Several hundred thousands were killed in the two blasts and still more people were injured or crippled for the rest of their lives. This bombing has become deeply rooted in the minds of the Japanese people and has become the main reason for their strong hatred against war. Immediately after the atomic attacks, Russia denounced the non-aggression pact with Japan and joined the allied powers. Russian troops crossed the border and invaded Manchuria. These two events were fatal to Japan and she surrendered unconditionally several days later.

In the next month the allied forces landed on Japan and military occupation was begun based on the Potsdam Declaration. Among others, the basic policies included

the expulsion of irresponsible militarism from Japan, limitation of Japan's sovereignty to Honshū, Hokkaidō, Kyūshū, Shikoku and several nearby small islands, complete disarmament, punishment of war criminals and encouragement of democratic tendencies in Japan. The directives by General MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, were issued in accordance with those items of the Potsdam Declaration. The occupation forces in Japan tried to avoid antipathy of the Japanese, which might arise from direct military government. Instead they issued directives to the Japanese government and watched if the directives were carried out faithfully.

The trial and execution of the war criminals were carried out. It was generally felt by the Japanese that some of the criminals deserved their sentences, but they were not satisfied with the results of the war tribunal.

The greatest undertaking in the democratization of Japan under the direction of the occupation forces was the revision of the Constitution. It came into force in 1947. The new constitution provided that the sovereignty rested with the people, that the *Tennō* was the symbol of the unification of the nation and the people and that men and women had equal rights. It also declared that Japan would forever renounce war.

In the economic sphere, the most important was the land reform and the disorganization of *zaibatsu*. As a result of the extensive land reform, all landlords (most of them farmers) were prohibited from owning, arable and of more than 3 *chōbu* (12 *chōbu* in Hokkaidō) and the excess was sold to other farmers. This proved a big blow to the landlords who had been living on high tenant-rate and also brought a great change in the structure of agricultural society in Japan. By this reform the tendency for contraction of agricultural management in Japan was accelerated.

In accordance with advice of the educational mission sent by the United States to Japan, an American pattern of education was introduced. But the educational sys-

tem of a rich country does not always fit the poor conditions of post-war Japan. It is thought that considerable time will be required before the news system will bear fruit.

In September, 1951, Japan signed a peace treaty with the United States and other countries. But India and Burma did not take part, China was not invited and Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia refused to sign. Together with the peace treaty the America-Japanese Security Pact was signed. Furthermore, an Administrative Agreement was signed in accordance with Article 3 of the Pact. By this Agreement Japan recognized the stationing of American troops in Japan indefinitely and jurisdiction over the troops had the character more or less similar to extraterritoriality. After

the signing of this Administrative Agreement, the United States ratified the Peace Treaty and the Security Pact. Japan became independent in 1952. But many of the Japanese doubted whether the independence was worthy of its name. Later Japan concluded treaties with China and other countries which did not sign the Peace Treaty of 1951.

In 1956 Japan resumed diplomatic relations with Russia and in the next year the resumption was extended to Poland and Czechoslovakia. Thus the one-sided peaceful relations since 1951 became overall. It was also achieved by joining the United Nations towards the end of 1956. Thus, 23 years after retirement from the League of Nations, Japan returned to international society.

II NATURAL FEATURES

Topography

Position of the Japan Islands

The islands of Japan lie off the east coast of the Asian Continent across the Japan Sea and the Yellow Sea. Japan consists of four major islands, Hokkaidō, Honshū, Shikoku, and Kyūshū, with about one thousand smaller islands scattered around them. If a general survey of the eastern part of the Asian Continent is made, it is seen that the Kurile Islands lie in a line from Kamchatka Peninsula to the east coast of Hokkaidō; the Japan Islands extend from Sakhalin through Hokkaidō, Honshū, Shi-

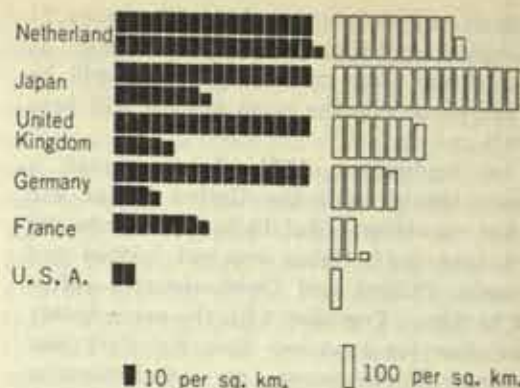
roku to Kyūshū; and the Ryūkyū Islands in a line from Kyūshū to Formosa, each group forming its own arc. Another arc extends between the Izu Islands which lie off the coast of Central Honshū and the Guam Islands, containing Izu, the Ogasawara and the Mariana Islands.

This unique arrangement of islands was created by crustal movements in the circum-Pacific organic zones. From the point of tectonic structure, they belong to the family of grand mountain ranges on the east side of the Pacific Ocean, such as the Andes and the Cordilleras. If the Japanese

II NATURAL FEATURES



The arrangement of arcuate islands.



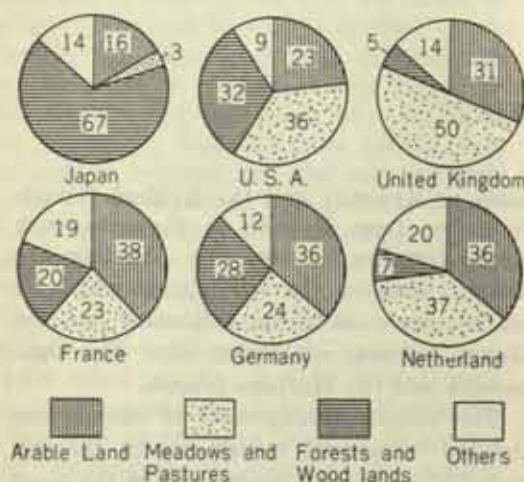
- (1) The density of population of some nations.
 (2) The ratio between population and arable land of some nations.
 (from the materials in Statistical year-book 1954, United Nations)

Islands are measured from the bottom of the deep sea which lies along the east coast of Japan, they form a great mountain range which is from 6,000 to 9,000 meters high. This can favorably compare with the Andes and the Cordilleras. Only their summits are above the sea, forming the Japanese Islands.

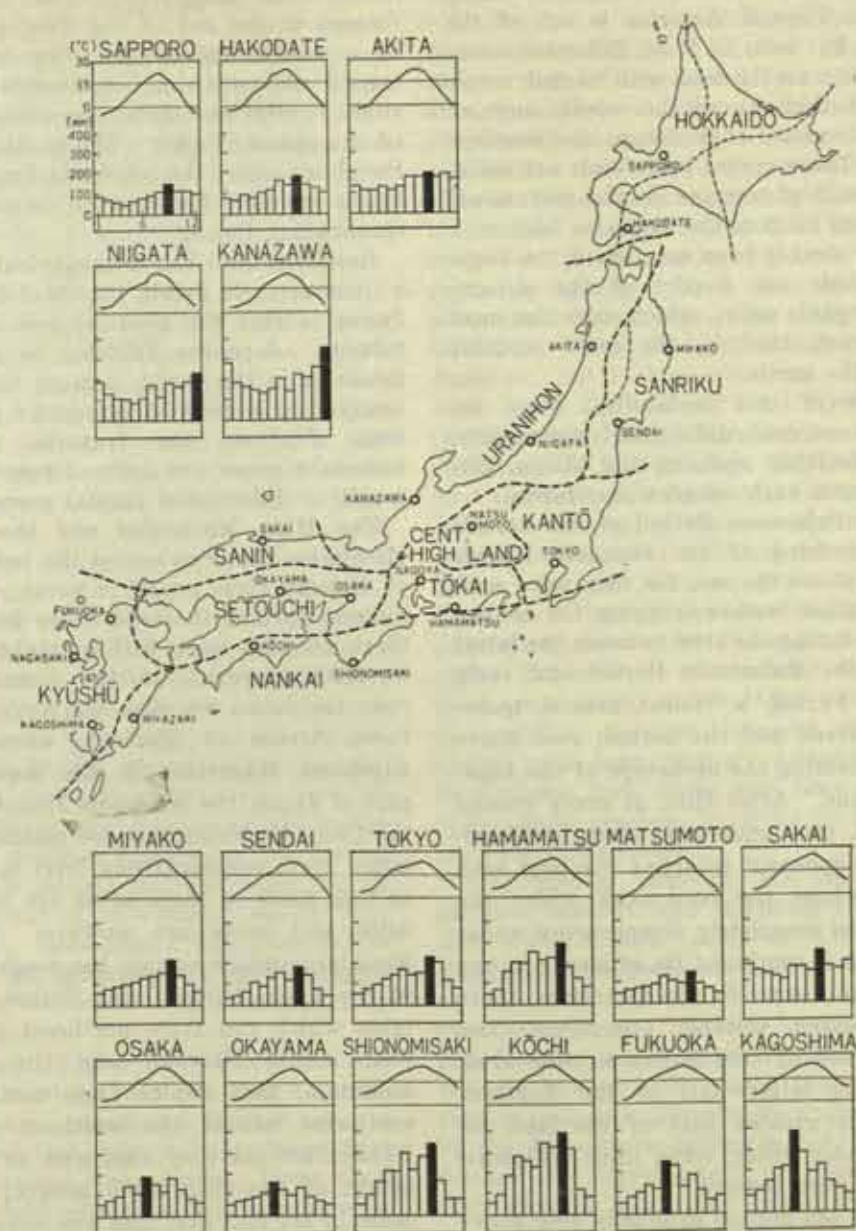
Because of this tectonic structure, the whole land is mountainous with many valleys and few wide plains. This fact has exercised various influences on the human side of affairs—on culture, social life and economy.

Nature of soil and geographical features

People who visit Japan for the first time may perhaps be interested in the time-honored manners and customs of the land, but what strikes them more must be the scenic beauty which is of such a kaleidoscopic variety. For instance, if one makes a short trip by train, a panorama of lowlands, mostly of intensely cultivated paddy fields, diluvial plateaus where dry fields and wooded areas form checkered or striped patterns, steep hills covered with thick



The land use of some nations (from the materials of F.A.O.)



The climatic divisions of Japan, and the temperature and the precipitation of every stations.

woods and towns packed with small houses spread out before his eyes one after another. To compare the Japanese scenes with those of Siberia, Mongolia, North Africa or Central America is out of the question, but even in West European countries which are blessed with varied scenic beauty, well-known to the world, such an unlimited variety of landscape and seascape is rare. These varied land-forms are mainly the result of complex crustal movements which gave birth to the Japanese Islands.

As has already been mentioned, the Japanese Islands are a part of the circum-Pacific organic zones, which were the most active crust, that is, the most unstable part, of the earth.

Because of this instability, there repeatedly occurred differential movements, folding, faulting, warping and tilting, giving the earth such complex land-forms.

In the Palaeozoic Period of the earth's history, nothing of the Japanese Islands was seen above the sea, for they were sunk in the shallow waters fringing the continent. But during the time between the latter part of the Palaeozoic Period and early Mesozoic Period, a violent crustal movement occurred and the bottom rose above the sea, forming the archetype of the Japanese Islands. After this, at every crustal movement, they underwent changes. Sometimes, an upheaval enlarged the land area and sometimes the land sank under the sea, but not completely disappearing under water. So it continued its existence in one form or another. In the meantime, there were repeated volcanic eruptions, and great masses of lava buried a wide area. During the latter half of the Tertiary Period, the greater part of the land remained under water, when thick sedimentary rocks were formed.

But this sea bottom gradually rose above the surface until the area composed of Tertiary formations expanded more and more and at the end of the Tertiary Period, through another violent crustal movement, the whole land underwent another change in form. Thus, the original forms of the

present islands came into existence. In the next period, that is the Quaternary Period, the land forms of the Japanese Islands were completed. The framework formed at the end of the Tertiary Period by a violent movement, after being subjected to corrosion, sedimentation and slight crustal movements, gradually attained the present forms. The greater part of the plains where the concentrations of population are now found, were formed in the Quaternary Period.

Inquiring into the geographical features a little more in detail, the chief feature of Japan is that the greatest area is mountainous. Japanese farming is the most intensive in the world, because the area of arable land is only 16 percent of the whole area. Further, the features of these mountain areas are quite diversified as a result of differential crustal movements.

The Hida Mountains and the Akaishi Mountains that run across the central part of Honshū from south to north, form the highest part of the land. The land-forms there are very steep with a height of 2,500 to 3,000 meters. On the mountainsides near the peaks are seen ice corrosion features, traces of glaciers, whereas, the Kitakami Mountains in the northeastern part of Japan, the Abukuma Mountains and the Chūgoku Mountains are plateaus. The latter form comparatively level tablelands, so that parts of these areas are cultivated fields and parts are pastures. The Kii Mountains which occupy the southern part of the Kinki District, the Shikoku Mountains which run from northeast to southwest across Shikoku and the Kyūshū Mountains that stretch from northeast to southwest across the southern part of Kyūshū are not very high with an average height of less than 2,000 meters; but because of the fact that they are comparatively newly formed elevations accompanied by active corrosion, they have deep ravines and steep cliffs. This makes traffic in these areas very difficult. In the depths of these mountains, there are valleys which are almost inaccessible.

Legend has it that in the middle ages groups of defeated warrior families penetrated into these places so that they could live secluded from the outside world. Even now, people in these valleys have various ancient customs, which are not observed elsewhere. This shows how they have been cut off from the rest of the world.

Another thing that gives the Japanese land-forms a special variety is the existence of volcanoes. Japan is often called the land of earthquakes. This is because the Islands of Japan are a part of the circum-Pacific organic zones. The crust in these organic zones is very unstable and volcanic zones and earthquake zones run along the length of the land. There are about one hundred large scale volcanoes which differ from one another in their manner of eruption and the rocks that compose them. If these volcanoes are classified according to their outward looks, Mt. Yōtei, Mt. Asama and Mt. Fuji are Konide with their beautiful conical forms. Mt. Gassan and Mt. Kirishima belong to Aspite and Mt. Yakedake, Mt. Sambeyama and Mt. Tsurumidake are Tholoide, while such volcanic mountain ranges as Kutcharo, Mashū and Aso are Caldera, which have sunken craters in the center. Mt. Fuji is known for its beautiful appearance while Kutcharo with its wide area of caldera and Aso are world known objects of volcanic researches, the former for its wide caldera and the latter for its wide distribution of volcanic matter shot up from it. Lake Mashū which lies in the caldera of Mt. Mashū is the most transparent lake in the world with a transparency of 41.6 meters.

At present, Japan has twenty national parks scattered all over the land. Twelve of them have volcanoes. It must also be remembered that these volcanic zones have widely scattered hot springs. These facts are important elements that characterize the Japanese natural scenery and have great value as tourist attractions. But volcanoes have harmful sides, too. Great damage is often done to the crops as well as to men and animals. Sometimes strongly acid hot water gushing forth after the eruption flows into a river and causes dam-

age to the farming and fishing industries. Further, the soil composed of volcanic matter is generally infertile, and it will not absorb water.

In short, the characteristic point of the Japanese land feature is that mountains occupy most of the land with small plains along the seashore. Moreover, such plains are not like those on the Continent which are flat, for they are mixed compositions of alluvial lowland, diluvial upland and low hills. The alluvial lowland is the main stage for rice cultivation, the key crop of Japanese farming. Most cities and towns, also, are located here. For this reason, this type of soil is most valuable to the Japanese, but because this was originally made up of the soil and sand deposit carried down by rapid streams in a short period of the Alluvial Age, the rivers that flow through such lands often leave their courses. In a rainy season or typhoon season, the water rises high and overflows the banks. A huge damage done by floods alone is a tremendous burden, economic and social, under which Japan groans every year. Formerly, it was thought that such floods were simply a fate Japan was destined to suffer. Recently, however, many big rivers have been strongly embanked and at the same time, dams have been built at their upper reaches, in order to regulate the flow of the water.

The diluvial plateaus are the second greatest element that composes the Japanese plains. Such plains as Kosen and Kantō, and the southern part of the Tōkai district have diluvial plateaus scattered over wide areas. The top layer of these diluvial plateaus is generally made up of volcanic ash and the water table is very deep so that such plateaus are characterized by the difficulty in getting water. This has delayed the development of these areas. Only recently (after the end of the Tokugawa Era) as the science of well-drilling and water conservation progressed, the plateaus have been put under cultivation. Even now, wooded areas and waste land may be seen here and there.

The Japanese coastlines also show significant features which contribute to the

beauty of the scenery. The seashores which are of scenic interest are called the Rias coast, which was formed as the land sank and the sea water covered the low valleys to form inlets while the spurs which remained above water, became promontories. This process gave a great variety to the scenery. Such coastlines are found in the western parts of Kyūshū, Shikoku, Kinki District and Sanriku District. Of these, the coasts along the northwestern part of Nagasaki Prefecture and the Sanriku District are famous for their scenic beauty and have been designated as national parks.

As a rule, such coasts afford good harbors for they have many inlets and the offshore sea is deep. Generally, however, communities do not thrive, because steep hills rise from the coast, permitting only small tillable area close by and difficult travel by land. Only small fishing bases or local harbors are found along such coasts.

As for the shores which have plains adjacent to them, the coastlines are straight and monotonous, for they were formed by sedimentation. On open shores, there are often seen sand-hills stretching parallel to the coastline. Huge sand-hills, some of them several kilometers wide, run along the coasts of the Japan Sea, presenting a spectacular sight. These sand-hill regions are infertile and irrigation is difficult. Besides, in winter when the seasonal winds blow, the sand-hills shift from place to place. Since the end of the Tokugawa Era, however, efforts have been made at various places to reclaim the sand-hill regions by holding the sand in place and improving the soil in every way possible. Many sandhills have successfully been turned into arable land, mostly into orchards.

Lastly there are marine terraces, which are the most marked evidences of the crustal movements of the earth. The marine terrace coasts have comparatively regular coast lines with narrow terraces just behind them. The marine terraces are found mostly in the eastern parts of Japan, especially all along the coast of Hokkaidō, but not in the western part of Honshū, Shikoku or Kyūshū.

Climate

Japanese climate is characterized by four seasons. This fact has exerted a great influence on the life of the people in many ways—in customs and manners as well as productive activities.

Winter begins with the advent of the cold seasonal northwest wind. In this season, the interior of the Asian Continent becomes extremely cold and strong atmospheric pressure develop there. A strong wind starts blowing toward the low pressure area over the Pacific. When this seasonal wind crosses the Japan Sea, it is warmed and absorbs moisture. After reaching Japan, it picks up great clouds as it crosses the mountain areas of Ōu, Echigo and Hida, bringing snow all along the Japan Sea coast. Losing moisture, this cold wind continues southeast to the Pacific coast where the weather is generally fine. This seasonal wind is much stronger than the summer seasonal wind, for it is not seldom that the velocity attains more than ten meters per second. The sea becomes very rough. Small fishing boats cannot operate on the sea when the wind is strong. On the Pacific side, the air becomes very dry and there are many fires.

With the advent of March, this winter wind gradually dies down and spring is in the air. But about this time, the weather changes easily. Often a serene blue sky abruptly gives place to a strong wind and even rain.

About the middle of June, the rainy season sets in over the whole land except Hokkaidō. In this season, a strong high atmospheric pressure develops over the Sea of Okhotsk, from which a cold air current, a northeast wind blows toward Japan. At the same time, a high pressure area over the sea near the Ogasawara Islands in the Pacific sends forth a warm southeast wind over Japan. A line of discontinuity develops where these two air currents meet. At first, this line of discontinuity develops in the Pacific Ocean far to the south of Japan, and gradually moves northward. When it

reaches the Islands of Japan, it often lingers. Then, it rains day in and day out. About this time, a low pressure which develops every two or three days about the Yangtze River joins this line of discontinuity and moves along with it. This often brings heavy rain. In the western part of Japan, this kind of heavy rain often causes floods and landslides.

When July comes, a high atmospheric pressure develops near the Ogasawara Islands. This drives the line of discontinuity gradually toward the north. The rainy season is over. But once in several years, this discontinuity lingers on longer than usual. In such a year, the temperature stays low even in summer and fine days are rare. With most of the days cloudy or rainy, crop failure may result. Such weather is specifically harmful to rice crops, because rice is originally native to tropical zones.

After the middle of July, when the rainy season is over, the Ogasawara high pressure overlies the whole land and warm, humid but fine days continue. The ground is heated due to strong solar radiation and sends up a great ascending current. This often causes thunder storm.

Toward the end of summer, typhoons threaten the land. The storms blew in the South Pacific accompanied by violent wind and rain over an area several hundred kilometers wide as they move northward. Typhoons hit Japan between the end of August and the end of September. Tremendous damage is done to crops and means of communication and transportation as well as to men and animals.

About the end of September, the Ogasawara high pressure gradually passes off. Conversely, the continental pressure covers the land, bringing refreshing cool air with it. About this time, a line of discontinuity often develops around Japan and it rains.

When November comes, the continental high pressure predominates. The cold seasonal wind blows and winter sets in again. Such is the change of climate with the seasons.

Because Japan stretches from north to south and the land-forms have a great

variety, the climate is not uniform. Different parts have each its own characteristic climate.

In Hokkaidō, which lies at the northern extremity, there is a long winter and a comparatively cool summer. Short spring and autumn are characteristic of this region. With the coming of October, a cold seasonal wind begins to blow from Siberia. This wind continues to blow till April. During this time, heavy snow falls in the Japan Sea coast areas. In January and February, there are often many days when temperature drops to 10° (F) below zero. In inland areas, the temperature often stands at 30° (F) below zero. When April comes, however, the rigors of winter begin to leave. About this time the rivers swell with the melting snow and floods hit the land. Spring suddenly comes with the thawing of snow. Flowers of all sorts burst forth all at once.

The Tōhoku mountain areas, the Echigo region and the Japan Sea coast on the west and north side of the Hida Mountains, have the so-called *ura-Nihon-kikō* (climate characteristic of the areas facing the Japan Sea). Here, much snow falls and the hours of sunshine is very short in winter. Often such gloomy weather continues for a long time. The amount of snowfall in some parts, in terms of rainfall, is over 400 mm. Places famous for deep snow are Minami-Uonuma in Niigata Prefecture and Shinjō-bonchi and Oguni-bonchi in Yamagata Prefecture, where the snow often reaches three to four meters. In summer, however, these regions enjoy warm and fine weather with high humidity, just as in other parts of the land.

Over the Pacific side of the Tōhoku District, the Okhotsk high pressure sends a cold north wind in early summer. The temperature is low and fine days are few. In a year when this kind of wind blows for a long time, failure of crops results. Unlike the Japan Sea side, however, there are many fine days in winter, though the cold is severe.

The Kantō District is noted for its dry northwest wind called *Karakaze* (dry wind). While this wind blows, fine weather

continues. Though the temperature does not fall very low, this wind makes one feel very cold. The famous fires of the Edo Era occurred mostly in this season. The rainy season visits the Kantō District more regularly than in some other parts, such as Hokkaidō and the Tōhoku District, but here the amount of rain is not so great as in the western part of Japan. Summer days are warm and humid with occasional thunder storms. Typhoons do not hit the Tokyo area so often as they strike the southwestern parts of the land. But when one hits, the big rivers in Kantō plain overflow their banks.

The Tōkai District (the Pacific side of the central part of Japan) have almost the semi-climate as the Kantō District. A north-west wind blows and fine days continue in winter. In these areas, the rainy season comes earlier than in other regions, for it sets in at the beginning of June. There is a long spell of humid and warm weather.

The interior of the Chūbu District, because of its mountainous character, has a very cold winter. In valleys among mountains, the thermometer often stands at 10° to 20° (F) below zero. Summer in these regions is very comfortable. The air is dry and cool. This accounts for the popularity of Karuizawa and Tateshina as summer resorts.

The Sanin District (the Japan Sea side of the Chūgoku District) has the same climate as the Japan Sea side of the north-eastern part of the land, with very few fine days in winter, although the snowfall is not so heavy as in the north. The temperature is also higher. The rainy season and typhoons visit this region regularly. The amount of rainfall in these seasons is greater than the precipitation in winter.

The Seto Inland Sea coasts, that is, the south side of the Chūgoku District, and Shikoku have comparatively dry weather in winter as well as in summer. These areas have more fine days throughout the year than any other part of the land. This comes from the fact that in the north, the Chūgoku Mountains intercept the winter wind while in the south, the summer seasonal wind is obstructed by the Shikoku

Mountains. Both these seasonal winds exhaust their rain on the outside of this Inland Sea area. The dry weather is favorable to the salt industry, which is operated on the largest scale in Japan along the coasts of this inland sea.

The headlands into the Pacific Ocean—the southeastern part of Kyūshū, the southern part of Shikoku and the southern tip of Kii Peninsula—are washed by the warm Japan Current and so, are the warmest parts of the land. In winter, while the rest of Japan is exposed to the cold seasonal wind, these regions are blessed with warm climate so that by intensive cultivation vegetables can be produced in advance of the season. The amount of rainfall is over 2,000 mm, and typhoons frequently hit these areas.

The weather in the west and north of Kyūshū is rather cold, because the seasonal winter wind blows directly over this area. Even when snow falls, it does not lie on the ground because of the comparatively high temperature. In the rainy season, the amount of rainfall often reaches over several hundred millimeters. The damage by typhoons at the end of summer is very great. They cause floods and landslides almost every year.

Wild life of Japan

Japan is a small country, but because it consists of islands stretching in a long line from north to south, it covers a wide area in point of latitude. Besides, its topography is diversified by mountains, plateaus, plains and valleys intermingling with one another. For instance, while Hokkaidō has subarctic climate, the Amami Ōshima Islands at the southern extremity have subtropical climate. Even in Honshū which has generally a temperate climate, the mountain areas have a subarctic climate. Mountains, over 25,000 meters have even an arctic climate. Because of the variety and complexity in climate and land features, there are great varieties in wild life, which are directly influenced by their natural environment. This fact

makes Japan a place of interest to scholars of wild life.

The geographical distribution of animals in Japan is roughly divided into two regions, the Palaearctic region and the Oriental region. The former is further subdivided into Manchurian and Siberian subdivisions. The border line between the Palaearctic region and the Oriental region is called Wataſe's line which was named after its discoverer. This line is said to exist between Yaku and Tanegashima islands and Amami Ōshima islands to the south of Kyūshū. The animals found in Kyūshū, Honshū, and Shikoku, such as *Macaca fuscata fuscata* (monkey), *Vulpes vulpes japonica* (fox), *Nyctereutes procyonoides viverrinus* (badger), *Ursus thibetanus japonicus* (bear), *Martes melampus meoameys* (sable), *Phasianus versicolor versicolor* (pheasant), *Syrnaticus soemmerringi scintillans* (copper pheasant), *Elaphe climacophora* (snake), *Agkistrodon blomhoffii* (viper), *Rana nigromaculata nigromaculata* (bull frog), *Rana rugosa* (toad), *Triturus pyrrhogaster* (newt) are not found in the areas south of this line. Whereas, such animals as *Pentalagus furnessi* (black hare), *Diplothrix legata* (long haired rat), *Haematornis cheela perplexus* (crown eagle), *Lalocitta lidthi* (emerald jay), *Japaraula polygonata polygonata* (climbing lizard), *Typhlops braminus* (blind snake), *Trimeresurus flavoviridis* (poisonous snake) and *Tylotriton andersoni* (pustule newt) are not found in the areas north of this line. Further, the border line subdividing the Palaearctic region into the Manchurian sub-region and the Siberian sub-region (this line was first introduced by Blackiston and is called Blackiston line) is said to exist at the Tsugaru Strait between Honshū and Hokkaidō. Such animals as are found in Honshū, Shikoku and Kyūshū—*Macaca fuscata fuscata* (monkey), *Cervus nippon nippon* (Japanese stag), *Capricornis crispus* (antelope), *Sus leucomystax leucomystax* (boar), *Vulpes vulpes japonica* (fox), *Martes melampus melampus* (marten), *Ursus thibetanus japonicus* (bear), *Phasianus versicolor versicolor* (pheasant), *Syrnaticus soemmerringi scintillans*

(copper pheasant), *Agkistrodon blomhoffii* (viper), *Bufo vulgaris formosus* (Japanese toad) and *Rana nigromaculata nigromaculata* (bull frog) are not distributed in the areas north of this line while animals found in Hokkaidō such as *Ursus arctos yesoensis* (brown bear), *Martes zibellina brachyura* (black marten), *Mustela erminea kanei* (Ezo skunk), *Eutamias asiaticus lineatus*, *Tetrastes bonasia vicinitas* (Ezo pheasant), *Bubo blakistoni blakistoni* (striped owl) and *Rana temoria temporaria* (Ezo frog) are not found in Honshū. Thus, from the point of geographical distribution of animals in Japan, the Amami Ōshima Islands belong to the Oriental region (to be exact, this region is the Indo-Chinese sub-region of the Oriental region) and Honshū, Shikoku and Kyūshū belong to the Manchurian sub-region while Hokkaidō belongs to the Palaearctic region. There are, however, many animals common to both regions. Specifically, in Honshū, Shikoku and Kyūshū, many animals native to the Palaearctic region as well as those native to the Oriental region are found. Representative animals of the former are *Nyctereutes procyonoides viverrinus* (mammal), *Megalobatrachus japonica* (amphibia) and *Unio margaritifera* (invertebrate) and *Camaroides japonicus* (invertebrate) while representative animals of the latter are *Rana limncharis*, *Rhacophorus schlegelii* var. *arborea* and *potamon dehaani*.

Representative animals of each region are:

Hokkaidō

- Vrsus arctos yesoensis* (LYDEK-
KER)
- Nyctereutes procyonoides albus*
(BEARD)
- Martes zibellina brachyura* (TEM-
MINCK & SCHLEGEL)
- Canis lupus hattai* (KISHIDA)
(now extinct)
- Apodemus ainu ainu* (THOMAS)
- Clethrionomys rutilus mikado* (THO-
MAS)
- Clethrionomys rufocanus bedfordkiae*
(THOMAS)
- Pterpmys russicus orii* (KURODA)
- Ochptona hyperborea yesoensis* (KI-
SHIDA)

Sciurus ungaris orientis (THOMAS)
Lepus timidus ainu (BARRETT-HAMILTON)
Sorex daphaenodon yezoensis (KISHIDA)
Honshū, Kyūshū and Shikoku
Macaca fuscata (BLYTH)
Ursus thibetanus japonicus (SCHLEGEL)
Canis lupus hodopylax (TEMMINCK & SCHLEGEL) now extinct.
Nyctereutes procyonoides viverrinus (TEMMINCK & SCHLEGEL)
Meles anakuma (TEMMINCK & SCHLEGEL)
Vulpes japonica (GRAY)
Martes melampus (TEMMINCK & SCHLEGEL)
Mustela erminea nippon (CABREIRA)
Mustela itatsi (TEMMINCK & SCHLEGEL)
Sus leucomystax (TEMMINCK & SCHLEGEL)
Capricornis crispus (TEMMINCK)
Cervus nippon (TEMMINCK)
Mogera wogura wogura (TEMMINCK & SCHLEGEL)
Mogera wogura kobeal (THOMAS)
Urotrichus talpoides (TEMMINCK & SCHLEGEL)
Dymecodon pilirostris (TRDE)
Crocidura dsomezumi (TEMMINCK & SCHLEGEL)
Chimarrogale platycephala (TEMMINCK & SCHLEGEL)
Sorex hawkeri (THOMAS)
Sorex shinto shinto (THOMAS)
Lepus brachyurus brachyurus (THOMAS)
Lepus brachyurus angustidens (HOLLISTER)
Glirulus japonicus (SCHINZ)
Sciurus lis (TEMMINCK & SCHLEGEL)
Petaurista leucogenys (TEMMINCK)
Sirtopterus momonga (TEMMINCK & SCHLEGEL)
Clethrionomys smithii (THOMAS)

Microtus montebelli (MILNE-EDWARDS)
Apodemus speciosus (TEMMINCK & SCHLEGEL)
Micromys japonicus (TEMMINCK & SCHLEGEL)
Phasianus versicolor versicolor (VIEILLOT)
Syrnaticus sormmerringi scintillans (GOULD)
Hynobius nebulosus
Hynobius stejnegeri
Achalinus spinalis (PETERS)
Dinodon orientale (HILGENDORF)
Amyda japonica (TEMMINCK & SCHLEGEL)

As regards plants, Japan belongs, geographically, to the Asiatic flora of the Holarctic flora zone, and because of its diverse topography, has a great variety. The geographical distribution is further subdivided into four zones: the southern zone, the central-south zone, the central-north zone and the northern zone. The following are the plants found in each zone, chiefly forest trees, which are the basis of the flora classification.

In the southern zone, which consists of the southern parts of Kyūshū and Shikoku and the southern tip of Kii Peninsula, there are such broad leaved evergreens as *kusunoki* (*Cinnamomum Camphora*) *tachibana* (*Citrus Tachibana*), etc. There are also some tropical trees such as *sotetsu* (*Cycas revoluta*) and *birō* (*Livistona sagittata*); for the seeds of these trees were washed ashore on these Pacific Ocean promontories by the warm Japan Current.

The central-south zone consists of the northern part of Kyūshū, the northern part of Shikoku, the southern part of Honshū (south of the mountainous 26th parallel and the 38th parallel at the coast) and mountain areas below 650 meters in Kyūshū, 750 meters in Shikoku, 450 meters in the Nankai District and 100 meters in the Kantō District. This zone is a typically temperate forest zone with such broad-leaved evergreens as *kashiwa* (*Quercus dentata*), *shii* (*Shii Sieboldi*), *sakaki* (*Cleyera japonica*) and *tsubaki* (*Camellia japonica*). By the sea *kuromatsu* (*Pinus thun-*

bergii) is typical of this zone. Because these regions were developed in old times and are now densely populated, native forests were destroyed at many locations and in their places, *sugi* (*Cryptomeria japonica*) and *hinoki* (*Chamaecyparis obtusa*) for lumber, and *kunugi* (*Quercus actissima*) and *konara* (*Quercus serrata*) for firewood have been planted. Where the soil is poor, such as granite land where most trees do not thrive, *akamatsu* (*Pinus densiflora*) are planted.

The central-north zone consists of the central part of the Chūbu District, the north-eastern part of Honshū, and the northern part of Honshū and the southern part of Hokkaidō. In these regions are found such deciduous broad-leaved trees as *onara* (*Quercus crispula*) and *buna* (*Fagus crenata*) etc. There are also conifers such as *hinoki* (*Chamaecyparis obtusa*) and *hiba* (*Aesculus turbinata*), etc. The maximum height of mountains belonging to this zone is 1800 to 2000 meters in the Chūbu District, 1000 meters in the Tōhoku District, and 500 meters in Hokkaidō. Because these regions are less developed than the southwestern part of Japan, they are less densely populated and so natural forests remain in a fair state of preservation. Particularly in the Tōhoku District and Hokkaidō, wide

areas of virgin forest may be seen. Akita Prefecture and its environs is famous for its special product of *sugi* (*Cryptomeria japonica*). This area is one of the largest and best places for the forest industry and produces a large amount of superior lumber every year. Beautiful virgin forest of *hiba* trees remain in Aomori and Iwate prefectures. The deciduous broad-leaved trees of this zone are chiefly *buna* (*Fagus crenata*) and *onara* (*Quercus crispula*), which form a forest of mixed species with *harunire* (*Ulmus Davidianavar japonica*) and *sawakurumi* (*Pterocarya rhoifolia*).

The northern zone consists of the north-eastern part of Hokkaidō, which has sub-arctic climate and mountain areas in the central part of Honshū, above 1800 meters and the mountainous regions in the south of Hokkaidō, above 500 meters. These regions have such coniferous trees as *shirabe* (*Abies Veitchii*) and *todomatsu* (*Abies Mariesii*) while broad-leaved trees typical of these regions are *kamba* (*Betula*), *miyama-nanakamado* (*Sorbus pseudogracilis*), etc. Of these trees, *todomatsu* is distributed over a wider area than the other trees, for it is found all over Hokkaidō. *Todomatsu* is most essential as material for pulp.

Japanese Cities and Farming Villages

Population

So far, the natural conditions of Japan have been stated. Here is a rough outline of the living conditions.

According to the nation-wide census of October 10, 1950, Japan had a population of 83,200,000. After China, India, Soviet Russia and the United States, Japan ranks fifth. The density of population is estimated to be, on an average, 226 to one square kilometer, or third in the world, after Holland and Belgium. The actual fact is, however, that the density of Japan's population may be said to be the greatest in the world, because the greater part of

the country is occupied by high mountains, leaving only a small area of arable land. The population per square kilometer or arable land is estimated to be 14,000, the greatest in the world. Japanese population was not always so great, for in the 8th and 9th centuries, the Nara Era, the population was one-tenth the present figure. This gradually increased, till in the latter half of the 16th Century, it was estimated at between 1,300,000 and 1,800,000; and in the period from the latter part of the 18th Century to the beginning of the 19th Century, between 3,000,000 and 3,200,000.

In spite of the high birth rate, because of bad sanitary conditions, frequent famines and epidemics as well as birth control, the

increase in the long feudal age was rather small compared with the rapid increase in the Meiji Era.

In the Meiji Era, capitalistic economy was newly introduced to Japan, which brought about a great change in the social and economic life. With the rapid increase in productivity, the population jumped from 34,810,000 in 1872 to 55,960,000 in 1920, an increase of 65 percent in half a century. As the living standard rose, the population underwent a change in composition. For, the birth rate stopped rising and from 1920 on, it began to fall. At the same time, the death rate fell in a greater degree than the birth rate, with the result that there was still a steady natural increase in population.

As has been mentioned, with the Meiji Era, a sudden increase of productivity resulting from the improvement in social and economic conditions, brought about a remarkable increase in population and also caused a change in the distribution. Before the Meiji Era, there was not such a marked difference in the distribution between cities and farming villages as at present. The rate of increase was rather greater in farming villages than in cities. But in the latter half of the Meiji Era, the rise of modern technological industry, following the industrial revolution, drew a great number of people into large cities from farming villages.

Thus, the population of great industrial cities showed a rapid increase while that of other parts of the country remained the same, or even showed a decrease. Particularly, in Osaka, Tokyo, Nagoya, Kōbe, Yokohama and Fukuoka and their surrounding areas a remarkably rapid rise in population was registered. The rate of increase in the above areas was 40 percent at the end of the Meiji Era (1910), 55 percent around 1920, and 60 percent during the five years from 1930 to 1935.

In the meantime, Hokkaidō, the frontier of Japan, was rapidly and intensively being developed with active encouragement of the Meiji Government. At the beginning of the Meiji Era (1870) its population was only 300,000, which increased to 1,500,000

at the end of the era, and to 2,430,000 at the end of the Taishō Era (1926). Now it has about 4,500,000 people.

As is clear from the movement of the population, Japan has undergone a great change in its social life, a change from an agricultural into an industrial country. As a result, new cities rose and favorably situated old cities grew larger. A new mode of life had developed there.

Cities

Roughly speaking, the rise of Japanese cities dates back to the 7th century. About then, Japan became united as a nation for the first time and the seat of government was set up to the west of the present city of Nara. It was called *Heijōkyō*. Soon after, however, the capital was transferred to Kyoto. The old Kyoto, then called *Heian-kyō*, was the same as the present one, both in location and plan. It is said that they were modeled after Chinese cities.

The imperial palace was placed at the northern end, from which a broad main road extended southward. With this main street as an axis, many streets were laid out at right angles. Only the mansions of the nobles, shrines and temples occupied the city—that is, the inhabitants of the city were composed only of the nobles, Buddhist and Shintō priests and their servants.

At many places in the country, estates owned by the nobles, temples or shrines were taken care of by warriors, who lived at little eminences on the estates. Around such a warrior's residence rose a town, a kind of castle town. Later, when the self-sustaining economy of such small communities broke down, and selling and buying of commodities came to be carried on between places, fairs were opened at spots convenient to land or sea traffic, or in front of temples or shrines where pilgrims gathered. Thus, towns chiefly composed of merchants arose.

From the 17th century on, the castle towns grew larger, with merchants and people engaged in home industry. They became the centers of local districts, both in name and reality. As the nation-wide

exchange of goods came to be active, necessitating greater traffic, post towns along the highways began to thrive.

In the Meiji Era, a great reform, social, economic and political, was made and the cities also underwent a great change. For under the strong central government the feudal governments became united. The castle towns lost their prestige. With the modernization of the means of transportation, the post towns which had thrived along the highways, too, gradually declined. Instead, great cities sprang up at important points of transportation and large port cities came into existence. As the development of modern industry progressed, new industrial cities arose at places convenient to transportation of natural resources and to market. Further, through centralization and absorption of industries, they were centered at special areas, forming group-cities or industrial zones.

Tokyo was called Edo before the Meiji Era and as the seat of government was the political center of Japan. In the Meiji Era, when it became the capital, it made rapid development as the political, economic, cultural and educational center. The area to the south and east of Tokyo developed as a manufacturing industrial zone. This area now extends from Kawasaki through Tsurumi to Yokohama, forming the Keihin Industrial Zone, one of the major manufacturing centers. Large plants producing electric machines, precision apparatus, fertilizer and steel and iron goods, and oil refineries are centered here.

Osaka was a thriving commercial town from the Middle Ages on because of its favorable position to sea traffic. In older days, the rice market in Osaka held sway over the nation's economy for a time. In the Meiji Era, the city held its own as a commercial city, and later, developed into an even greater city than before by adopting capitalistic economy. Now, it is the most important commercial center in the land. Along the coast adjoining the city, such industrial cities as Amagasaki, Kishiwada, Kaizuka and Sano have sprung up, forming a vast industrial zone, a counterpart of the Keihin Industrial Zone of the

east. This zone is noted for ship-building, textile industry and metal works.

Nagoya was a large castle town before the Meiji Era. Since then, with its prosperous industrial activities and favorable position to land and sea traffic, it has developed into the third largest city in Japan. Chief manufactures in Nagoya are watches, ceramics and textiles. Cities in the neighborhood are each thriving with its own special industry. Ichinomiya which adjoins Nagoya produces woolen textiles. Ogaki turns out fertilizer and textiles while Okazaki and Toyohashi are noted for their production of textiles and musical instruments.

In the northern part of Kyūshū, such cities as Kokura, Tobata, Yahata and Wakamatsu lie bordering on one another and form an important industrial zone called the *Kitakyūshū-Kōgyōchitai* (Northern Kyūshū Industrial Zone). This zone has also achieved rapid development, depending on abundant coal from the Chikuhō coal mines near by, which was further facilitated by its favorable position to sea traffic. The chief products here are iron, glass, fertilizer, machinery and textiles.

Cities in other parts of the country are carrying on light industries such as silk textile, Japanese paper, brewing and ceramic. Cities producing silk textiles are Fukui, Daishōji, Komatsu and Kanazawa in the Hokuriku District; Hachiōji, Fujiyoshida, Chichibu, Isesaki and Kiryū in the northern part of the Kantō District. These cities each has a long history predating the Meiji Era, as centers of the silk industry.

Japanese paper is made from *mitsumata* (*Edgeworthia chrysantha*) and *kōzo* (paper mulberry), which grow on mountainsides. The manufacturing centers of Japanese paper are Ino-machi in Kōchi Prefecture and Mino-machi in Gifu Prefecture.

The brewing industry is determined by the quality of water and supply of materials, rice for *sake*, beans for soy and *miso* (bean paste) and barley for beer. Nada and Fushimi in the Kinki District, between

Osaka and Kobe, are famous for their quality *sake*, although *sake* is also produced in many other parts of the country. The chief soy producing cities are Noda and Chōshi in Chiba Prefecture. Beer was first brewed in Japan in the Meiji Era and its production is limited to large breweries in Tokyo and Sapporo.

Ceramics are produced at places which have a good supply of potter's clay near at hand. Seto, Tajimi, and Yokkaichi in the neighborhood of Nagoya and Imari and Arita in Kyūshū are most famous.

There are port cities which have come to occupy an important position, with the development of modern industry. Chief among them are Yokohama in the east and Kōbe in the west. Both these cities were formerly obscure villages, but at the beginning of the Meiji Era, Yokohama and Kōbe were opened as the gateways to Tokyo and Osaka.

As Japanese industry's dependence on foreign trade increased, these ports were rapidly enlarged and great cities developed. But recently these ports are on the decline as large ports directly adjoining the industrial zones have been built in Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya.

Farming villages

The Meiji Restoration was a great turning point for Japan. By importing capitalistic economy, Japanese industry was rapidly modernized, and the nation changed from an agricultural into an industrial country. As a result, large cities have increased in value whereas farming villages have been reduced in importance. But Japan's industrialization is still far behind that of western nations, such as the United States, England, France and Germany. Even at present, therefore, the position agriculture holds in Japanese industry is still very high. For instance, as of 1950, 45 percent of the entire population, or 38,810,000 people, were engaged in agriculture.

The characteristic point about Japanese farming is that it is done on an extremely small scale and cultivation is remarkably

intensive. This is a natural sequence due to the density of population and the limited area of arable land. A farming family, for example, tills only 0.88 hectare on an average. To give further details, 36 percent of all the farmers till less than 0.5 hectare, 32 percent till from 0.5 to 1 hectare and 32 percent till over one hectare of land. It is to be noted that about 70 percent are petty farmers tilling less than one hectare of land.

From the geographical point of view, farmers in the southwestern part of the country which became civilized earlier than other sections, farm on a smaller scale than those in the Kantō District and to the north.

To make a living on such a small piece of land, a Japanese farmer is forced to focus his efforts on the production of staple food. He does not spare either pains or man-power to harvest the greatest yield possible. Thus, rice is the key crop all over the country. This is shown in the wide use of land for rice. About 73 percent of the arable land is in paddy fields, which spread out not only on the plains, but far up the hillsides. About ten to 20 farm-houses huddle together surrounded by a wide space of paddy fields, through which run well-kept irrigation ditches. This is the usual sight of a farming village in Japan.

Besides trying to expand the space for cultivation of rice to the utmost limit, the farmers make every effort to increase the yield. They have successfully developed seeds, by cross-breeding, more adaptable to the climate and nature of the soil of each region. Thus, wide areas of land, hitherto unsuitable for rice cultivation have been turned into paddy fields. Particularly in Hokkaidō where it is too cold for existing species of rice to ripen, many cold-resistant kinds have been introduced one after another. The area of rice fields has gradually been increased. Now, even in the northern part of Hokkaidō, wide expanses of rice fields can be seen.

Among Japanese farmers, however, there are many who own no rice field.

They are villagers living in high mountains, those in the northeastern part of Hokkaidō and people in villages on deluvial terraces or at the foot of volcanic mountains in the Kantō and Kyūshū districts.

The villagers in high mountains in the northeastern part of Hokkaidō generally make their living by forestry or stock-farming. Those on deluvial terraces or volcanic ash-land, because of the difficulty of irrigation, grow mostly wheat, barley, oats, rye, dry-land rice, potatoes, sweet-potatoes or tobacco.

In Nagano, Gifu, Yamanashi, Saitama and Fukushima prefectures, where sericulture has developed from olden times, mulberry trees are planted while in warm Kanagawa, Shizuoka, Wakayama, Hiroshima and Ehime prefectures, mandarin oranges are produced in great quantities. Apples are grown in cold places such as, in Hokkaidō, Aomori and Nagano prefectures.

In Shizuoka and Kyoto prefectures, wide areas of land are devoted to cultivation of the tea plant.

Villagers in the outskirts of such large cities as Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya carry on many-sided farming; for besides growing their staple food, they supply those big cities with flowers and all sorts of vegetables.

As for fishing villages which are found all along the coast of Japan, there are two kinds—villages where the people engage in fishing when the fishing season comes round and working in their field for the rest of the time and villages where men go fishing all the year round with their wives and children working in the fields.

Most fishing villages in Japan belong either to this part-time fishing type or the division-of-labor type. The usual picture of a Japanese fishing village is of small houses densely packed along the seashore with a background of a hill which is partly cultivated with vegetables and other crops. Japanese fishing is mostly coastal carried on with small craft of several tons. But the fishermen boast of their big haul which amounts to 80 percent of the entire world catch. Recently, however, fish in the near seas have greatly decreased so that they are resorting more and more to deep-sea fishing.

III PEOPLE

Craniometrical Study of the Japanese People

The following table shows the characteristics in 31 measurements of Japanese male skulls from six localities; Okinawa, Kyūshū, Southwestern Japan, Chūgoku District, Kinai District and Hokuriku District.

The data are derived from the following sources:

- (1) Imamura, Y. and Shima, G.: On the Mutual Relation of the East-Asiatic Races, *Jinruigaku Zasshi*, Vol. 50, No. 3, 1935.

- (2) Harada, T.: Craniometrical Studies on the Southwestern Japanese, *Jinruigaku Kenkyū*, Vol. 1, No. 1-2, 1954.
- (3) Hsu, H.: Anthropological Studies on the Cranium of Ryūkyū Islanders, *Bulletins of the Anatomical Dept. of the Nat. Taiwan Univ.*, Fasc. 2, 1948.
- (4) Hara, T.: On the Cranium of Criminals, *Ken'yōkai-Zasshi*, No. 149, 151, 152, 1920-1921.
- (5) Adachi, B.: Chūgoku (Okayama)-Skulls, *Tokyo Jinruigaku Zasshi*, No. 162, 1899.
- (6) Miyamoto, H.: Anthropological Studies on Modern Japanese Skeletons, Part I. On the Skulls, *Jinruigaku-Zasshi* Vol. 39, 1924.
- (7) Ōtsuki, Y.: Anthropological Studies on the Skulls of Hokuriku Japanese, *Juzenkai-Zasshi*, Vol. 35, 1930, *Bulletins of the Anatomical Dept. of the Kanagawa Medical School*, No. 2, 13, 14, 1931-1933.

Items	Locality	Okinawa	Kyūshū	South-western Japan	Chūgoku	Kinai	Hokuriku
1. Cranial Capacity (cc)		1,472.2	1,503.8	1,501.9	1,482.1	1,499.5	1,438.0
2. Maximum Cranial Length (mm)		179.1	182.6	181.4	179.9	178.3	183.0
3. Maximum Cranial Breadth (mm)		140.3	139.9	139.3	140.7	141.2	139.8
4. (Basion-Bregma Height) Cranial Height (mm)		137.9	141.1	139.3	139.3	139.7	134.5
5. Cranial Basis Length (mm)		99.6	103.3	102.3	—	102.1	100.9
6. Cranial Circumference (mm)		512.7	510.9	514.6	—	513.5	518.8
7. Bregmatic Transverse Arc (mm)		315.2	317.0	315.5	—	321.2	318.2
8. Median Sagittal Arc (mm)		375.2	375.4	378.0	—	372.5	370.0
9. Foramen Magnum Length (mm)		33.9	35.3	36.2	—	37.2	37.0
10. Foramen Magnum Breadth (mm)		29.0	29.8	30.2	—	29.3	30.2
11. Bizygomatic Breadth (mm)		134.3	134.4	134.5	135.3	133.5	135.0
12. Facial Length (mm)		96.1	96.8	96.0	—	98.8	97.8
13. Upper Facial Height (mm)		65.9	70.2	72.4	—	72.9	70.0
14. Orbital Breadth (left) (mm)		41.8	—	43.0	—	43.0	43.2
15. Orbital Height (left) (mm)		34.4	34.5	34.4	34.7	34.4	35.2
16. Nasal Height (mm)		49.7	52.4	52.4	51.4	52.4	51.5
17. Nasal Breadth (mm)		25.6	25.6	25.6	25.6	26.4	24.9
18. Facial Angle (°)		85.7	—	83.5	84.7	83.3	83.3
19. Angle NL of the Fundamental Facial Triangle		—	64.5	66.2	—	66.0	—
20. Angle AL of the Fundamental Facial Triangle		—	75.0	71.7	—	73.0	—
21. Length-Breadth Index		78.2	76.9	76.6	78.4	79.7	76.5
22. Length-Height Index		77.0	77.3	76.9	77.9	78.5	73.6
23. Breadth-Height Index		99.8	100.9	100.1	99.6	99.3	96.3
24. Foraminal Index		—	84.4	83.6	—	84.0	84.0
25. Sagittal Occipital Index		85.2	—	82.8	—	84.8	81.7
26. Upper Facial Index		66.8	70.9	71.8	72.7	72.9	70.0
27. Orbital Index (left)		83.4	—	80.2	—	79.6	81.4
28. Nasal Index		51.8	—	49.8	49.8	50.3	48.3
29. Longitudinal Craniofacial Index		54.1	53.0	54.7	—	55.1	52.4
30. Vertical Craniofacial Index		—	49.4	51.7	51.4	50.3	51.4
31. Transversal Craniofacial Index		95.7	96.1	96.6	96.2	94.5	95.9

- (8) Nakano, T. : Graniometry of Japanese Skulls, *Juzenkai-Zasshi*, Vol. 18, 1913.

Imamura and Shima compared the above measurements of the Japanese with those of other East-Asian races by Poniatowsky's "Type Defference Method".

The races compared are as follows:

Dravida (Morant, 1924), Nepales (Morant, 1924), Hindu (Woo & Morant, 1932), Vedda (Woo & Morant, 1932), Andamanese (Bonin, 1931), Tamil (Harrower, 1928), Naga (Kiston, 1933), Burmese A (Tildesley, 1921), Burmese, Insane Prisoners (Turner, 1933), Tibetans A (Morant, 1922-23), Kham-Tibet-

ans (Morant 1922-23), Dayak (Bonin, 1931), Dayak (Yakoo, 1931), Javanese, Bantaw-Bat (Bonin, 1931), Javanese, Middle & East (Bonin, 1931), Tagalogs (Bonin, 1931), Aetas (Bonin, 1931), Itylam Chinese (Harrower, 1928), Fukien Chinese (Harrower, 1928), Kilung Chinese (Ueda, 1931), Peking Chinese (Black, 1928), Fuschun Chinese (Shima, 1933), Koreans (Ueda, 1931), Koreans (Shima, 1934), Ainu, Hokkaido (Koganei, 1893), Ainu, Saghalin (Hirai, 1927), Tchuktch (Friclin), Aleuts (Hrdlicka), Soyots (Debetz), Mongols (Hrdlicka), Altai-Telengets (Reicher), Buriats (Reicher), Kalmucks (Reicher).

Physical Characteristics of the Present Japanese

The Japanese belong to the group of people called Mongoloids or Mongolians in their physical characteristics, that is, straight and dark brown hair, scanty body hair, light-brown or yellowish-brown skin, brown or dark-brown iris, shallow facial relief and protruding zygomatic bones.

The hair of the Japanese people is soft and brown or dark-brown in color, grows firmer and darker with age, and becomes dark-brown and firm at the ages of 14-15 in males and 18-19 in females. The beard and body hair, when compared with the Europeans are very scanty, but are one of the most abundant among ethnic groups in the Far East. The density of the hair of the Japanese people, on the other hand, is higher than that of the Europeans, and the hair grows much longer than that of the latter. The iris color is pure black in the first year of infancy, grows lighter later, and again becomes darker with age. In the adults, the iris color is dark-brown. Blue eyes never occur in the Japanese, but, in some rare instances, the periphery of the iris shows a green color. The appearance of oblique eyes is higher in the Japanese than among Europeans. The inner edge of the upper eyelids often shows the Mongolian fold.

The nose is low and the ridge straight. Convex nose ridges occur very seldom and

in females the nose ridge is often concave. The base of the nose is much lower than that of the Europeans, and the distance between the inner edges of the eyes is considerably longer. These features make the face of the Japanese look very flat.

The shape of the face of Japanese people is broader than that of the Chinese and Europeans and narrower than the Koreans. In most of the Japanese, the zygomatic arch protrudes. The head is medium both in absolute and relative measurements. The average head length is 189 mm., head breadth 152 mm. and cephalic index 80.2 mm. (Mesocephal), in Japanese males. The head height is a little higher than medium. The skull capacity is 1500 cc. in males and 1330 cc. in females.

There is a small local difference in skin color. The Southern Japanese have darker skins than the northerners. Inhabitants of the Ryūkyū Archipelago have the darkest skin.

The Mongolian spot appears in 99 percent of Japanese infants. The spot is largest and darkest in the second year after birth and becomes smaller and lighter with age until it almost disappears at the ages of 9-10.

The average height of the Japanese is about 160.5 cm. in males and about 149 cm. in females. Compared with the estimate

of the average height in all human groups in the world (165 cm.) the Japanese people are lower than average height. As in all other nations, the Japanese in different social groups have different average heights. College students and office workers are known to be taller than farmers and laborers. The average height of 20-year-old college students in 1953 was 165.0 cm. in males and 153.8 cm. in females.

It is also known that there is a steadily increasing tendency in the average adult height of the Japanese people. Table 1 shows the average height of 20-year-old Japanese since 1895.

Table 1. The Change in Average Height of 20-year-old Japanese since 1895

	Males	College Students Males	College Students Females
1895	156.53cm		
1900	157.11	160.0cm	147.0cm
1905	157.62	160.6	148.2
1910	158.06	160.9	148.2
1915	158.32	161.2	149.4
1920	158.98	161.8	150.9
1925	159.56	162.1	150.9
1930	159.88	162.3	151.0
1935		163.4	152.2
1950		164.4	154.0

The table shows that Japanese male adults gained 3.35 cm. in 35 years since 1895 (an increase of .96 cm. per year). Male college students gained 4.4 cm. in 50 years (.88 cm per year), and female college students gained 7 cm. in 50 years (1.4 cm. a year). In 1900, the height of the female adult was 92 percent of that of male adults, whereas, it was 93.7 percent of the latter in 1950.

There is a local difference in the height of the Japanese people. Inhabitants of Hokkaidō, Kinki, Chūgoku and Northwestern Kyūshū are taller than those of Northern Kantō, Northeastern Shikoku and Southern Kyūshū. The inhabitants in mountain villages and in isolated islands such as Sado, Iki and Tsushima are generally very short.

The Japanese immigrants to Hawaii and American continent are known to become taller in their new environment. The following table shows the comparison between the height of the second generation of the Japanese immigrants to Hawaii and that of the inhabitants of their native villages:

	Male	Female
Second generation of immigrants to Hawaii	162.83cm	150.23cm
Inhabitants of native villages	158.39	146.00

The fact that the average height of the Japanese people increases every year and that the offspring of Japanese immigrants are taller than native inhabitants suggests that the Japanese people may become still taller in future.

The Japanese are known to have a long trunk and short legs. The trunk of the Japanese is by no means long compared with other races, whereas, the legs are short. The increase in height in recent years is mainly the result of the elongation of the leg. The story is the same among immigrants.

The body weight of the Japanese people is light when compared with the height. The following table shows the comparison in height-weight relationship between the Japanese and the Germans:

Height (cm)	Weight (kilogram)		
	Germans	Japanese	Difference
154	55.0	47.9	7.1
156	55.7	49.3	6.4
158	56.5	50.3	6.3
160	57.0	51.2	5.8
162	59.1	52.1	7.0
164	60.2	53.9	6.3
166	61.4	55.4	7.0
168	62.9	55.7	7.2

The Japanese are weaker in hand grip strength, very deficient in vital capacity, and have lower body temperature and slower pulse. Axillary odor is rare in Japanese. Only 3.47 percent of the Japanese have it, which is quite different from Euro-

peans and Negroes. Wet ears are also rare (3.6 %).

The distribution of blood types is also different from Europeans and Negroes. The frequency of O type blood among the Japanese is 30.57 percent, that of A type blood is 38.27 percent, that of B type blood is 21.77 percent, and that of AB type blood is 9.37 percent. Compared with Europeans, the Japanese are low in A type blood frequency and high in frequency of B type blood. Compared with Negroes, the Japanese are high in frequency of A type blood and low in O type and B type blood frequencies. The frequency distribution of the Japanese in ABO-Blood types is a very

peculiar one. Only inhabitants in Southern China show about the same distribution as the Japanese among all the races in the world.

In Rh-Blood types, 99 percent of the Japanese belong to Rh positive. The frequency of Rh-negative in the Japanese being much lower than that of Europeans, in which 14-15% belongs to Rh-negative.

As was stated previously, there are local variations in most of the physical characteristics of the Japanese people. Dr. Matsu-mura A., considering stature and headform together, classified the Japanese people into nine types as shown in the following table:

Headform	Stature	Locality
Brachycephal	tall	Yamashiro, Iga, Tsushima.
Brachycephal	medium	Tamba, Settu, Kawachi, Yamato, Kii, Ōmi, Izumi, Mino, Owari.
Brachycephal	short	Satsuma, Ōsumi, Mimasaka, Suwo, Harima, Hida, Ise.
Mesocephal	tall	Bizen, Rikuchū.
Mesocephal	medium	Uzen, Ugo, Mutsu, Awaji, Shima, Hizen, Hyūga, Bungo, Tosa, Izumo, Bitchū, Echizen, Sagami, Echigo.
Mesocephal	short	Nagato, Iwami, Bingo, Shinano, Awa, Iwashiro, Sado.
Dolichocephal	medium	Higo, Chikugo, Chikuzen, Iyo, Awa, Aki, Inaba, Tajima, Tango, Kaga, Etchū, Musashi, Kazusa, Hitachi, Iwaki, Rikuzen.
Dolichocephal	short	Sanuki, Wakasa, Mikawa, Tōtōmi, Suruga, Kai, Izu, Noto, Kōzuke, Shimotsuke, Shimofusa.
Hyperdolichocephal	medium short	Iki, Hōki.

The table shows that people from the central region of the Kinki District are round-headed and tall, those from the peripheral region of the district are round-headed but shorter in stature; those from the southern tip of Kyūshū and from the Ryūkyū Archipelago are round-headed and short; those from the western part of Okayama Prefecture and from Iwate Prefecture are medium-headed and tall, showing a peculiar local type; narrow-headed people live in Ōki Island and in the western part of Tottori Prefecture.

The following table has been prepared to show the local differences in slenderness or

stoutness of elementary and junior high school children.

The table shows that:

- 1) Tall stature appears east of Kinki, the tallest appears north of Kantō.
- 2) Short stature appears east of Kinki, the shortest in Kyūshū.
- 3) Generally speaking, children from the northeastern tip of Japan are the tallest, those from Southern Kyūshū are the shortest and those from the region in between are medium in stature.
- 4) Stout children are from Hokkaidō and Hokuriku who are tall and also from the peripheral parts of Kyūshū who are short.

Stature	Weight (Compared with the stature)		
	Heavy	Medium	Light
Tall	Hokkaidō, Aomori.	Miyagi, Chiba.	Tokyo, Kanagawa, Aichi.
Above average		Ibaraki, Tottori, Saitama, Shiga.	Tochigi, Nagano, Kyōto.
Average	Akita, Toyama, Ishikawa.	Iwate, Fukui, Shimane, Yamagata, Gifu, Okayama, Fukushima, Mie, Hiroshima, Niigata, Osaka, Kagawa, Kōchi, Nara.	Gumma, Shizuoka.
Under average		Wakayama, Kumamoto.	
Short	Nagasaki, Ōita.	Yamanashi, Ehime, Hyōgo, Yamaguchi, Saga.	
Very short	Miyazaki, Kagoshima.		

5) The ratio between weight and stature of children from the Pacific coast of Japan is about the same as that of average Japanese children.

6) Children from the inland area between Kantō and Kinki and from the Pacific coast between Tokyo and Aichi are slender in build.

The frequency distribution of ABO-Blood groups also shows remarkable local varia-

tions. As a matter of fact, almost all the physical characteristics of the Japanese people are found to differ more or less in different localities. These facts tell us that there are local differences in the distribution of ethnic elements which constitute the present Japanese, and also that people in different localities developed their own peculiar features by isolation during the long feudalistic period.

Ethno-historical Formation of the Japanese People

Problem of the ethno-historical origin of the Japanese

People is a very complicated one, with no consensus having been reached among the experts. A number of factors contribute to the complexity of the problem.

The ethnic distribution on the Eurasian Continent shows that a number of ethnic groups are concentrated along the coastal regions in a very complicated pattern. This situation suggests that since ancient times, the pressure of migration has been from the continental hinterland to the coastal regions. These waves of migration and cultural currents presumably reached the Japanese archipelago during the closing period of the Palaeolithic or in the Mesolithic. The ethnic groups and various cultures which came to the Japanese islands naturally found it difficult to move further eastward because of Japan's geographic

position. As a result, these groups and cultures piled up and became blended in Japan, culminating in the very complicated and diversified ethnic, linguistic and cultural pattern of this country.

The ethnic history of the Japanese people given below contains some hypotheses, and does not necessarily represent the consensus of academic opinion.

Gatherers and hunters of the early period

A number of stone implements representing features of the so-called non-ceramic culture of probably the late Palaeolithic or the Mesolithic have been discovered in many parts of Japan since World War II. There had been a number of types of these stone implements and they show that even in the early period of Japanese culture, a number of cultural currents had already reached the archipelago. Some of them

show a resemblance to the ancient stone blades and other stone implements found in Siberia and Alaska. Others bear a strong semblance to the hand axes of Southeast Asia. These facts suggest that both sub-arctic hunters and gatherers and hunters from the tropical region had migrated to the Japanese islands by this time.

Hunters and gatherers of the Neolithic Period

The earliest cultural pattern of the Neolithic is represented by the so-called Jōmon (cord pattern) pottery culture. Archaeologists point out that during the early stage, ceramics of two different types existed—one being those of the twisted cord pattern found mostly in eastern Japan, and the other being those of the pressed pattern, found in the western part of the country. A somewhat later type is pottery with decorations resembling pectinate patterns found in eastern Japan. These artifacts show that people responsible for the development of the ceramic culture of this type were gatherers and hunters of a fairly high cultural level. Not enough light has been shed on the lineage of these ceramic cultures and their relationship with the ceramics of the fringe areas. However, those found in the eastern part of the country resemble finds in northern Eurasia and Alaska while those found in western Japan bear patterns suggesting kinship with those of South China and the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Furthermore, the existence of bone harpoons and hooks shows that the circum-North Pacific fishery culture which flourished in northeastern Siberia and Alaska had reached northeastern Japan during the Jōmon Era.

Taro cultivators

During the middle Jōmon, spirals appeared suddenly in ceramic patterns and as a result the shapes and patterns of ceramics became more complicated and plastic. Other artifacts of the period include earthen images and masks, stone axes of the pestle shape, and starshaped and circular stone

implements attached to clubs or sticks. These elements may be viewed as representing a new culture complex, and its appearance can be explained only by the migration of some new ethnic group. These stone artifacts resemble the Melanesian finds.

Data from Japanese literary classics and socio-religious rites still practiced in Japan's rural communities today point to the existence of a cult of ancestor worship. This cult is based on the belief that ancestral spirits return to visit the community from some far-off region. In ancient times, there was a religious cult in which ancestral spirits were represented by masked and disguised people. Even today, there is in some rural areas a custom in which masked and disguised youths make the rounds of rural households in mid-January to frighten the women and children and to receive presents of rice cakes and wine. This same cult is still alive, in a variety of modified forms, in certain festivals and rituals in Japan. These practices speak of the past existence of what is known in ethnological terms as the primitive secret society. In the Ryūkyū Islands, where until World War II these customs remained in more vivid form, these peripatetic groups bear a striking resemblance to the secret society complex characteristic of Melanesia.

The Japanese classics contain much evidence pointing to the existence of a matrilineal society, and this fact may be tied in with the existence of a similar society in Melanesia. In those days, agriculture of a low order was practiced, involving the cultivation of taro, yams and similar plants. Taro was used in Japan's archaic festivals, and even today the cultivation of taro is accompanied by religious ritual in some districts. It is, of course, well-known that taro is raised widely in Melanesia.

In the Japanese language, every syllable ends with a vowel, and this characteristic presumably was found in the language of the group which introduced taro culture into Japan. Worthy of note in this connection is the resemblance between the Japanese language and those spoken in the northern part of Halmahera Island in Indo-

nesia and the Papuan language of New Guinea. Supposing that these two similar cultures originated from the same source, the original cultural stream presumably flowed from somewhere out of South China into both the South Pacific and the Japanese islands.

Austroasian land rice cultivators

At the end of the Jōmon Era or in the early part of Yayoi, an ethnic group familiar with rice culture seems to have migrated to Japan from the region south of the Yangtze River. They had a matrilineal social system, under which husband and wife lived separately and the children cohabited with the mother. It was this group which brought to Japan the myth and religious cult centering around *Amaterasu*, the Sun Goddess. According to the myth, the brother of the Sun Goddess, *Susano-o*, was a ruffian and in order to escape his violent acts, the Sun Goddess hid herself in a cave. As a result, the world turned dark and various ominous phenomena were observed. The deities, much concerned, then coaxed the Sun Goddess from the cave with dances and sounds of merriment. This solar eclipse myth is common to the Miao of China and other Southeast Asian ethnic groups speaking Austroasian language.

Again, this ancient Japanese myth featuring brother-sister deities who marry and beget other deities is akin in part to the flood myth often found among South Chinese and Southeast Asian peoples. In the myths common to these groups, mankind is exterminated by a deluge, leaving only a brother and sister. Since they cannot marry, they go through magical rites designed to nullify the ban on consanguineous marriage. They then marry and beget off-spring. In the Japanese version, the portion relating to the flood is omitted, but the rest of the legend is the same, even in detail.

Japanese mythology also contains stories of a goddess in charge of farming and food stuffs. She is skilled and the seeds of various plants germinate from the parts of her

corpse. Myths identical with this legend are prevalent in Southern China and Southeast Asia, with slight variations.

That some Austroasian speaking peoples migrated to Japan about this time can be deduced from the following facts:

1. The *tera* of *Amaterasu* corresponds to *tida* (shine) in the Austroasian and Austronesian languages.
2. Many Japanese words denoting parts of the body correspond to those in the Austroasian and Austronesian languages.
3. Features of some Japanese myths are prevalent among the various groups belonging to the Austronesian language family.
4. Groups belonging to the Austronesian language family practice rice culture.

Austronesian paddy field cultivators

The so-called Yayoi culture originated in B.C. 300. This culture was fundamentally different from Jōmon culture and was borne by a newly arrived ethnic group. Yayoi culture was, however, a mixed culture comprising a number of ethnic and cultural streams.

Yayoi ceramics are different from those of the Jōmon in their shapes, patterns and technique of manufacture. Stone implements belonging to this culture are of the rectangular family and are characterized by a predominance of crescent-shaped stone knives for cutting crops. Yayoi culture is based on the late Neolithic culture of East Asia, mixed with the early south-to-north drift of the copper, bronze and iron implement cultures, and some megalithic influences. The culture of this period is also characterized by paddy field rice cultivation with the use of advanced hydraulic facilities. The techniques and implements employed for paddy field cultivation during this era are almost identical with those of the Southeast Asian continent and Indonesia. Religious concepts and rituals related to rice cultivation are also fundamentally identical with their Southeast Asian prototypes.

Advanced techniques for navigation and fishing also reached Japan during this

period. A number of myths recorded in the classics are also identical with those prevailing in areas which retain Austro-nesian myths.

The village organization of one of the principal ethnic groups which migrated to Japan during this period was what is known as age-class or age-grade organization, whereby young people are allowed to join the youth class at the age of fourteen or fifteen after undergoing an initiation ceremony. After this ritual, the young people leave their parents' homes and live in the "young men's sleeping house". Under this system, several age classes are organized above the youth class and all males ascend the ladder of age classes as they grow older. In other words, it is a social system in which order is maintained by age grades. This village organization still exists in modified form in some rural communities in middle and southwestern Japan. It is also prevalent among the Oceanians, who are of the Austronesian group, as well as among a number of other peoples in parts of Formosa, Southeast Asia and India. This fact cannot be ignored in tracing the origins of this system in Japan.

As stated above, Yayoi culture was a mixture comprising a number of ethnic and cultural streams. However, it is difficult at the present stage of research to determine the origins and affiliations of the respective cultural elements involved.

Besides the cultural components mentioned above, there are some traces of the highly developed culture of China, which must have found its way into ancient Japanese culture indirectly and in a degenerate form. The influences exerted by the Dong-son bronze culture of South China and Northern Viet-Nam cannot be ignored either. The non-Chinese cultures of the China Sea coastal regions (Wu and Yüeh Kingdoms) that flourished several hundred years before Christ are believed to have played an important role in the development of Yayoi culture, contributing the so-called southern factors to it. Again, cultural and ethnic migrations from Indonesia are also conceivable. All in all, it may be said that

among others Austro-nesian culture exerted a definite influence on early Japanese culture.

Tungus agriculturalists

Along with the southern and southwestern elements mentioned above, northern elements are very important in the composition of Yayoi culture. It is presumed that slightly earlier than these southern influences, an ethnic group bearing a different culture migrated to Japan from the north, i.e. from southern Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula. These peoples originally raised millet, but later learned rice cultivation in southern Korea and western Japan and apparently shifted to that crop.

Socially, this group was composed of exogamous patrilineal clans called *hala-kala*. The old Japanese word *hara* denotes exactly the same concept meant by "xala", a patriarchal clan seen widely among the Tungus tribes presently inhabiting Manchuria and northeastern Siberia, and among some of the Mongolian tribes. In ancient Korea, the word "kala" was used to denote a clan or a nation.

These northern people who migrated to Japan also carried northeast Siberian shamanism and religious concepts. They also brought to Kyūshū other articles such as the crescent-shaped knife found today in southern Manchuria, the combed pattern found in Yayoi pottery. The indirect introduction of a cultural heritage originating in Siberian bronze culture must also be attributed to the migration of these peoples to Japan.

They presumably spoke a language closely akin to Tungus, one of the Altaic languages, and were closely related to the inhabitants of the Korean Peninsula of those days. They learned rice growing in Korea and Japan, as stated above, and mingled rapidly with the so-called southern cultures and ethnic groups. Linguistically, however, this group presumably spread its Altaic language among the other peoples in the islands, and finally established its linguistic domination. It is supposed that the foundation of the Altaic character of

the Japanese language was established during this period.

At the end of the Yayoi Era, rice cultivation spread throughout Japan, population increased, wealth was accumulated, technology advanced rapidly, and the society became stratified to a limited extent. In various parts of the country, influential clans made their appearance. This does not mean that the elongated archipelago of Japan came to be inhabited by a single ethnic group possessed of a single culture. Actually, the various groups which migrated to the Japanese islands at different periods are presumed to have maintained some independence, retaining many aspects of their distinctive cultures even while mingling with one another.

Altaic rulers

Perhaps during the third or fourth century A.D., a militarily organized and aggressive people migrated to Japan and conquered the agricultural population then inhabiting the islands. These new-comers founded a country and established a dynasty, centering around the Tennō Clan.

The social unit of this group was a patriarchal clan called *uji*. It consisted of a large family under powerful patriarchal domination. The Tennō Clan at that time merely enjoyed a relative superiority, but a dynasty was already in the process of being established.

In this society, there was marked specialization of labor, with occupational groups and a slave system. Iron making and riding horses were introduced, and society became mobile and military.

The Mononobe Clan, which was in charge of military affairs, was divided into five groups, each of which was further subdivided into five smaller units, making a total of twenty-five groups. Religion was characterized by the worship of celestial deities, the deification of heroes, the belief that deities could descend from heaven to mountain peaks and the tops of trees, patriarchal ancestor worship, and the existence of shaman specialists.

The supreme god of the religion and myths was *Takamimusubi*, or "High Tree Deity". Among the myths which have obviously political characteristics, the most important is the story of a deity conquering a "middle land". This legend forms the basis for the assertion of the sovereign rights of the Tennō Clan. Briefly, the myth runs as follows:

The heavenly deity *Takamimusubi* orders his grandson *Ninigi* to pacify the "middle land" and grants him the three sacred treasures. *Ninigi*, accompanied by five clan groups, descends from heaven to the *Kushi-furu* peak of *Takachiho* (*Sahori* peak according to another legend). *Ninigi* pacifies the area and his descendants rule the country.

A close parallel to this story is found in the *Tankun* myth, concerning the founding of ancient Korea. According to this myth, the heavenly deity grants three treasures to his son who, accompanied by the deities of wind, rain and cloud, descends near a tree called *tan* atop the peak and founds Korea. The deity's son is called *Tankun* because he is supposed to have descended to the tree called *tan*.

The similarity between these myths is striking. First, the other name of *Takamimusubi* is *Takagi*, meaning a tall tree. The *Kushi-furu* peak which appears in the Japanese myth corresponds to the *Kushi* peak of another Korean story. *Sahori*, the alternate name for the peak, is synonymous with the Korean word *Seoul*, meaning "capital city". There is no doubt that these two myths have the same origin. That the five-group system existed in the ancient Korean states, at least among the ruling classes, is historically known, and in some of the Korean states, the five groups were each subdivided into five smaller units.

In ancient Japan, the occupational groups (clans) were called *kabane* or *kapone*, meaning "bone". In the ancient Korean states, too, clans and vocational classification were expressed with a Chinese ideograph meaning "bone". There appears to be some relationship between this and the fact that among Mongolian tribes, a word

meaning "bone" was used to denote the patriarchal clan.

The word *uji* or *udi* meaning a patriarchal clan corresponds to "ul" (clan) in the Korean language, since "d" in Japanese corresponds to "l" in Korean. It also corresponds to "uru-g" (relatives) in Mongolian, "uri" (descendants) in Buryat, a Mongolian dialect, *uru* (relatives) in a Turkish dialect, "ur" (sons) in Tungus. The fact that Japan's *uji* system corresponds linguistically, as well as in what it denotes, to similar institutions of other peoples belonging to the Altaic language family seems to point clearly to a past interrelationship.

Another myth found among the early Japanese referred to above runs as follows:

When the first Emperor Jimmu (whose actual existence is problematical), led his troops from Kii to Yamato Province, the advancing army was asphyxiated by some kind of gas. Thereupon, a crow (or pheasant) appeared and the troops were revived as if by magic, continuing on their expedition into Yamato by following the path of the crow. The army succeeded in conquering the natives, and founded a realm, of which Jimmu became the first Emperor.

What is interesting here is the fact that this myth closely resembles one found among the Magyars, another ethnic group belonging to the Ural-Altaic language family. Although the two may not be directly linked, the affinity of the two myths seems to indicate cultural connections between the two at the western and eastern extremes of this language family. This is even more strongly suggested by the fact that among Mongolian and Turkish tribes, both of which belong to the Altaic group, there are many legends closely linking dynasties and kings with Predatory birds.

Opinions differ greatly on the affinities of the Japanese language, but most authorities are agreed that it corresponds to other Altaic languages in grammatical structure and vowel harmony. In vocabulary, however, relatively little affinity is found between Japanese and the other Altaic languages, except for Korean. As mentioned above, however, a striking similarity is

found with respect to sociological terms—a fact which reflects the political and social character of the ruling tribe.

Although they conquered the aborigines politically and socially, culturally the early Japanese were dominated by the natives, who were skilled in rice cultivation and were thus more productive. The people led by the *Tennō* were numerically inferior and, as is usually the case with migratory groups, were culturally destitute and unproductive. They excelled, however, in political and social organization, and other cultural elements related to these systems. Be that as it may, the *Tennō*-led group must have spoken one of the Altaic languages, and was strongly influenced by Altaic equestrian tribes.

Where was their homeland? It is almost impossible to answer this query, but a hypothesis may be advanced. The area embracing northeastern Siberia, southern Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula was formerly inhabited by the Tungus tribes. Shortly before the beginning of the first century, a Tungus tribe in southern Manchuria which lived partly by farming and partly by hunting, and which had the "xala" clan organization, was conquered by an Altaic nomadic group which invaded the area from the west. The conquering tribe had the *uji* clan organization, and as a result, Tungus society in this area was turned into a stratified society comprising a ruling class and the ruled. This society was later presumably divided into five sub-units, and became nomadic. It is likely that the clan term *uji* applied to the rulers and the term *hala* was used to denote the ruled. There was, however, no marked difference in the character of these two classes.

The social structure was akin to that of the Kokuryo and the Fū, who were also similar ethnically. It appears that this tribe began its southward migration through the Korean Peninsula just before the similar movement of the Kokuryo. The founding of the ancient Korean kingdoms may be attributable to these or similar groups. This presumption is based on the following facts:

1. Essential features of the political organization of these kingdoms are fundamentally similar to those of Japan's Tennō group. 2. Both the Korean and Japanese kingdoms were founded at about the same time. 3. After the Huns were defeated by the Han Dynasty and their political and social organizations collapsed, a state of anarchy prevailed among the various ethnic groups inhabiting the areas surrounding Han. There was much migratory activity on the part of the nomadic tribes, and kingdoms of similar types were founded in large numbers.

It seems certain that the cause of the emergence of a number of minor kingdoms along the eastern fringe of the Asian Continent lay in the migratory movement mentioned above.

Development of the Japanese

While it is not clear when the Tennō people landed on the Japanese archipelago, it is evident from historical data that a monarchy had been established in the province of Yamato (present Nara Prefecture) by the fourth century A.D. In those days, the Japanese islands were inhabited by a number of farming and fishing peoples, either of the matrilineal or patrilineal

system. The Tennō group gradually conquered the others and expanded its domain, incorporating the minor ethnic groups one by one. In this process, the ruling group lost its tribal independency and became simply the ruling class or the aristocracy of a national state. The subject groups also became ethnically mixed and became the farming and fishing classes which constituted the lower strata of the society. The cultures of the various groups fused, and the different ethnic groups forming the society gradually lost their group consciousness. With the passage of time, a common body of people with the same culture emerged.

The Japanese thus developed from a number of ethnic strains during their long history in the Japanese Islands. The rice-farming groups with their origin in the southern regions, and the Tennō group apparently played leading roles in the process of ethnic development—the former with their cultural and economic superiority providing the basis of the social organization, and the latter with its political genius controlling that organization. The origin and lineage of the Japanese nation are pluralistic and its evolution took long years of historical development.

Ethnological Study of the Japanese People

The earliest inhabitants in the Japanese archipelago

It was generally considered that the earliest Japanese inhabitants had appeared in the earliest period of Jōmon-Culture Age, that means, Japan had been inhabited not more than 10,000 years. This general belief, however, has been found not true since 1949, when obsidian stone implements were unearthed from a layer of loam at Iwajuku, Kasakake village, Gumma Prefecture. Geologists maintain that the Loam Layer is a volcanic deposit in Pleistocene epoch. Then the stone implements found at Iwajuku must be of Pleistocene epoch. Since then

similar findings have been made in Kantō District, Chūbu District, Hokkaidō and on the coast of the Seto Inland Sea. From these findings, we now consider that Japan has been inhabited since Pleistocene epoch.

Four types have been recognized in the stone implements from the Loam Layer, each more or less related. All of these four types are chipped stone implements. They are called the remains of Pre-Jōmon Culture or Non-ceramic Culture, because, so far, they have never been found to be accompanied by ceramic artifacts. Therefore, these are provisionally considered as relics of Pre-Jōmon Culture or Non-earthenware culture. Our knowledge concerning Pre-Jōmon Culture is limited. Especially, as

the skeleton of those who had such culture is not found. It cannot be assumed that as those who had Jōmon Culture are the ancestor of the former.

Because the culture is accompanied by the stone implements made by chipping but not by polishing and also it does not include earthen-wares, it can correspond to the later Paleolithic age or Mesolithic age culture. Yet, as there has been no finds of vegetable or animal fossils, we cannot judge exactly about the climatic conditions in those days. Therefore there is no assurance that it might have belonged to the glacial climate of the 4th glacial period or post glacial period in the northern part of the Eurasian Continent. On the other hand, according to the scholastic knowledge on paleontology, it is clear that at the end of the Diluvial Epoch the *Elephas nomadicus* were living in all part of Japan proper and southwestern part of Hokkaidō. This is proved by the discovery of the fossils of these elephants. At any rate there still are many unsolved problems as to the archaeological study of human race in the Diluvial Epoch.

Japanese culture in pre-historic times

As far as we know now, there was a gap between Pre-Jōmon Culture and Jōmon Culture. The presence of ceramics, partly polished stone implements and arrow-heads even in the earliest Jōmon Culture means that the latter is far more advanced than the former even in the beginning. The gap may be explained by assuming the immigration of people who had a more advanced than the former even in the beginning. If Japan was surrounded by the sea as it is now they must have crossed the sea to reach here. There is, however, another possibility. There are geological evidences that the present Japanese archipelago was in Pleistocene Epoch connected to the Asiatic Continent at the present Tsushima Strait, Tsugaru Strait and Sōya Strait. If Japan had still been connected to the Asiatic mainland at the beginning of the Alluvial Epoch, the new comers with Jōmon Culture could easily have come to Japan on

foot. But this point needs the approval of geologists.

Here we have to refer to an important archaeological fact. There were few shell mounds in the earliest period of Jōmon Culture in Japan. But in its earlier period the number of the shell mounds increased suddenly and there were many which were situated far inside of the present coast-line. This tendency is strengthened towards the end of the earlier period and the beginning of the middle period. It means that the land sunk or the sea-level raised. Therefore, if we trace back to the earliest period, it may become clear that before the sinking of the land, i.e. in the Diluvial Epoch Japan was connected with the Continent by land.

Close analysis of the earliest Jōmon Culture reveals that there were considerable differences between the cultural remains from northeastern Japan and those from southwestern Japan. Potteries from northeastern Japan were predominantly shell patterned, whereas those from southwestern Japan were roller patterned. The former spread over the southwestern part of Hokkaidō and the entire part of Ōu District and the latter over Kyūshū, Shikoku, Chūgoku, Kinki and Chūbu districts and Kantō is a mingling place of these two. This fact may suggest that they were of different traditions, that is, the former had close relations to those at the northern part of Asiatic Continent, while the latter was brought into Japan probably from Korea. This theory must yet be confirmed by the more detailed archaeological study of the Asiatic mainland. As the Japanese archipelago became separated from the Continent, so Jōmon Culture became gradually isolated and developed by itself for several thousands years. In the course of its development there had been new injections by the people and culture from outside Japan. But in the present situation that the extensive archaeological study of Japan has been unable, such systematic analysis of cultural elements have not yet fully be conducted. In the course of its development during several thousand years, Jōmon Culture penetrated almost all parts of Japan; even in the islands of Kurile in the north

and in Okinawa Island in the south remains of Jōmon Culture have been unearthed. Its long history and the wide span it covered produced such a wide variation in Jōmon Culture that it is very difficult to state in a word its characteristics. The only remark we can safely make is that the culture was developed by the people who remained throughout its long history as hunters and fishermen. Such basic character of Jōmon Culture is common to that of forest area of north Asia and even to the Mesolithic Culture in Europe and it is quite contrary to the Neolithic culture including agriculture, raising of domestic animals and weaving in southern Asia, including the loess area of China, Middle East, Near East and Europe.

Pre-historic Japanese people

Fairly large number of skeletons of the people in Jōmon Culture Period have been excavated from shell mounds and sometimes from caves all over Japan. Anthropological observations and measurements are made on these skeletons.

Since about 1880 there have been many theories as to the racial interpretation of the Jōmon Culture people. Pre-Aino theory, originated by Edward S. Morse (American biologist) and succeeded by Tsuboi Shōgorō, and the Aino-theory, originated by John Miln (English geologist) and developed by Koganei Yoshikiyo were the most famous ones. For more than thirteen years, there have been fierce debates between them. Dr. Tsuboi, in comparison of the Aino Culture and the pre-historic one, was based on ethnological view-point while Dr. Koganei took anthropological stand-point by comparing the Aino skeletons with those found in shell mounds. As far as the anthropological problems are concerned, the stand-point of Dr. Koganei was advantageous and suitable and his theory had been supported by many scholars until about 1920. These two are now considered too naive and discarded.

Dr. Kiyono, a pathologist and anthropologist, produced another theory, after studying more than 1000 skeletons excavated from shell-mounds all over Japan.

He found that the Jōmon Culture people were different both from the Ainos and the contemporary Japanese in about the same extent. And the relation of the three is just like a triangular shape. Therefore, it is not correct that those who are sided with the Aino theory contend that the pre-historic people are near to the Ainos. As the pre-historic people have peculiar racial character of their own, they should properly be named Japanese stone-age men. He suggested that the Jōmon Culture people, who had inhabited throughout Japan, were mixed in the north with another race and formed the Ainos in Hokkaidō, Kurile and Saghalin, at the same time, they are mixed with a different race migrated to the southwestern part of Japan and formed the present Japanese people. Hence, he states that Jōmon Culture people are the ancestors of the contemporary Japanese. Dr. Hasebe Kotondo, an authority in anatomy and anthropology, has a similar theory nearly.

There is one weakness in Dr. Kiyono's theory. A greater part of the skeletons he studied were from shell mounds of later and latest Jōmon Culture Period in southwestern Japan. More skeletons of earlier periods and those from northeastern part of Japan should also be studied to be quite sure about his theory. Here is a weakness in his theory. Because Dr. Koganei states that the skeletons found in shell mounds of northeastern Japan belong to the middle and later periods, which were used by him, are very similar to the nature of the Aino skeletons he used and far less than that of Dr. Kiyono.

The fact that Jōmon Culture showed great variety may suggest the complicated ethnic constitution of the Jōmon people.

Development of Japanese culture

Around the 2nd the 3rd century B.C., there occurred a great cultural change in Japan. At that time the great Han Dynasty was established in China. Its indirect influence gradually penetrated Japan. The peaceful land of Japan, because of its geographical situation, was not directly

affected by the Han Dynasty, but the influence of the tribal unrest caused by the Han pressure reached Kyūshū or Chūgoku District from Korean Peninsula, Central and South China and Southeast Asia. Those who came over to Japan in such way knew technique of rice-planting and of metal. The new comers settled in Japan which is a fertile land with much rain-fall and abundant vegetation, cultivated land, planted rice and built a country of rice. The natives who were living by hunting and fishing were much surprised and afraid of the new-comers. But as the two races were different from each other in life mode, place and production method, their interest did not exclude each other and there was no fierce fighting. Although the natives were many in population, they were much interested in the new comers who had new and higher production method and material culture and were obliged gradually to change their traditional life and culture. Towards the end of Jōmon Culture the hunting society developed highly and the people were ready to accept the new culture quite naturally. The change was smoothly done. Thus Jōmon Culture disappeared rapidly and Yayoi Culture was formed. Therefore, it is not that Jōmon Culture automatically developed into Yayoi Culture but that the latter took the place of the former by a revolution caused from outside. The fact can be understood by the observations of the development of stone or wooden tools for agricultural work and products as well as of utensils for kitchen. The village in Jōmon Culture was made on high and dry hills near to hunting or fishing grounds while that in Yayoi Culture was made on the dry place near the paddy field. The difference of the two cultures is clear also from the technical development, nature of material culture and from such spiritual aspects as faith and arts.

Yayoi Culture which was born in such way is a kind of agricultural culture common to rice-planting races of east Asia. The culture in its early stage produced the polished stone implements chiefly and chipped stone tools as well as a few bronze and iron tools. The stone implements were

those usually used in those days and the metals were still precious. Therefore, though Yayoi Culture had hitherto been called calcolithic culture, essentially it should be called Neolithic culture. Agricultural products were mainly rice and beans, melons, wheat and other plants were raised. There is an evidence of raising such domestic animals as cow, horse and hen. It is also known that weaving was made of mulberry and hemp. These facts testify that Yayoi Culture can be regarded as belonging to Neolithic one. Furthermore, at the northern part of Kyūshū which was the main base of the new comers Dolmen type huge stone graves, stone cists, funeral urns were popular and even examples of remaining mounds are known to us, all of which tell that it belonged to the Neolithic stage.

After the middle stage of Yayoi Culture the metal tools gradually replaced the stone implements, which disappeared completely towards the end of the Culture. Therefore, it may be convenient to divide it into the early stage and later one, but essentially it needs no division at all. The Culture came to its end in the 3rd or 4th centuries.

People who brought and developed Yayoi Culture

It has been a very difficult problem to determine the racial background of the people who brought Yayoi Culture in Japan. And it is almost impossible how many people did migrate to Japan with the new culture. We cannot underestimate their number as they could march eastward, cultivating rapidly every district they reached. Of course it must be admitted that the number of the natives who, though passively, helped the new-comers in fostering new culture was overwhelmingly greater. There may not be a way to clarify such population distribution, but at least we have to examine the racial structure of those days.

As to this problem there has been a big obstacle that Yayoi Culture left behind very few shell mounds. Thus we cannot collect skeletons from them. But recently Professor Kanazeki of Kyūshū University has been collecting many skeletons from stone

cists and funeral urns in north Kyūshū and western Honshū. These are the very remains of the Yayoi People, and when they will have been studied anthropologically, their characteristics will become clear and their line of racial origin and their native place will become clear. Then the comparison with the body of the native people will be made and the process of the mixture of the two races will be studied. Without such scientific studies, we cannot make clear the racial position of those who lay the foundation of Japanese culture.

While collecting the skeletons of Yayoi Culture, Dr. Kanazeki found various accompanying facts. They are: popularity of the custom of pulling out teeth, putting bands on forehead for bearing baggages as the forehead of skull had a depression, custom of putting minium powder on dead body and a woman head with a bronze arrow-head stuck into the top.

Apart from the above-mentioned anthropological problems, we may be able to guess their origin from cultural view-point. The rice-planting had been made from several thousand years ago in southeast Asia, Indonesia, south China and central China. It can be supposed that they have relations with these areas. By the recent discovery of wooden spades in various parts of Japan it can be proved that they depended on the cultivation by spade which preceded the one by plough. Their chief product was rice and its kind is short and round, i.e. the so-called Japanese species. Their stone implements are similar to those in Korean Peninsula, South Manchuria and North China. Especially, stout-shaped ax of diorite and knife of slate are sometimes so much like those in these areas that they cannot be told which is which. In this sense we cannot ignore the relation with the Neolithic culture in China. But in China it was already the age of iron and hence the similarity should be interpreted from different angle. There also are those elements which can be related to the southern region because of the existence of grooved adze, Dolmen, stone cists and funeral urns. I believe that the people who brought the Yayoi Culture are those who lived in the

outer edge of Han Culture, i.e. in south China or Indo-China Peninsula and came up northward with the sea current or seasonal wind or along the coast-line into the East China Sea and finally reached South Korea and Western Japan. The testimony must be sought in archaeological studies.

Tradition of culture in Japan

Yayoi Culture was the agricultural one centering around rice-cultivation. From the view-point that the fundamental factor of Japanese culture was supplied by the agricultural one based on rice field, Yayoi Culture is the very foundation of Japanese culture. As to the agricultural technique there was a change towards the later period of the age of Tumulus. By the technique brought by the people from the Continent, embankments were constructed, ponds were dug and the artificial irrigation was made possible. Thus the land suitable for rice-planting was expanded. Around the same time, those who migrated from North Korea cultivated dry field by means of burning wood and plants other than rice were now raised. Japanese agriculture made a step forward and became comprehensive. As the result, rapid development of agricultural village was realized towards the later period of Tumulus age and iron spade or plough necessary for dry field were developed and these stories were put on the Chronicle of Japan (*Nihonshoki*) and on the *Kojiki*. After such change the age entered the historical stage and the agricultural technique continued to develop, yet the main point of being based on the paddy field has not changed up to now. Agricultural calendar and accompanying rites and customs until the medieval times had been centered around the plantation of rice.

These facts can be clarified by archaeology. Let us cite a few examples.

The chief tool for the agriculture in Yayoi Culture was a wooden spade suitable for puddly field. The spade was used until later days and for the deeper cultivation on dry field the wooden spade with metal tip is still used and the wooden spade itself has been changed to wooden tool for removing

snow or for making *miso*. The wooden clogs and boat for paddy field are still used on the field with minor modification in their shapes and functions. It is certain that the wooden mortar or pounder or winnow basket which are found from among the Yayoi relics were used for the threshing and retaining of rice. By the later introduction of Chinese mortar, threshing mortar and water mill, these archaic motors and pounders had lost their utility and were changed and still remain in Kyūshū and Tōhoku. Only the Ainos in Hokkaidō and people of the Satsunan Islands are still

using them for their original purpose. There are too many such examples to be cited here. These may be found also in customs, rites and systems. They belong to the study on folk-lore or ethnology.

Thus for the study of Japanese native culture considerable time is still required and archaeological study, too, need more time and emphasis. The foregoing statements, therefore, are not the commentary on the Japanese archaeology but the pointing out of the problems that the archaeology has done or will be able to do for the clarification of native culture of Japan.

IV THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE

Position of the Japanese Language

Many theories have been advanced since the middle of the Meiji Era (about 1890) as to which language system the Japanese language belongs. Some linguists have classified the Japanese language with that of neighboring areas, such as Ryūkyūan, Ainu and Korean, while others have grouped it with the Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese, Ural-Altaic, Mon-Khmer, Malay and Polynesian. Still others maintain that Japanese is related to the languages of the Greek and the Leptians, native to the Himalayan area, but this theory is not widely accepted.

The fact that the Japanese is associated with such a large variety shows, on the other hand, that it has little relation with any of the languages of the world. In other words, the Japanese tongue being isolated from all others, occupies a unique

position among the modern languages of the world.

Its structure, which was formed centuries ago, has remained unchanged since the language was unaffected by any foreign influence due to the fact that the Japanese people were confined to their native islands for ages and were free from invasion of foreign races. Therefore, the confusion of the Japanese language, deplored by some people, is fundamentally different from that of foreign languages in that it is not the result of intermingling.

However, it cannot be said that it has been totally free from foreign influence. With Chinese civilization introduced into this country around the 5th century, began to exert some influence on the Japanese language until several hundred years ago. This is only natural when we consider that

Chinese culture in that period was disseminated widely and deeply among the Japanese people. Besides the Chinese, other foreign languages also exerted a slight influence, but the noteworthy thing is that, in any case, the foreign languages influenced the vocabulary of the Japanese language but never its construction. This explains the richness of words of foreign origin in Japanese. According to statistical figures, more than 40 per cent of all the words used in Japanese newspapers are either those adopted directly or indirectly from the Chinese language or those derived from them. These words are usually written in Chinese characters.

As for the influence of the Japanese on other languages, it can only be seen in the Ainu and Korean tongues, especially in the former, a race which formerly occupied most of the Japanese archipelago, but now is confined to a part of the northernmost island of Hokkaidō. The Japanese impact on the Ainu language started when the so-called Japanese (who were new-comers from

the continent) spoke ungrammatical Ainu, gradually corrupting it and eventually completely Japanizing it. It is said that the Ainu language is near extinction.

Meanwhile, the Koreans are believed to have adopted Japanese words denoting human emotion to enrich their vocabulary, which was lacking in such words. The same thing can be said of the Japanese who were unable to express such abstract ideas as *chū* (loyalty) and *kō* (filial piety) until they adopted the Chinese characters symbolizing the meaning.

There are a few Japanese words incorporated into the Chinese language, most of which are economic and legal terminology, but in this case, only the symbols have been adopted and they are pronounced in the Chinese way.

Even less in number are Japanese words which have been Europeanized. Such words are limited to those representing social systems, customs and arts peculiar to Japan.

Pronunciation of Japanese Words

The Japanese language consists of letters called *kana*, each of which represent an independent syllable, and each syllable is pronounced rapidly, yet distinctly with pauses between each syllable. The Japanese, however, are unconscious of the syllables in speaking and pronounce them as Europeans would pronounce consonants. The average number of syllables pronounced per minute in spoken Japanese is 310, as against 350 in French and 220 in English. Even when certain nasal and assimilated sounds are included in the preceding syllable, the number of syllables is much larger than in English.

Although the syllable is commonly considered to be the smallest unit of pronunciation, linguistically it is divided into smaller units—the vowel and the consonant. For instance, the Japanese word *sakura* (meaning cherry blossoms) consists of the three syllables of *sa*, *ku* and *ra*, but they can be divided further into the consonants and

vowels *s*, *a*, *k*, *u*, *r* and *a*, which are generally known as sound elements. The sound elements of the Japanese language can be classified into the following three kinds:

- (1) Those which form a syllable by themselves and also in combination with other sound elements.
- (2) Those which form a syllable only in combination with other sound elements.
- (3) Those which form a syllable only by themselves.

(1) The first kind of sound element is known as the vowel. In ancient Japanese language there used to be eight vowels, but at the beginning of the Heian Era (about 800 A.D.) they were reduced to five, viz., *a*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o*. Of the five vowels, *u* is enunciated in a different way from that of European languages and Chinese. The lips are not pursed and the position of the tongue is different and its pronunciation is expressed by the phonetic sign (w). There is a tendency in the Japanese language

age to avoid the use of lips. The Japanese do not change the shape of their lips when pronouncing the vowels *a* and *o*. Also, they seldom use the consonants *p* and *w*, and never *v* and *f*, all of which are pronounced by the help of lips. The most frequently used vowel is *a* and the least used is *e*. This is especially true when the vowels are used as independent syllables.

(2) The second kind of sound element is known as the consonant. In the standard Japanese language used in the Tokyo area there are 14 consonants, namely, *k*, *s*, *c*, *t*, *n*, *h*, *m*, *r*, *g*, *y*, *z*, *d*, *b* and *p*. Besides these, there are the consonants composed of two vowels, such as *ia*, *iu*, *io*, and *uo*, which, when put in Roman letters, are expressed by the *y* and *w* in *ya*, *yu*, *yo*, and *wa*, respectively. The noteworthy point in Japanese consonants is that the lips are seldom used in pronouncing them. In ancient Japanese *p* and *u* were used more frequently than today, but in the Edo Period, (17-19 century) the lip sounds were considered vulgar and shunned by the people of the time.

The idea of avoiding the use of lips is believed to be based of the Oriental modesty of concealing one's feelings of joy and anger. This theory is supported by the fact that there are many sounds pronounced deep in the mouth, such as *k*, *g*, *y* and *h*. The frequent occurrence of the nasal sound *ŋ* is a phenomenon common to all Southeast Asian languages. Another characteristic of the Japanese consonants is the scarcity of fricative consonants (produced by frictional rustling of the breath as it is emitted).

Ancient Japanese is said to have completely lacked in pure fricatives, the only ones used today being *h* and *s*. As for liquids, the only ones are found in the *r* series of the Japanese alphabet, namely, *ra*, *ri*, *ru*, *re* and *ro*, the consonants of which, however, are pronounced differently from the English *r* or *l*.

Between the Japanese *dakuon* and *seion* exists a parallel relation identical to that between sonants (voiced sounds) and surds (voiceless sounds). For example, the voiceless consonant *t* in *ta*, which is a *seion*, becomes voiced by adding two dots to the

upper right of the symbol for *ta*. In other words, *ta* plus two dots is pronounced *da* without changing the shape and position of the lips or tongue but merely by vocalizing the consonant. Likewise, *ka*, *ta*, and *to* become *ga*, *da*, and *do*, etc. However, this relationship between *seion* and *dakuon* have become confused recently.

In observing the ratio between vowels and consonants in the Japanese language, we shall find readily that vowels occur in an extremely large frequency in this language.

Japanese is totally devoid of double or triple consonants, which are even seen in the Italian language, which is said to be most abounding in vowels among European languages. There are even many Japanese words composed entirely of vowels.

(3) The third kind of the sound elements is peculiar to the Japanese language. They are the nasal sound represented by the *n* in *honto*; the pause represented by the first of the double consonant in *motto*; and the long vowel represented by the second *i* in *kiite*; all of which form a complete syllable.

Next, let us observe the pronunciation system of the Japanese language. The composition of Japanese syllables is extremely simple and can be classified into the following five types:

- (1) Those compose of single vowels, such as *a*, *i* and *u*.
- (2) Those consisting of two vowels, in which case the first vowel must be either *i* or *u*: *ia*, *iu*, which are pronounced *ya* and *yu*, respectively.
- (3) Those containing a single consonant followed by a single vowel: *ka*, *ki*, *ku*.
- (4) Those formed by a single consonant followed by two vowels, the first of which must be *i*: *kia*, *kiu*, *kio*, pronounced respectively as *kya*, *kyu* and *kyo*.
- (5) Those represented by one of the special sound elements referred to in the preceding paragraph.

Of the above five kinds of syllables, (4) and (5) have been adapted from the Chinese language, which means that the traditional Japanese language, with only three kinds of

syllables, was very simple in its composition of syllables. The Japanese syllable is what is known as open syllables in phonetics, since it never contains more than one consonant, and the vowel in it is never followed by a consonant or a subordinate vowel.

Since there are only a little more than 20 consonants and vowels, which make up syllables in the Japanese language, the number of syllables is as small as 112. The fewness of syllables in Japanese accounts, on one hand, for the abundance of homonyms (words with the same pronunciation but different meanings, such as "write" and "right" in English) and, on the other, for the scarcity of total illiterates in this country for the reason that it makes the writing of the language quite simple. By learning only 112 syllables one can sufficiently express his thoughts in writing.

Another noteworthy point is that a Japanese word containing more than two syllable seldom starts with a *dakuon* or *r*, and never did in ancient times. Today, the traditional Japanese words starting with *dakuon* are mostly words with derogatory connotation, such as *dobu*, (gutter), *dani* (tick), *doro* (mud) and *gomi* (trash). The *dakuon* at the beginning of a word tends to give an unrefined feeling to the Japanese ear.

In modern Japanese, little euphonic changes take place when syllables are connected, (although there some changes in vowels). However, such changes existed in ancient Japanese, in which syllables composed of a single vowel were dispensed with and absorbed into the preceding syllable. Thus, *a-ra-u-mi* was pronounced *arumi* and *o-ho-i-shi* as *ohishi*.

In medieval times, too, a syllable following the nasal sound *n* and *tsu* was merged into the preceding syllable. For example, *nem-but-su-o* became *nembutto* and *ryōken-o* became *ryōkenno*.

As for accents in a Japanese word, they differ largely according to locality. Consider, for instance, the two-syllable word *hashi*. In Tokyo it means chopsticks when the accent is placed on the first syllable and

bridge when the second syllable is accentuated, but in the Kyoto area the relation between the meaning and accent is reversed. The Japanese accent, however, is quite different from the stress accent in English, German, Italian, Russian and other European languages in that it is a pitch accent. In other words, the accentuated syllable of a Japanese word is pronounced in a higher pitch or tone than other syllables.

This does not apply to phrases or sentences which are intonated with stresses at certain parts. There are some other foreign languages with pitch accents, but the pitches in Japanese come in two grades of high and low, while in the foreign languages they have three or four grades.

As a result, Japanese words with three syllables, for instance, can be classified into the high-low-low type, low-high-low type, low-high-high, etc. Another peculiarity of the Japanese pitch accent is that the pitch is not raised or lowered within one syllable but between syllables, while in the Chinese language the change of pitch occurs within the syllable. Furthermore, unlike some foreign languages in which all combinations of high-pitched and low-pitched syllables are possible in one word, the combination is strictly limited in Japanese.

In the standard Japanese language, for instance, a high-pitched first syllable is invariably followed by a low-pitched syllable, and a low-pitched first syllable by a high-pitched syllable; and high-pitched accents never occur twice in one word unless they are adjacent to each other. The accent may seem to be a useful means in differentiating between the many homonyms of this language, but in actual cases the number of homonyms which can be discerned by the position of accents is not very large.

Japanese accents being pitch accents, and each syllable being pronounced in the same length and strength, the spoken language tends to sound monotonous in rhythm. For this reason the Japanese are particular about the number of syllables in composing poems and other forms of verse. Hence, 17-syllable verses, 31-syllable odes, etc.

Vocabulary

The vocabulary of the traditional Japanese language known as the *Yamatokotoba* is quite limited, but when phonetic words of foreign origin written in Japanese letters and pronounced in the Japanese fashion are included the vocabulary of modern Japanese becomes considerably large. The commonly used dictionary, *Daijiten*, contains a vocabulary of 700,000 words, while one of the most representative Japanese language dictionaries, *Dai-Nippon Kokugo Jiten*, lists 200,000 words.

Whether the words can be classified systematically is an important factor in determining the value of the vocabulary in any language. In this sense, the value of the Japanese vocabulary is believed to be quite low since the formation of words is extremely unsystematic and unscientific when compared with some European languages. In German, for example, which is known as one of the most systematic languages of the world, parts of speech can be changed freely and antonyms formed regularly, whereas in Japanese, words are formed and combined irregularly and illogically.

However, it cannot be said that the Japanese language is altogether illogical and unsystematic when compared with foreign languages, since it contains such words as *koto* and *mono*, the former meaning any kind of abstract thing and the latter concrete thing, and the particle *wa* which shows the subject of discussion in a sentence. It may also be said that Japanese is rich in words denoting abstract relations.

The distinction of parts of speech is relatively clear in Japanese. A Japanese word is seldom used as different parts of speech without changing its form. (For example, the English word "note" is used as a noun or verb without changing its form.) There are many difficult problems concerning the Japanese parts of speech, including that of the word ending.

It may be added here that both in speech and writing it takes much more Japanese words than foreign words to express the

same thought, so that when translating a foreign language into Japanese the sentence is stretched out considerably, and when putting Japanese into foreign language it is greatly shortened.

As for Japanese writing, it is characterized by the fact that Japanese words can be written in several ways. For instance, the word for person, *hito* can be written in the Chinese character, or *hira gana*, or *kata kana*. In literary works, the author often requires the readers to read some Chinese characters in his own way to express the nuance of the word.

Most Japanese words when written in Chinese characters can be pronounced in at least two different ways—the Japanese way and the Chinese way. This also applies to Japanese proper names.

The life and culture of a nation is reflected vividly in its vocabulary. Therefore, by studying the vocabulary one can form a general conception as to the way of life and cultural standards of the nation.

Let us make an observation of the Japanese vocabulary from this viewpoint. First, it will be noted that the Japanese vocabulary contains a wide assortment of words pertaining to natural phenomena. The change of season is described minutely and natural objects and phenomena are called in different ways in accordance with the season in which they are found or occur. For example, the rain is given several names according to the time of the year at which it falls—*harusame* for spring rain, *samidare* for summer rain, and *shigure* for autumn rain. This is due to the everchanging natural surroundings in which the Japanese live.

Of the natural objects found in their environment, the Japanese have made many words concerning plants, water, sea and river, but have only a few words expressing celestial bodies and minerals, most of those in use today being written in Chinese characters. This is indicative of the fact that the Japanese had little interest in

astrolatry and astrology until they were brought in from China, and that they learned the use of minerals from the Chinese.

In Japan, where no stock farming was seen in olden days, there are very few words concerning animals. For example, the English words calf, cow, bull and cattle are all expressed by *ushi* or adding to it the words for young, female, and male. The same can be said of the verb expressing the cries of various animals. The Japanese verb *naku* can mean cry, neigh, mew, moo, squeak, cluck, etc. However, there are a large number of words representing the names of fishes, birds and insects, with which the life of the Japanese was closely related. Some fishes change their names as they grow up. The verb chirp is expressed by several words including *saezuru*, *tsugeru*, *nanoru* and *tataku*.

With regard to words pertaining to man, the Japanese language is lacking in words for the parts of body, internal organs, diseases and injuries. Also, there is a meager supply of words expressing human senses and actions. For instance, the adjective *karai* means either salty or hot, and the verb *tobu* either fly or jump. On the other hand, the Japanese have a rich vocabulary of words indicating human emotion, sentiment, ethics and esthetics.

For example, "to be angry" can be expressed in many ways including *okoru*, *mushakusha suru*, *shaku ni sawaru*, *hara ga tatsu* and *fungai suru*.

The Japanese tendency to live and behave in a manner suitable to one's social standing and age has given birth to such words as *hade* and *jimi* (meaning loud and quiet in appearance, respectively), which are considered difficult words to translate into foreign languages. Other examples showing the peculiar way of thinking of the Japanese are the verb *tashinamu*, meaning to be prepared secretly in one's accomplishments and taste regardless of its effect; the adjective *yukashii*, suggesting respectability of one's hidden merits and the adverb *sasuga ni*, used in praising one's act as may be expected from the person, all

of which show the Japanese appreciation for inconspicuous virtues.

Words denoting special esthetic values include *sabi* (elegant simplicity), *wabi* (quiet taste) *sui* (elegance), *iki* (tasteful), and *shibui* (sober, quiet). As for words pertaining to living necessities, there are naturally many names for foodstuffs, but the remarkable thing is that the English word wear is expressed in several ways depending on the manner in which the thing is worn. For instance, *kiru* means to wear on the body (on the upper half when the clothes are separate; as of a coat, shirt, *kimono* etc.), *haku* to wear on the lower half of the body (trousers, skirt, stockings, socks, shoes, *geta*, etc.) *kaburu* on the head (hat, cap, etc.)

Words denoting family and social relations are comparatively few since the family system in Japan has not been on such a large scale as in China. Words such as *yome* (daughter-in-law), *muko* (son-in-law) and *shūto* (father-in-law) with their somewhat derogatory connotations are products of the Japanese family system.

The Japanese language is not particular about the difference in sex, but strict discrimination is made in words denoting persons of varied social standings. Even among family members, superiors and inferiors are differentiated by such words as *ani* (elder brother), *ane* (elder sister), *otōto* (younger brother) and *imōto* (younger sister). There are also special words to be used for the members of the Imperial Family and between land owners and tenant farmers, landlords and tenants, employers and employees, reflecting submission, loyalty, respect, toward the superior and authority and benevolence toward the inferior.

For instance, the word wife can be expressed in many ways, including *tsuma*, *kanai*, *sai*, *saikun*, *nyōbō*, *shufu*, *fujin*, *okusama*, *okugata*, *kisaki*, *hi*, *okamisan* and *kakā*, depending on her social status and the person who is addressing her. The strict discrimination of social standing by the Japanese has, on the other hand, helped develop among them modest and humble expressions for one's seniors known as *keigo* (honorifics). *Keigo* are not a special-

ty of the Japanese language but can be found in Korean, Chinese, as well as some Southeast Asian languages. Japanese honorifics can be seen most distinctly in personal pronouns. While in English the first person singular is expressed only by "I", the Japanese have *watakushi*, *boku*, *ore* and for the second person singular they have *anata*, *kimi* and *omae*. There are also verbs and adjectives expressing respect to others directly or indirectly by deprecia-

ting oneself, or disdain to others by using haughty expressions. This is often done by using certain prefixes, suffixes and auxiliary verbs, and by using entirely different words such as *mōshiageru* instead of *yū* (to say) when speaking to one's superior. Another example is the word *aisuru* (to like or love) which is used exclusively in denoting love toward or liking for one's equals or inferiors. For one's superiors the word *shitau* is used instead.

Sentence Construction

The first and most peculiar characteristics of the Japanese sentence construction is that the type of sentence (such as interrogative sentence) is determined by particles or phrases which conclude the sentence. For example:

Ame ga furu. (It rains.)—declarative sentence.

Ame ga furu yo. (It does rain.)—sentence of affirmation or notification.

Ame ga furu darō. (It will probably rain.)—conjunctural sentence.

Ame ga furu kana. (I wonder if it will rain.)—interrogative sentence.

Ame ga furu na. (It rains!)—exclamative sentence.

There is a grammatical rule that the chief components of a Japanese sentence or phrase follows the subordinate element. For example, in *akai hana* (red flower) the *hana* (flower) is the main subject of the phrase and *akai* (red) is merely the adjective modifying it. Also in the phrase *akaku saku* (bloom red) the verb *saku* (bloom) is the principal word and the adverb *akaku* modifies it. When a word is modified by more than one word or phrase, the modifiers precede the word modified. For example:

Akaku utsukushiku ōkii hana (lit., red, pretty, big flower) meaning big, red, pretty flower.

No ni akaku saku hana (lit., in the field, red blooming flower) meaning the flower blooming red in the field.

Tōi no ni akaku ōkiku saku utsukushii hana (lit., in far away field, red, big,

blooming pretty flower) meaning the pretty flower blooming big and red in the far-away field.

In English it is possible to say either *I shall leave first if you don't come by six*, or *If you don't come by six, I shall leave first*, but in Japanese the conditional clause *if*—*six* precedes the main clause and if the order is changed (which is not altogether impossible) it would be a definite inversion and gives a different connotation.

The verb, which is the most important part of the sentence, also comes at the end of the sentence in accordance with the rule mentioned above. Whereas, in an English sentence, the predicative verb, in most cases, directly follows the subject, in a Japanese sentence it is not only placed at the end but is frequently preceded by long modifying phrases and objects of a transitive verb. However, one advantage of placing the predicative verb at the end of the sentence is that it clearly indicates the conclusion of the sentence. In comparison with European languages, the end of a Japanese sentence can be told easily even without a period. It is for this reason that letters are sometimes written without punctuation. Furthermore, the end of the sentence can be told easily by the fact that the verb takes a special form when it comes at the end of the sentence. However, the Japanese have a habit of ending the sentence with the participial adjective, especially in composing poetry. This form of the verb is used before a noun or pronoun to modify the noun or pronoun. For ex-

Table of Japanese

KATAKANA

ア	カ	サ	タ	ナ	ハ	マ	ヤ	ラ	ワ	ン	ガ	ザ	ダ	バ	パ
a	ka	sa	ta	na	ha	ma	ya	ra	wa	n	ga	za	da	ba	pa
イ	キ	シ	チ	ニ	ヒ	ミ	イ	リ	イ	(ヰ)	ギ	ジ	ヂ	ビ	ピ
i	ki	shi si si	chi ti ti	ni	hi	mi	i	ri	i	i	gi	ji zi zi	ji zi di	bi	pi
ウ	ク	ス	ツ	ヌ	フ	ム	ユ	ル	ウ		グ	ズ	ヅ	ブ	プ
u	ku	su	tsu tu tu	nu	fu hu hu	mu	yu	ru	u		gu	zu	zu zu du	bu	pu
エ	ケ	セ	テ	ネ	ヘ	メ	エ	レ	エ	(ヱ)	ゲ	ゼ	デ	ベ	ペ
e	ke	se	te	ne	he	me	e	re	e	e	ge	ze	de	be	pe
オ	コ	ソ	ト	ノ	ホ	モ	ヨ	ロ	オ	ヲ	ゴ	ゾ	ド	ボ	ポ
o	ko	so	to	no	ho	mo	yo	ro	o	wo	go	zo	do	bo	po

キヤ	シヤ	チャ	ニヤ	ヒヤ	ミヤ	リヤ	ギヤ	ジャ	ヂヤ	ビヤ	ピヤ
kya	sha sya sya	cha tya tya	nya	hya	mya	rya	gya	ja zya zya	ja zya dya	bya	pya
キユ	シユ	チュ	ニユ	ヒユ	ミユ	リユ	ギユ	ジュ	ヂユ	ビユ	ピユ
kyu	shu syu syu	chu tyu tyu	nyu	hyu	myu	ryu	gyu	ju zyu zyu	ju zyu dyu	byu	pyu
キョ	ショ	チョ	ニョ	ヒョ	ミョ	リョ	ギョ	ジョ	ヂョ	ビョ	ピョ
kyo	sho syo syo	cho tyo tyo	nyo	hyo	myo	ryo	gyo	jo zyo zyo	jo zyo dyo	byo	pyo
(クヰ)											
kwa											
								(グヰ)			
								gwa			

- Notes: 1. Japanese syllabary has two systems; *hiragana* and *katakana*. Usually *hiragana*
 2. *Hiragana* or *katakana* in brackets are not in official use now.
 3. Roman letters are spelled according to the Hepburn system, while those in

Syllabary and Romanization

HIRAGANA

あ	か	さ	た	な	は	ま	や	ら	わ	ん	が	ざ	だ	ば	ぱ
a	ka	sa	ta	na	ha	ma	ya	ra	wa	n	ga	za	da	ba	pa

い	き	し	ち	に	ひ	み	い	り	い	(ゐ)	ぎ	じ	ぢ	び	ぴ
i	ki	shi	chi	ni	hi	mi	i	ri	i	i	gi	ji	ji	bi	pi
		si	ti									zi	zi		
		si	ti									zi	di		

う	く	す	つ	ぬ	ふ	む	ゆ	る	う	ぐ	ず	づ	ぶ	ぷ
u	ku	su	tsu	nu	fu	mu	yu	ru	u	gu	zu	zu	bu	pu
			tu		ku							zu		
			tu		hu							du		

え	け	せ	て	ね	へ	め	え	れ	え	(ゑ)	げ	ぜ	で	べ	ぺ
e	ke	se	te	ne	he	me	e	re	e	e	ge	ze	de	be	pe

お	こ	そ	と	の	ほ	も	よ	ろ	お	を	ご	ぞ	ど	ぼ	ぽ
o	ko	so	to	no	ho	mo	yo	ro	o	o	go	zo	do	bo	po
										wo					

きゃ	しゃ	ちゃ	にゃ	ひゃ	みゃ	りゃ	ぎゃ	じゃ	ぢゃ	びゃ	ぴゃ
kya	sha	cha	nya	hya	mya	rya	gya	ja	ja	bya	pya
	sha	tya						zya	zya		
	sha	tya						zya	dya		

きゅ	しゅ	ちゅ	にゅ	ひゅ	みゅ	りゅ	ぎゅ	じゅ	ぢゅ	びゅ	ぴゅ
kyu	shu	chu	nyu	hyu	myu	ryu	gyu	ju	ju	byu	pyu
	shyu	tyu						zyu	zyu		
	shyu	tyu						zyu	dyu		

きょ	しょ	ちょ	にょ	ひょ	みょ	りょ	ぎょ	じょ	ぢょ	びょ	ぴょ
kyo	sho	cho	nyo	hyo	myo	ryo	gyo	jo	jo	byo	pyo
	shyo	tyo						zyo	zyo		
	shyo	tyo						zyo	dyo		

(くわ)
kwa

(ぐわ)
gwa

is used for ordinary writing.

Gothic type are based on the Japanese system of spelling, and Italic are Kunrei system.

ample, in *hashiru innu* (the dog which runs), *hashiru* is in the participial adjectival form of the verb meaning run.

As for the subject of the Japanese sentence, it is often, particularly in conversation, omitted when it is self evident, such as in the sentence *I shall go*.

In Japanese grammar, there are ten parts of speech, namely, the noun, verb, adjective, adjectival verb, adverb, auxiliary verb, particle, copula, conjunction and interjection. Of these, the auxiliary verb and particle always accompany other words, but the rest can be used independently in a sentence, and those which have inflection are the verb, adjective, adjectival verb and auxiliary verb.

Different endings are used in accordance with the type of word that follows the inflectional words. For example, the verb has four kinds of conjugations, and in each kind, the verb changes its ending according to the word which follows it. The stem of the verb (which never changes its form) plus the inflectional ending is sometimes called the base, of which there are the following six kinds:

The negative base, which is followed by such auxiliary verbs as *nai: kaka (nai)*

The continuative base, followed by such particles as *te: kai-te*

The conclusive base, which concludes the sentence: *kaku*

The participial adjectival base, connected to a noun or pronoun: *kaku (toki)*

The conditional base, followed by such particles as *ba: kake (ba)*

The imperative base, used in an imperative sentence: *kake*

The adjective has four or five kinds of inflections in the spoken language and six in the written language. The auxiliary verb, too, conjugates in several ways, but the number differs with each verb. It goes without saying that there are irregular verbs, auxiliary verbs and adjectives as in any other language.

The Japanese noun does not change its ending with the sex or number. In other words, it has no singular or plural forms, or masculine and feminine forms. Therefore, the Japanese verb does not change its form in accordance with the sex or number of the subject. The present, past and perfect tenses are not expressed by the verb itself but by the auxiliary verb used in conjunction with the verb. Japanese nouns and pronouns are also characterized by the lack of cases. The nominative case is indicated by adding the particle *wa* or *ga*, the possessive case by attaching the particle *no* and the objective case by affixing the particle *o*.

The Japanese auxiliary verb differs strikingly from its English equivalent in that it follows the verb and is completely subordinate to it, whereas the English auxiliary verb precedes the verb and, on occasion, acts in place of the verb.

Ideographic System of the Japanese Language

The ideographic system and usage of the Japanese language are unique and surprisingly intricate.

The Japanese use in their daily life four kinds of characters, namely, the Chinese character, two phonetic alphabets (*hira gana* and *kata kana*) and the Roman alphabet. Usually, the Japanese write their characters vertically from right to left, and Chinese characters and *hira gana* are in mixed use in writing most of the words except special words such as foreign place-names and foreigners' names, which are written in *kata kana*.

From the viewpoint of efficiency, the style of writing the Japanese horizontally from left to right is widely adopted. Furthermore, there is the practice of using the Roman alphabet in writing words or sentences to be read by foreigners, but Roman letters are frequently used among the Japanese themselves along with Japanese characters. For example, where scientific expressions are needed, say, in mathematics, it is inescapable to write laterally from left to right by use of the Roman alphabet together with Chinese and Japanese characters.

In many cases, the classification of school classes, for example, are denoted in Roman letters such as A, B, C, D.

Although three kinds of characters were used originally and it is proper to write them vertically from right to left, there is a practice among a large portion of the Japanese to write laterally from left to right using Roman letters in combination with the three kinds of characters.

There are some Japanese who use only Roman letters in writing their own language out of the enthusiasm to simplify it and to reform the Japanese characters. The group of people advocating the use of the Roman alphabet is striving to disseminate the new system and usage in Japanese society in conjunction with other groups insisting upon the use of *kata kana*. Their influence can hardly be disregarded.

The ideographic system and usage themselves in Japan are peculiar and complicated, having no parallel in other countries. An observation of the characters in use and the way they are used, will show their astonishing complexity.

The Japanese usually use the Chinese character along with *hira gana* and they express only special words in *kata kana*. Of the three kinds of alphabets, the Chinese character is hieroglyphic, while *hira gana* and *kata kana* are phonetic alphabets expressing Japanese syllables which have been invented by the Japanese who got their hint from the Chinese character.

The number of *hira gana* and *kata kana* are roughly 50 each, whereas Chinese characters are numerous. However, the number of Chinese characters used in Japanese writings is approximately 10,000 against a total of some 50,000 Chinese characters. The number of Chinese characters in common use among the Japanese is between 4,000 to 5,000, which is much less than the number used by the Chinese.

However, the minimum number necessary in the daily life of the Japanese has decreased to 2,000-3,000 since the Government limited, in 1946, the Chinese characters to be used in Government offices, publishing a list of 1,850 characters for basic use. The newspapers have restricted their

use of Chinese characters to those in the list and the general public has cooperated.

Nevertheless, the number of characters in use is still considerable. Furthermore, each character is read in more than one way. In other words, one Chinese character does not represent a single word but can denote two or more readings. Generally, each Chinese character has *on* (the phonetic reading) and *kun* (the Japanese rendering) readings. In the former case, a character is read in the Chinese way, in which it was pronounced when introduced to this country, but in the latter case a character represents a certain Japanese word similar to the original meaning of the character. To change the expression, the *kun* reading denotes the Japanese pronunciation of a character. Let us take, for example, the Chinese character standing for "mountain". It is read *san* (as in *Fuji-san*) phonetically, but its Japanese rendering is *yama*. Thus the character may be read in two ways. *San* originated from the Chinese pronunciation, while *yama* is a Japanese word similar to the meaning of the character in the Chinese language.

Some characters have as many as a dozen or more readings, both *on* and *kun*. Accordingly, the complexity of Chinese characters is caused not only by the large number in use but also by the varied ways of reading and writing them.

The varied ways of reading Chinese characters are unavoidable for these reasons: (1) Chinese characters which were used to denote words in the Chinese language, that is, entirely different from the Japanese language, have been introduced and applied to the Japanese language, (2) since the introduction of Chinese characters into this country in the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries, when Japan was not yet established as a unified state, Chinese culture was imported for a long time through Chinese characters and literature, and (3) various ways of pronunciation and reading at different times were brought into Japan. (The pronunciation of the same character altered according to changes in the Chinese language itself.)

Different styles of writings developed through the use of brushes for writing. The styles can be divided roughly into three basic ones, namely, the standard, semi-cursive and cursive.

For the above reasons, there is no doubt about the fact that the complexity of Chinese characters causes difficulty in the writing and reading of the Japanese language.

The two kinds of Japanese alphabets, *hira gana* and *kata kana*, were invented in the 8th or 9th centuries and improved further by the Japanese, as has been explained already, to denote each syllable of a Japanese word through adoption of the complete or part of the Chinese character form. These alphabets were devised according to the sounds of syllables of the Japanese language, and since then, the Japanese have used them, chiefly *hira gana*, along with Chinese characters or have often employed *hira gana* alone for literary expression.

As *kana* are phonetic symbols and their shape is simple, it is easier to write and read *kana* as compared with Chinese characters. However, the pronunciation in the Japanese language has undergone changes over a long period of time, and consequently, there has risen a question as to which letter of *kana* should represent a certain pronunciation. Thus, it has become difficult to determine how some words should be spelled with *kana*. Since the 12th-13th centuries the Japanese have been faced with the question of *kana* spelling and they have discussed it for centuries, but no complete solution to the question has yet been found.

Since much time and great efforts are required for learning the Japanese language and alphabets, especially for studying Chinese characters, there is a tendency to determine the cultural standard of a person on the basis of the extent of his knowledge of the Chinese characters. Accordingly, an expression denoted by the combination of Chinese characters is regarded as highly refined. Under the circumstances, people unable to spend much time in learning

Chinese characters are not considered as highly cultured.

On the other hand, as we have, in addition to Chinese characters, *kana* letters which are very limited in number and simple in shape, the rate of literacy of the Japanese is considerably high. However, even among persons who have completed nine years of compulsory education, there are many people who cannot read the newspapers with ease for lack of knowledge of Chinese characters.

In this way, the ideographic system and usage of the Japanese language pose an important problem socially and educationally with the Chinese character as its crux. They also constitute a major obstacle to efficiency in daily life.

Since Chinese characters are used side by side with *kana* in writing the Japanese language, a typewriter for that purpose would be very inefficient. It is inconceivable that this machine will ever be used in such a way as Westerners employ it in writing letters and manuscripts.

It seems impossible to produce a portable Japanese typewriter, for it must be equipped with not less than 3,500 Chinese characters. Accordingly, Japanese printers are greatly handicapped in putting Japanese words and sentences into print though the art of printing in this country is highly developed.

With regard to use of the Roman alphabet, there is serious conflict among the advocates in regard to the question of spelling.

There is a group who favor a system of spelling Japanese consonants in the English way which is known as the Hepburn system, while another group supports a system of spelling faithful to the denotation of Japanese in *kana* which is called the Japanese system of Romanization. There is still another group favoring a compromise between the above two. As each group strongly advocates its own system, no agreement has yet been reached in regard to the adoption of a uniform system.

Problems of the Japanese Language and Characters and Art of Writing Chinese and Japanese Characters

There has been a movement since the end of the 19th century to relieve this situation caused by the complexity of the ideographic system and usage and also by the difficulty of becoming conversant with the language. It is called a movement for reform of the Japanese language and characters and has remained an important cultural question before the Japanese nation since she made a start as a modern country after the Meiji Restoration (1864).

The movement is focused on how to remove those difficulties, and is not limited to the question of Chinese characters, but also embraces that of the Japanese language itself, which depends greatly on them. But after all, the most important point in the movement is how to deal with the use of Chinese characters.

The views advocated in the language reform movement may be divided into the following four kinds:

The representative view urged by one group is to limit to a certain extent the use of Chinese characters. This view is practical and Japan's ideographic usage and long tradition have been taken into consideration. Generally, this view has been put in practice gradually since the Meiji Restoration, and has been adopted by the Government after World War II.

As has been stated elsewhere, the Government published in 1946 a list whereby the number of characters usable in administration offices was limited to 1,850, and that of characters which must be learned within the period of compulsory education was reduced to 881. Furthermore, the plan of limiting to a certain extent the phonetic reading and Japanese rendering and that of fixing the standard form of Chinese characters was decided upon. These have been carried out by the Government with the cooperation of all vernacular newspapers and some magazines and thus the

limitation of Chinese characters has become a matter of fact throughout the country.

Against the above, there are three other views in which the abolition of Chinese characters is urged and one of them favors the exclusive use of *kana* to be written horizontally from left to right. This view is widely supported out of practical necessity, for the adoption of this system may enable the use of *kana* typewriters.

The second view favors exclusive use of the Roman alphabet. This has been advocated strongly since the Meiji Era. Although the advocates could not win the support of a large part of the nation, they energetically carried their movement.

The third group espouses the creation and use of a new alphabet suitable to the Japanese language, instead of the Chinese characters, *kana* or Roman letters. Several tentative plans were presented for this purpose in the Meiji and Taisho Eras, but they failed to obtain necessary support and no one now attaches much importance to this view.

An epoch-making progress was made after the last war in the language reform and character simplification measures, for the Government took a decisive action in this regard.

This accomplishment included the limitation of Chinese characters mentioned above (including the limitation of the number of characters and ways of pronunciation and Japanese rendering and the establishment of standard form of characters) and to the change of *kana* spelling by adoption of a system of spelling based on the present pronunciation of Japanese.

The restriction of Chinese character and the change of *kana* spelling have contributed to the raise in efficiency in social life and greatly remove hardship in education, especially in elementary schools.

Although strong opposition against this reform exists among certain scholars and writers, the larger part of the nation supports it.

In connection with the reform concerning characters, a brief reference will be made to the reform of the Japanese language itself. After World War II, it was decided to use spoken Japanese in writing official papers of Government offices except for Imperial rescripts and laws and ordinances in accordance with the postwar language reform policy.

Before and during the war, the literary form, which is in a classic style and entirely different from the present spoken Japanese, was employed for official documents, a step that can be considered an epoch-making reform. Moreover, a movement is under way for the simplification of technical terms in the scientific field, and it has spread considerably, winning some success.

Having been started in the Meiji Era, the drive for the reform of the Japanese language has a long history, and a partial solution was found after World War II. But studies and language reform moves will be continued for some time to come until a fundamental solution to the question is found.

The Japanese are thus confronted with a problem which has resulted from their social and cultural life of the past one thousand and few hundred years after the introduction of Chinese culture and characters.

Of course, it cannot be said that Chinese characters have brought only difficulty and hardship to the Japanese. Although it is undeniable that they have experienced disadvantage and inconvenience in language, its formative beauty reflecting the ripeness of Chinese culture has an artistic appeal.

Calligraphy which was born in China and is highly regarded among the Japanese, is still preserved as an art. It is an art to write Chinese characters beautifully, and lovers of calligraphy appreciate therein the writer's artistic skill and the nobility of his character. Beautiful poems or wise sayings, modern and ancient, are written in fine Chinese characters with technical skill. The characters thus written are set in a frame and hung in the living room of the Japanese or displayed in the form of scroll in a Japanese house.

Calligraphy is useful as a form of ornament like pictures or flower arrangements. The Japanese not only appreciate it as an art but read the philosophy of life indicated in it.

In respect to the art of writing Chinese characters, they naturally value highly the works of experts, but they also have regard for characters written by respected or intimate persons.

There is a custom among the Japanese to send to each other characters written by themselves, and these have much more meaning than ordinary correspondences. They generally have a strong desire to obtain characters written by persons whom they hold in high esteem.

The Japanese love for the art of writing characters extends to that of writing *kana*. The latter art actually forms a branch of calligraphy. In Japan, exhibitions of works of calligraphy are frequently held like those of pictures, and *kana* artistically written is appreciated along with Chinese characters.

The habit of appreciating written characters being deeply rooted in the life of the Japanese, it is undeniable that the conception and custom of the Japanese concerning characters have added peculiar depths and tastes to their life.

V GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political History

Restoration of Meiji

During the years from the early 17th to the late 19th century, Japan was divided into a number of *han* (feudal clans) respectively ruled by a *daimyō* (feudal lord), under the centralized authoritarian rule of the Tokugawa Shogunate. The *Shōgun* was appointed, though only nominally, by the Emperor and the latter delegated the rights of ruling the State to the former. With the adoption of the national isolation policy in 1639 Japan firmly closed her door to foreigners with the exception of limited trade relations with the Netherlands and China.

In such an era of established feudalism, however, the greater cities began to see a gradual but steady development of commercial capitalism with the opening of the latter part of 19th century. The *samurai*, who formed the ruling class of feudalistic Japan, lived, with few exceptions, in their lord's castle town and as their living became influenced by commercial economy the pecuniary hardship deepened particularly among of the lower class whose economic life lacked in stability and flexibility. These difficulties eventually resulted in the spread of antishogunate sentiment, and the time

gradually ripened for an overturn of the social structure.

In 1853, Commodore Perry of the United States arrived in Japan with his squadron and demanded that the Shogunate open the country to foreigners. Japan was thus forced to decide whether to persist in her policy of isolation or enter into friendly and commercial relations with foreign countries. The following year, Commodore Perry again visited Japan and repeated his demand with a backing of nine warships, and succeeded in concluding a peace treaty. Townsend Harris, as soon as he arrived in Japan as the first American consul-general under this treaty, pressed the Shogunate for the conclusion of a commercial treaty, and the Shogunate again reluctantly conceded to this demand in 1856. Similar commercial treaties began to be signed also with other countries, and such a new diplomatic attitude of the Tokugawa Shogunate could not help stimulate the *samurai's* spirit of insubordination.

The dissatisfied *samurai* soon started the so-called "uphold-the-imperial-rule-and-drive-out-foreigners" movement. Those who participated believed the myth about the founding of the Empire; that, because Japan had been founded by the Gods, she was the sacred nation that stood unchallenged in the world; and, believing that the

Emperor was a personal god as he was a direct descendant of those who had founded this country, they sought to consolidate the people's thoughts with the Emperor as the central figure. They also supported and took advantage of the opinion of the day regarding the Imperial Household, that the Shogunate should hold fast to the Japanese traditional policy of anti-alienism and isolation, and advocated that the State should ensure her lasting independence by carrying out the "drive-out-foreigners" movement and revert to the national isolation policy. The lower class *samurai* of the Satsuma and Chōshū *Han*, who took the lead in this movement, organized an alliance in 1867 aiming at overthrowing the Tokugawa Shogunate. Clearly perceiving the situation, *Shōgun* Tokugawa Yoshinobu, in the same year, put a period to the administrative domination of the Shogunate which had ruled for over 270 years, before the revolutionary plan of restoring the reins of government to the Emperor was translated into action.

By that time the Imperial Household had become aware of the impossibility of driving out the foreigners, and the idea of looking forward to further development of the State and independence of the nation by opening the country and entering into friendly relations with foreign countries took the place of the cherished policy of anti-alienism and isolation.

New Government

Immediately after the restoration of 1867, a new government was established with the lower class *ex-samurai* of Satsuma and Chōshū, who had been the driving force of the preceding political reform, as its nucleus. However, to the cooperators in this reform movement—the *ex-samurai* of Tosa and Hizen—only secondary positions were assigned.

In 1869, the new government ordered the *daimyō* to make restitution of their tenures to the Imperial Household, and, though these *daimyō* were again tentatively appointed as the new governors of their former respective tenure, they were even-

tually replaced in 1871, by those appointed by the new government and were ordered to retire in Tokyo. The administrative districts, up to that time, based on the feudal tenures under the Tokugawa Shogunate, were simultaneously partitioned or amalgamated, thus accomplishing the substantial unification of the nation.

In order to attain the object of the political reform so that the national independence of Japan should be firmly established in the upward current of world politics, the new government launched out on a huge-scale program of political, economic and military modernization of the country.

The first reform initiated in the field of politics was the adoption of a system to gather public opinion. This may be said to be the genesis of parliamentarism in this country. The new government set up in 1869 a Public Opinion Council composed of council members selected from among the staff of each administrative district, but, inasmuch as these organizing members were appointed by the government, this newly adopted system was far from being an organization representing the people.

In the field of economy, the new government exerted all possible efforts to assimilate the various modern industries in advanced Western countries, for the purpose of achieving the economic independence of Japan. Under such a policy of protection and guidance, modern industries in this country took a forward step, though the progress was slow. Establishment of the private ownership system, freedom of choosing one's occupation and of changing one's residence, and removal of various feudal restrictions which had been placed upon the people's economic life, helped to accelerate the progress of industry. Aside from these steps, the government itself began to set up munitions factories from a military viewpoint, nationalized telegraphic and postal services, put special emphasis upon constructing a network of railroads, and gave special protection to shipbuilding and shipping industries.

In the field of foreign policies utmost efforts were made to revise foreign treaties for the purpose of doing away with extra-

territoriality and recovering tariff autonomy. This effort received the enthusiastic backing of the whole nation but it was only in 1911 that the long-awaited revision of the treaties was at last completed.

Adoption of constitutionalism

In 1874, the *ex-samurai* of Tosa and Hizen, who had been given, at the utmost, the position of vice-ministers in the new government, after resigning their posts, submitted to the government a written petition concerning the establishment of a system of representatives elected by the people. Following that, with the objects of establishing a Diet, they started systematically a nation-wide democratic movement called *Jiyū-Minken Undō* (Liberal People's Rights' Movement).

The social foundation of this movement was chiefly composed of *ex-samurai* who had once belonged to the old *samurai* class of feudal society. Deep and widespread dissatisfaction with the general social conditions of those days was created among *ex-samurai* who had become the sport of ill fortune of various kinds since the dissolution of the feudal system, and eventually resulted in not a few revolts in many places, some large and some small in scale. Perhaps the most powerful one and that in which many dissatisfied *ex-samurai* had placed their hope, was the one under the command of Saigō Takamori and his followers. When this was crushed in 1877 by the government, they could not but feel keenly the impossibility of destroying the social structure by force of arms. It was then that they began to be attracted to the above-mentioned democratic movement which was in itself of anti-governmental character and aimed at a radical reform of government policies. Thus the movement, with those dissatisfied spirits backing it, gradually gained weight.

The *Jiyū-Minken* group, subsequently, decided to organize a political party so as to make provisions for the forthcoming birth of the Diet. Thus the Liberal Party was born in 1881 with Itagaki Taisuke (*ex-samurai* of Tosa) as its leader. Following

on its heels the Constitutional Progressive Party was organized in 1882 under Ōkuma Shigenobu (*ex-samurai* of Hizen).

Meanwhile, the government, at last, made a declaration in 1881 that the first Diet should be convoked in the year 1890. In preparation for the meeting, the Cabinet system, patterned on that of Western countries, was adopted in 1885. In 1889, the Meiji Constitution, established by the Emperor, was promulgated, and its enforcement at the same time as the opening of the first session of the Diet in 1890 inaugurated constitutional government in this country. In addition to these political reforms, the municipal system and town-village system, established in 1888, coupled with the prefecture and county systems of 1890, launched local autonomy, even though it was of a centralized authoritarian character.

Two wars

Since the opening of the Imperial Diet in 1890, two political parties, the Liberal and the Constitutional Progressive, through struggle in the Diet, had taken a step toward enervating and destroying the *han* clique which had dominated the political world as a sort of non-party Cabinet. On the other hand, the support of these political parties shifted from the now declining *ex-samurai* class to the landowners and capitalists.

It was only the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 that brought about a change in the discord between the *han* clique government and the political parties. The War was fought to remove the anticipated menace to the safety and integrity of Japan when China, a large and mighty nation under the Ching Dynasty, had subjected the neighboring country, Korea, to her domination.

With the victory on Japan's side the Shimonoseki Treaty was signed in 1895. According to this, China yielded her suzerainty over Korea and ceded the Liaotung Peninsula, Formosa and the Pescadores to Japan. Soon after, however, Japan was forced to retrocede the Liaotung Peninsula to China because of the intervention of

Russia, Germany and France. Despite this setback, Japan succeeded in clearing Korea of Chinese control, but before long she was confronted with a new situation. The influence of Russia began to be extended to the same area. To cope with Russia's Asian policy, Japan entered into an alliance with England in 1902. As it became apparent, however, that the Russian menace could not possibly be removed by diplomatic action alone, the Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904.

While the war was going in Japan's favor, she concluded the Portsmouth Peace Treaty through the intermediation of Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States.

Party politics

Since the end of the Sino-Japanese War the government had administered the state in open cooperation with the Liberal Party on the plausible reason that the postbellum administration was of utmost importance. This measure gave precedent for the custom of successive clan governments to cooperate with either the Liberals or Constitutional Progressives.

When, in 1898, the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party—organized in 1896 by coalition of the then Constitutional Progressives and other minor parties—united in the Constitutional Party aiming at overthrowing the deeply-rooted *han* clique influence, a new Cabinet was formed under Shigenobu Ōkuma. The hegemony, in this way, shifted to the hands of a political party, but only four months later, this Cabinet fell due to the antagonism and strife between the ex-Liberal and ex-Progressive factions in the Constitutional Party, resulting in the comeback of the *han* clique influence to power.

With the Sino-Japanese War as a momentum, capitalism in this country made remarkable progress, and the voice of the capitalist class in political matters became more influential. This progress of capitalism, on the other hand, inevitably brought

about the birth of the laboring class throughout the country, which was thenceforth gradually recognized as a powerful social influence.

During World War I (1914–1918) Japan participated on the side of the Allied Powers. The outbreak of this War coincided with the rapid development of the Japanese economic world, and brought about a marked war boom after 1916. This boom was, however, simultaneously accompanied by a recordbreaking rise in prices and extreme difficulty in the living conditions of the general public. Progress of democratic movement, rapid development of labor movement, rice riots—such were the inevitable products of those days of unstable social conditions.

The Hara Cabinet, supported solely by the influence of the political party, was organized in 1921. The following Kato Cabinet, established the system of universal suffrage in 1925. At the same time it succeeded in securing the Diet's approval of the Law for the Maintenance of Public Peace. This Law was aimed at inflicting severe penalty on communism, a system that plotted to stir up revolution in the country and denied the right of private ownership.

Since the establishment of the Hara Cabinet it had become a custom to organize a Cabinet on the basis of a political party, and the bond between the political party and the capitalist-landowner classes was strengthened. This close relationship, however, brought about the corruption of the political party as a matter of course, and party politics gradually lost public confidence.

Towards the World War II

In the political movement of the 1820's a new element was discerned, namely, the part played by the military personnel, especially young officers. Their background was the deadlocked foreign relations due to the Communistic Revolution in Russia, the United States' active policy in the Far East, and widespread anti-Japanese sentiment in

China, aroused by the progress of the national unification movement. In addition, at home, Party Government had been discredited, and was regarded with dissatisfaction; besides, there were unstable social conditions brought about by the economic depression. These dissatisfied young army men hated the political parties. They thought that the fact should not be overlooked that the Japanese rights and interests in Manchuria, built up by years of strenuous labor, was being endangered, owing to the weak-kneed and unpatriotic foreign policy of the successive party Cabinets. They were also greatly indignant over the spread of Marxism in this country. A series of coups d'état (the March Incident of 1931, the 5-15 Incident of 1932 and the 2-26 Incident of 1936) was carried out by them with the object of cleansing the Augean stables by means of establishing a military cabinet after removing the leaders of political and financial worlds. Though these schemes all ended in failure, the right to a voice by the military in political matters was increased.

Meanwhile, the Manchurian Incident took place in 1931, and in 1932, Manchoukuo was established, chiefly by the maneuverings of the Japanese military. Foreign relations of Japan were thus going from bad to worse and such measures were subsequently taken as the secession from the League of Nations in 1933, from the London Conference in 1935, the conclusion of the Japanese-German-Italian Anti-Comintern Pact in 1936, and the Japanese-German-Italian Military Alliance in 1940.

In 1937, the Sino-Japanese Incident broke out which rapidly developed into large scale warfare. In 1938, the National Mobilization Law was enacted. Its character as mandatory legislation with considerably wide power naturally produced a weakening of Diet activities.

In 1940, the *Taisei-Yokusan-Kai* (the Imperial Rule Assistance Association) was established. As this launched a one party

system in this country, the then existing political parties—the Constitutional "Political Friends" Party, the Constitutional Democratic Party, the Social Working People's Party, etc.—were forced to dissolve. World War II broke out in 1939, followed in 1941 by the Pacific War.

New start as a democratic nation

In August, 1945, Japan announced her unconditional surrender to the Allied Powers, accepting the Potsdam Declaration, and was thenceforth placed under the occupation of the Allied forces. The occupation policy aimed, in accordance with the Potsdam Declaration, at freeing Japan from militarism as well as establishing democratic principles. For achieving the former object, such measures were successively undertaken as disarmament and dissolution of Japanese forces, war criminal trials, purge of militaristic leaders, disbandment of ultranationalistic organizations, and abrogation of militaristic laws or regulations. For the last-named purpose, the establishing of democratic principles, the restrictions imposed upon the political, civil and religious freedoms were removed, and agrarian reform, dissolution of big financial combines, and the formation of labor unions were carried out along parallel lines.

In January, 1946, the Imperial Edict was proclaimed in which the Emperor, himself, denied his divinity. In November of the same year, the new Constitution of Japan was promulgated founded upon the three fundamental principles, that, the sovereign power resided with the people, renunciation of war, and fundamental human rights. This new Constitution meant the new start of democratic Japan and, at the same time, marked an important turning-point in the political history of this country. With the effectuation of the peace treaty in 1951, Japan recovered her sovereignty, and rejoined the family of nations.

Laws

Legal history

The first extant *lex scripta* of this country dates back to the *Jūshichijō Kempō* (the Constitution of 17 Articles) promulgated in 604, in the reign of Empress Suiko. However, this was, strictly speaking, not so much a law as a written ethical code for the officials and people. What is considered as the first *lex scripta* both in name and reality was the various laws and regulations enacted after the *Taika-no Kaishin* (the Reformation of the Taika Era) in 645. These were enacted according to the legislation of China, but, as such *lex scripta* began to recede to a low ebb from about the year 967 onward, *lex nonscripta* became the nucleus of the legislation of this country.

The Shogunate system dated from 1192, in which a leader of the *samurai* ruled the State with the delegated authority from the Imperial Court. After several repetitions of establishment and collapse of the Shogunates, the reign of the Tokugawa, established in 1603, succeeded in enjoying prosperity till 1867. During the days under the Shogunate rule there were, aside from laws promulgated by the Shogunate, many laws respectively made by numerous *han* (feudal clans), the administrative districts of those days.

Criminal law at that time adopted a consanguineous responsibility system and a joint responsibility system, both with extensive interpretations. Though, in principle, it only approved of the official punishments, exceptional killings such as for revenge were prescribed as justifiable.

In 1867, *Shōgun* Tokugawa Yoshinobu restored the reins of government to Emperor Meiji, and, by returning the land and people to the Emperor and establishing prefectures in place of feudal clans, new centralized authoritarian rule was born with the Emperor as its central figure. In consequence, legislation was thenceforth

enacted only by the central government. Though the revival of laws and regulations modeled after Chinese legislation was temporarily observed during the opening years of the Meiji Era, there was simultaneously every indication that the government intended to adopt the European way of legislation in which personal rights had been respected more than any others.

In 1880, the Criminal Law and the Criminal Procedure Law were promulgated and were enforced two years later (1882). These two laws were drawn up by the then French advisor to the government, Gustave Emile Boissonade de Fontarabie, introducing systematically the modern principle of legality of punishment, principle of parties, the appeal system, the principle of making the procedure of trials public, etc.

The Imperial Constitution of Japan, granted by the Emperor, was promulgated in 1889 and came into force the next year. This Constitution was drawn up by Inoue Tsuyoshi and others in compliance with the idea of Itō Hirobumi who, previously, had visited European countries and investigated chiefly the German Constitution. Although in this Imperial Constitution the principles of modern constitutional government were seemingly adopted, the principle of sovereign power residing in the Emperor was firmly established in such a way that the rights of superintendence of the Emperor made the separation of the three powers not very conspicuous, and, in consequence, the competence and rights of the Diet were inevitably limited. The Diet consisted of the House of Peers and the House of Representatives: members of the Imperial Family, peers and Imperial nominees formed the former, while elective members formed the latter. Concerning the maintenance of human rights, the freedom to choose and change one's residence, freedom from bondage of any kind, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly and association as well as speech, press and all other

forms of expression, inviolability of residence and ownership, and secrecy of communication, etc., were declared, even if most of these human rights were guaranteed but nominally. The Constitution also prescribed that all of the people were equal under the law, but it could hardly escape the charge that the provision was adopted only for the conscience's sake.

In 1890 the new Criminal Procedure Code took the place of the then existing Criminal Procedure Law, which also followed the French legislation. This Code was effective until the one based on the German legislation was promulgated in 1922. On the other hand, the new Criminal Law was promulgated in 1907 modeled also after Germany. These laws, together with such new legislation in the field of civil affairs as the Civil Procedure Code of 1891, a part of the Commercial Code of 1893, the Civil Code of 1898 and the new Commercial Code of 1899, reversed the existing relation between *lex scripta* and *lex non scripta* according to which the former had only been supplementing the latter.

Of the above-mentioned laws and codes, the drawing up of the Civil Code was launched in 1870 by Etō Shimpei who, with reference to the Civil Code of France translated by Mitsukuri Rīnshō, completed his work in 1890, and the Code was at once promulgated in the same year. Its enforcement was, however, postponed because of the rising objection that the introduction of the contents of the Civil Code of France into this country just as it stood had brought in many points which did not conform with the actual situation or national tradition of Japan. Following this, a new draft of the civil code was drawn up by Ume Kenjirō, Hozumi Nobushige, and Tomii Masaaki modeled on the first draft of the civil code of Germany, which was promulgated and enforced in 1896 and 1898 respectively. Since about that time the legislation of Japan made rapid progress in every field, thus simultaneously completing the structure as a modern law-governed state.

In August of 1945, the World War II was terminated by Japan's acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration. A new draft of the constitution was, in consequence, drawn up by the State Minister Matsumoto Jōji as chairman of the drafting committee for the purpose of fulfilling the promise of democratizing the country and maintaining everlasting peace. The General Headquarters for the Allied Powers, however, presented a draft of their own, and ordered that an entirely new one be drawn up in such a way that the fundamental principles of their draft would be perfectly adopted. The government accordingly started work anew, and the result, after being passed by the Diet, was promulgated in 1946 and enforced the following year. This is the present Constitution of Japan.

In the new Constitution it is proclaimed that the sovereign power resides with the people; in consequence, the Diet, government and Court of justice share this power. The Emperor performs only such acts in matters of state as are provided for in the Constitution as the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people, and does not have powers related to government. The Diet is established as the highest organ of state power and only in the case of being able to gain its support can the Cabinet be established. The Diet consists of the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors, of which the members are elected by popular vote.

The fundamental human rights are widely guaranteed and conferred upon the people of this and future generations as eternal and inviolable rights. Furthermore the Constitution provides for many new human rights which were found in the former Imperial Constitution, that is, freedom of thought and conscience, academic freedom, right to maintain the minimum standard of wholesome and cultured living, right to work, right of workers to organize, etc. Consequent on the establishment of nominal and virtual equality of all of the people under this Constitution, the franchise was also ex-

tended to women. It must be added lastly that there is an article providing for the absolute renunciation of war.

As for the particularly important amendments of legislation, that of the Criminal Procedure Code in 1948 must be mentioned first. The Code was completely revised, adopting widely the merits of similar laws of England and the United States as the necessity of warrant issued by a judge in the case of legal disposition, the procedure of indicating the reason in the case of custody, strict observation of the law concerning evidence, strengthening of the party principle during procedure in a public trial, etc. Aside from these points the following amendments were made with the object of securing the fundamental human rights in view: abolition of preliminary examination, fundamental improvement of the system of appeal, restriction on summary process, etc.

As to the Criminal Law, several articles which were contradictory to the ideals provided for in the new Constitution, including *lèse majesté* were rescinded or amended in 1947.

The books on relations and inheritance of the Civil Code were amended and enforced in 1947 and 1948 respectively in order to realize the dignity of the individual and the equality of sexes in family life prescribed in the Constitution. In the revised Code, such systems as the headship of a house and the succession to the headship of a house were not admitted.

The legislation of this country has thus been consolidated with the promulgation of the Habeas Corpus Law, the Labor Union Law, the Labor Standards Law the Labor Relations Adjustment Law and other various laws in the field of labor and social welfare, for the purpose of realizing the ideals of the new Constitution of Japan.

Kinds of present laws, regulations, etc.

The Constitution. For making amendments to the Constitution it is necessary,

in the first place, to pass a resolution to this effect by a majority of two-thirds or more of the respective members of the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors, and, in the second place, to refer the approved resolution to the people and to gain their approval. Compared with other laws or regulations the Constitution has the strongest formal validity.

Laws. The laws are promulgated by the Diet, the sole lawmaking organ of the State. Neither Imperial sanction nor Cabinet agreement is necessary, whenever in the case of prescribing matters concerning the people's rights, freedom and obligation, a law must be promulgated. The legal force and validity of laws are inferior to the Constitution, while superior to other regulations.

Parliamentary rules. The House of Representatives and the House of Councillors can establish their respective rules pertaining to meetings, proceedings and internal discipline.

Supreme Court rules. The Supreme Court is vested with the rule-making power under which it determines the rules of procedure and of practice, and of matters relating to attorneys, the internal discipline of the courts and the administration of judicial affairs, and matters authorized by the law.

Cabinet orders. The Cabinet enacts Cabinet orders in order to execute the provisions of the Constitution and of the law. There are orders to execute provisions of the law and the ones authorized by the law, and, in the latter case, penal provisions can be included.

Ministerial ordinances. Each Minister can enact ministerial ordinances to establish supplementary matters necessary to execute provisions of the law and the Cabinet order. The legal force and validity are inferior to the law and the Cabinet order.

Others. Audit Board Rules, National Personnel Authority Rules, other rules established by the head of each external bureau.

Regulations and rules of local public bodies. Regulations are usually established by the general assembly of local public bodies, while rules are established by their head men. Their legal force and validity are inferior to the law.

Outline of present legislation

The number of the laws now in effect is approximately 1,100, and if Cabinet orders, ministerial ordinances, etc. are added, there is a total of more than 7,000 excepting the ones established by local public bodies.

The following is a list of the more important laws in effect.

Public Laws

Imperial House Law, Imperial House Economy Law, Nationality Law, Law governing the Application of Laws, State Redress Law, Habeas Corpus Law, Administrative Appeal Law, Diet Law, Public Offices Election Law, Law concerning the Regulation of Political Funds and Expenditures, Court Organization Law, Law of the People's Examination of the Supreme Court Judges, Law for Impeachment of Judges, Law concerning Status of Judges, Public Procurator's Office Law, Law of Attorney at Law, Cabinet Law, National Government Organization Law, National Public Service Law, Local Autonomy Law, Local Public Service Law, Finance Law, Accounts Law, National Property Law, Audit Board Law, National Tax Collection Law, Income Tax Law, Corporation Tax Law, Customs Law, Local Finance Law, Local Tax Law, Police Law, Self-Defence Forces Law, Subversive Activities Prevention Law, Fire Service Law, Law for Administrative Executive by Proxy, Law concerning Execution of Police Duties,

Road Traffic Control Law, Land Expropriation Law, City-Planning Law, Construction Standard Law, Infectious Diseases Prevention Law, Fundamental Law of Education, School Education Law, Cultural Properties Protection Law.

Laws concerning Civil Affairs

Civil Code, Family Registration Law, the Immovables Registration Law, Leased Land Law, House Lease Law, Commercial Code, Law on Bills, Law on Cheques, Civil Procedure Code, Law for Special Regulations concerning Procedure of Administrative Litigations, Law of Procedure in Personnel Matters, Law of Procedure in Non-Contentious Matters, Law for Adjustment of Domestic Relations, Law for Conciliation of Civil Affairs, Bankruptcy Law, Composition Law.

Laws concerning Criminal Affairs

Criminal Code, Minor Offense Law, Criminal Procedure Code, Criminal Indemnity Law, Juvenile Law, Prison Law, Offenders' Prevention and Rehabilitation Law.

Laws concerning Social and Economic Affairs

Labor Standard Law, Labor Union Law, Labor Relations Adjustment Law, Health Insurance Law, Unemployment Insurance Law, Employment Security Law, Daily life Security Law, Child Welfare Law, Law concerning Prohibition of Private Monopoly and Methods of Preserving Fair Trade, Banking Law, Securities and Exchange Law, Postal Service Law, Broadcasting Law, Aviation Law, Copyright Law, Patent Law, Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Control Law.

Emperor and Imperial Household

Emperor

The position of the Emperor radically changed with the enforcement of the pre-

sent Constitution of Japan in 1947. Back in 1867, when the Tokugawa Shogunate put a period to its administrative domination of over 270 years, restoring the rein of government to the Emperor, the Emperor

himself, again assumed personal command of the administration of the affairs of state.

The Imperial Constitution of Meiji was promulgated in 1889 declaring that the Japanese Empire should be ruled over by the unbroken line of Emperors. In this Constitution the position of the Emperor was provided for as sacred and inviolable because its foundation can be traced back to the gods who were said to have founded the country and were considered to be the ancestors of the successive Emperors. The Emperor at that time had all the rights of sovereignty of the state. That is, the legislative power was exercised by him after obtaining the sanction of the then Imperial Diet. The administrative power was also exercised by him with the advice of Ministers of State, while the judicial power was exercised by the court of justice in the name of the Emperor.

In the present Constitution, however, it is clearly declared that sovereign power resides with the people based on the principles of democracy, and, in consequence, the position of Emperor as the sovereign is denied. Instead, the Constitution provides that the Emperor is the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides the sovereign power. In such prescriptions as those prescribing that the Imperial succession should go to the male off-spring of the male line of Imperial lineage, and that the abdication of the Emperor is not recognized, there is no difference between the former Constitution and the present one.

The Emperor has resigned from the position of sovereign power, and has performed thenceforth only the acts of formality as the symbol of the state and of the unity of the people. Furthermore, the advice and approval of the Cabinet is required for all acts of the Emperor in matters of state.

The Emperor performs the following acts in matters of state.

- (1) Appointment of the Prime Minister and the Chief Judge of the Supreme Court.
- (2) Promulgation of amendments of the constitution, laws, cabinet orders and treaties.
- (3) Convocation of the Diet.
- (4) Dissolution of the House of Representatives.
- (5) Proclamation of general election of members of the Diet.
- (6) Attestation of the appointment and dismissal of Ministers of State and other officials as provided for by law, and of full powers and credentials of Ambassadors and Ministers.
- (7) Attestation of general and special amnesty, commutation of punishment, reprieve and restoration of rights.
- (8) Awarding of honors.
- (9) Attestation of instruments of ratification and other diplomatic documents as provided for by law.
- (10) Receiving foreign ambassadors and ministers.
- (11) Performance of ceremonial functions.

In case the Emperor has not come of age, or cannot perform his acts in matters of state because of serious mental or physical disease or serious hindrance, a Regency is instituted. A male or female member of the Imperial Family come of age who, simultaneously, stands first in a certain established order, assumes the Regency.

Imperial Household

The general matters relating to the Imperial Household, under the former Imperial Constitution of Meiji, were provided for in the Imperial House Law which was not and did not need to be passed by the Imperial Diet, but, since the promulgation of the new Constitution, they have been provided for in the laws passed by the Diet, the highest organ of state power.

Close relatives of the Emperor compose the Imperial Family. They are the Empress, the Grand Empress Dowager, the Empress Dowager, *Shinnō* (the legitimate children of an Emperor and legitimate grand children of an Emperor in the legitimate male line in the case of a male), *Naï-*

shinnō (the legitimate children of an Emperor and legitimate grand children of an Emperor in the legitimate male line in the case of a female), *ō* (the legitimate descendants of an Emperor in the third and later generations in the legitimate male line in the case of a male), the consorts of *ō*, and *Jo-ō* (the legitimate descendants of an Emperor in the third and later generations in the legitimate male line in the case of a female). At present the Imperial Family consists of the Emperor, the Empress, three children of the Emperor including the Crown Prince, and nine members belonging to the houses of three *Shinnō*, namely, Chichibu, Takamatsu and Mikasa.

Unlike the situation under the former Imperial Constitution, the Emperor and the members of the Imperial Family are, in principle, under the laws concerning taxation, civil affairs, etc., but in certain affairs exemption is legally made. When a new Emperor succeeds to the throne, the Ceremony of Accession is held, and when the Emperor dies the Rites of the Imperial Funeral are performed.

In order to exercise, in the matters relating to the Imperial Household the powers provided for by the Imperial House Law and other laws, the Imperial House Council

with ten members is established. These members consist of two Imperial Family members, the presidents and vice-presidents of the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors, the Prime Minister, the head of the Imperial Household Office, the Chief Judge and one other judge of the Supreme Court.

The Imperial House Economy Law has been established in relation to the economy of the Imperial Household. Under the former Imperial Constitution the Imperial House property was approved as the special property of the Imperial Household, and all its expenses were disbursed by the revenue from the Imperial House property, placing the Diet in the upper gallery, except for a certain amount of expense defrayed annually by the National Treasury through the budget. With the promulgation of the new Constitution the Imperial House property reverted to the State and, at the same time, it was determined that the expenses necessary for the Imperial Household must be appropriated in the national budget and be passed by the Diet. Furthermore, the Constitution provided that no property could be given to, or received by the Imperial House, nor could any gifts be made therefrom, without the authorization of the Diet.

Diet and Election

Diet

History

Prior to the Meiji Era continuous despotic government had been carried out in Japan in the same manner as in the other Eastern countries, and, since there had been no such system as the *Etats-Généraux* of mediæval Europe nor the tradition of self-governing administration, what is to be considered as the mother-body of modern parliamentarism hardly existed. It was a year after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 that a public opinion council system was set up, the germ of parliamentarism of this

country. Though this system was a sort of conference held by the council members, the procedure of the government's taking the initiative of selecting and appointing its constituent members clearly showed the fact that this system did not represent the people. It was only an advisory committee of which the resolution did not restrict the government, but be that as it may, that this system afforded to the people an ampler opportunity of speaking upon the subject of politics cannot be denied.

Early in the 1870's the public demand of establishing the Diet composed of popularly elected representatives became powerful and the petitions to this effect were made

one after another. With these situations for the background, the popularly elected local assemblies were successively established between the years 1878 and 1880, and, together with the promulgation of the Imperial Constitution of Japan of 1889, the (former) Diet Law, the House of Peers' Ordinance and the Law concerning the Election of Members of the House of Representatives, the foundation of the Imperial Diet of this country was gradually formed. The first Imperial Diet was convoked on November 29, 1890, with the representatives popularly elected in July of the same year, and on this day the Imperial Constitution came into force.

The Imperial Diet under the Imperial Constitution of Meiji consisted of the House of Representatives and the House of Peers, and, while the former was composed of the members popularly elected by the people, the members of the latter must be either the Imperial princes or peers, or those appointed by the Emperor. The competence of the Diet was limited in such a way as that, though it was necessary for the laws and the national budget to be passed by the Diet, the final approval was made obtaining Imperial sanction. Furthermore, because of the fact that the scope of the matters needing law was restricted by the Constitution, the government was able to enact orders in various cases. The government was also empowered to issue emergency Imperial ordinances and to make emergency property disposition concerning the matters needing, in the natural order of things, the discussion and approval of the Diet. Conclusion of treaties, proclamation of war and conclusion of peace were, in addition to the matters concerning the Imperial Household and the supreme command of the military, provided for as the prerogative of the Emperor, outside the Diet's competence. The prerogative of the Emperor also included the convocation, opening, closing, suspension, prolongation of the Diet and the dissolution of the House of Representatives. Ministers of State were juristically appointed by the Emperor and assumed responsibilities for him, not for the Diet.

Present Setup

The new Constitution based upon the principles of liberalism and democracy was promulgated in 1947, two years after the termination of the World War II. The proclamation that sovereign power was to reside with the people, that the authority for government was to be derived from the people as well as that its powers were to be exercised by means of the representatives of the people, consequently brought about a remarkable change in the system and competence of the Diet. The Constitution provided that the Diet was the highest organ of state power, and the sole law-making organ of the State. Executive power was vested in the Cabinet, and the Emperor's prerogative was limited to perform, with the advice and approval of the Cabinet, only formalities as the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people.

Setup. The Diet consists of the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors. The members of each House are elected by direct voting of the people of twenty years of age and over, and the number and the term of office of the members of the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors are respectively 467, for a term of four years, and 250, for a term of six years. Election for half the members of the House of Councillors takes place every three years. Members of both Houses receive appropriate annual payment and allowances, are offered as well other conveniences, and are also exempt from apprehension while the Diet is in session, except in cases provided by law. They are not held liable outside the House for speeches, debates or votes cast inside the House. No person is permitted to be a member of both Houses simultaneously, and no member of either House holds concurrently a position as official of the Government or of a local public entity, or as officer or member of the staff of a Public Corporation during the term of his office, except the position of Prime Minister, other State Ministers, Director of Cabinet Secretariat, Deputy Director of Cabinet Secretariat, Parliamentary Vice-Ministers

of each Ministry or others especially designated by law.

Opening and closing of the Diet. An ordinary session of the Diet is convoked annually in December as a rule and its term is one hundred and fifty days. An extraordinary session is convoked by the Emperor, with the advice and approval of the Cabinet, upon a demand submitted to the Cabinet, under joint signature of one-fourth or more of all the members of either House. When the House of Representatives is dissolved there must be a general election, and a special session of the Diet by newly elected members must be convoked. The term and its extension of either an extraordinary or a special session are determined by concurrent decisions of both Houses, but, if the Houses do not reach agreement in the case of the determination or extension of the term, the decision of the House of Representatives prevails. The Emperor is, with the advice and approval of the Cabinet, able to dissolve the House of Representatives in case of necessity. Under the new Constitution the House has been dissolved four times up to the present. When such a measure is taken the House of Councillors is naturally closed at the same time; however, in time of national emergency, the Cabinet may convoke the House in emergency session. Though the House of Councillors is able to exercise all the competence of the Diet during such emergency session, the measures taken become null and void unless agreed to by the House of Representatives in the next session of the Diet. Such instances have occurred twice up to the present.

Competence of the Diet. Amendments to the present Constitution are to be initiated by the Diet, through a concurring vote of two-thirds or more of all the members of each House. The amendment draft so initiated is thereupon to be submitted to the people for ratification, which requires the affirmative vote of a majority of all votes at a special referendum or at such election as the Diet specifies.

Laws are promulgated only by the approval of the Diet. A bill submitted by the Cabinet or by a member or members

of either House becomes a law on passage by both Houses. When the decision of each House is different from the other, when no agreement can be reached through a joint committee of both Houses, or when the House of Councillors does not take final action within sixty days after receipt of a bill passed by the House of Representatives, a bill becomes a law when passed a second time by the House of Representatives by a majority of two-thirds or more of the members present. A special law applicable only to one local public entity after passing the Diet, is enacted with the consent of the majority of the voters of the local public entity concerned. The Emperor promulgates the laws thus approved, but does not have powers of either sanction or veto.

The budget comes into force also on passage by both Houses. The function of preparing the budget is performed by the Cabinet, and the budget must first be submitted to the House of Representatives. Upon consideration of the budget, when the House of Councillors makes a decision different from that of the House of Representatives, and when no agreement can be reached even through a joint committee of both Houses, or in the case of failure by the House of Councillors to take final action within thirty days after the receipt of the budget passed by the House of Representatives, the decision of the House of Representatives becomes that of the Diet.

The Cabinet concludes treaties. It must, however, obtain prior or subsequent approval of the Diet. As to this Diet approval the superiority of the House of Representatives is provided for by the Constitution as in the case of budget.

The Prime Minister is designated from among the members of the Diet by a resolution, and his appointment is made by the Emperor. The superiority of the House of Representatives is also provided for as in the case of budget and treaties, with a slight difference that, when the House of Councillors fails to make designation of the Prime Minister within ten days after the House of Representatives has made designation, the decision of the House of

Representatives becomes the decision of the Diet.

Aside from these functions the Diet determines when the State obligates itself and when the Imperial House makes any gifts or is given or receive any property, appropriates in the budget all expenses of the Imperial Household, approves subsequently for all payments from the reserve fund, and audits final accounts of the expenditures and revenues of the State. The Diet may approve of the Cabinet's appointment of certain higher officials including the auditors, as well as impeach and dismiss judges.

Competence of Each House. Each House may judge disputes related to qualifications of its members and deny a seat to any member by passing a resolution by a majority of two-thirds or more of the members present. Each House may select its own president and other officers, establish its rules, give consent to the arrest of members while the Diet is in session, demand to free, during the term of the session, members apprehended before its opening, and punish members for disorderly conduct. In order to expel a member a majority of two-thirds or more of the members present must pass a resolution thereon. Each House may conduct investigations in relation to the national administration, and demand the presence and testimony of witnesses and the presentation of records. Those acting against this prescription are punished by the court on complaint of either House.

The Prime Minister and other Ministers of State may, at any time, appear in either House for the purpose of speaking on bills, regardless of whether they are members of the House or not. They must appear when their presence is required in order to give answers or explanations.

The House of Representatives may pass a resolution of non-confidence in the Cabinet or reject that of confidence in the Cabinet. In such a case the Cabinet must resign en masse unless the House of Representatives is dissolved within ten days.

Steering of House proceedings. Business cannot be transacted in either House un-

less one-third or more of the total membership is present, and all matters are decided in each House by a majority of half or more of those present, unless provided otherwise in the Constitution, and, in case of a tie, the presiding speaker decides the issue. Deliberation in each House is principally to be public, and it is necessary to pass a resolution with a majority of two-thirds or more of the members present in order to hold a secret meeting. Agenda must, in principle, be published and given general circulation. Deliberation on the bills is made chiefly by the standing committees of each House.

The Secretariat and Legislative Bureau are instituted in each House, and specialists are appointed to the Standing Committees. Necessary personnel of each House is appointed by each House respectively. The National Diet Library is instituted in the Diet to help members in their investigation and research, and its Research and Legislation Bureau helps the Diet and its members in their legislation activities.

Election

History

The first Law for the Election of Members of the House of Representatives promulgated in 1889, the same year as the promulgation of the Imperial Constitution of Meiji, provided that the electors must be males of twenty-five years of age and over who were paying fifteen *yen* or more a year in direct national tax, and that the qualification to stand for the Diet was to be a man of thirty years of age. The number of the members of the House of Representatives was fixed at 300. They were to be elected, in principle, one member per electoral district, by open ballot. The Election Law of 1900 adopted the system of the secret ballot, and, by repeated amendments since, one of the qualifications of voters, the necessary minimum amount for paying the direct national tax, was reduced, while the fixed number of the House of Representatives was increased. Though whenever the Law was amended

the extent of an electoral district and the number of the Diet members to be elected therefrom changed, it was by the Election Law of 1925 that the universal suffrage system came into existence for the first time.

The Election Law promulgated in 1945, the year of the termination of hostilities, provided that the voters should be twenty years of age or over and those twenty-five years of age or over are eligible to become members of the Diet, as well as gave to women the franchise and eligibility for election. The Constitution promulgated the following year guaranteed universal adult suffrage and the secret ballot with regard to the election of public officials, and no discrimination was allowed because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin. In 1950, the Public Offices Election Law was promulgated absorbing the then existing Law for the Election of Members of the House of Representatives, Law for the Election of Members of the House of Councillors, and other laws concerning the election of public officers, by which the elections of the members of both Houses, members of the assemblies, headmen of local public bodies, have been carried out thenceforth.

Present Setup

Any Japanese national, regardless of sex, who is twenty years of age or over has the right to vote in the election of the members of the House of Representatives, except those deprived of such a right because of their criminal acts or other reasons. No person who has not been registered in the electors' list is able to cast his vote, and it is provided that to live for three consecutive months within the area of a city, town or village is the condition necessary for registration in the electors' list. Those not registered in spite of their right to vote can raise an objection under certain established conditions. As for the eligibility, that any Japanese national, regardless of sex, who is twenty-five years of age or over is eligible for membership in the House of Representatives, and that there is no condition relating to

the duration of residence are the chief points different from the conditions laid down for voting. The fixed number of members of the House of Representatives is 467, to be elected from 117 electoral districts, 3 to 5 members per district. The affairs pertaining to elections are chiefly taken charge of by the Prefectural Election Administration Commissions, of which the members are elected by the local assemblies.

A person who intends to be a candidate for the House of Representatives must notify the election meeting chairman (appointed by the election administration commission concerned) a stipulated number of days before the date of election. This is applied as it stands to the case in which a person intends to name a person other than himself as a candidate. The person who wants to be a candidate or who wants to recommend a candidate must deposit the amount of 100,000 *yen*. A national or local public official in office cannot run, in principle, as a candidate for the House of Representatives. On the day of election electors must come in person to the polling place, himself inscribe on his ballot the name of one candidate and cast it into the ballot box; however, the system of absentee voting and of voting by proxy is also approved in special cases. Lawsuits concerning the validity of election or other election matters can be instituted in a Higher Court.

Various restrictions are established in relation to the election campaign, and the maximum amount of the expense necessary for campaign is prescribed by law. To candidates many kinds of conveniences are offered at public expense.

In the case of the election of members of the House of Councillors the prescriptions by law are much the same as those of the House of Representatives, except the eligible age, term, fixed number and electoral district. Any Japanese national of thirty years of age or over is eligible for membership in the House of Councillors whose term is six years. The fixed number of Councillors is 250, of whom 100 members are elected from the national con-

stituency and 150 from the prefectural constituencies, and half the members are to be reelected every three years. The election of members from the national constituency is carried out establishing the whole State as one electoral district, while in the

case of those from prefectural constituencies each electoral districts is at one with each prefecture. The affairs pertaining to the election in national constituency are chiefly taken charge of by the Central Election Administration Commission.

Political Parties

History

Up to the Termination of the World War II

What is considered as the first germ of the political party in this country is the Patriotic Public Party established in January, 1874, by Itagaki Taisuke and his followers. The so-called Liberal People's Rights Movement launched by this Party was brought to fruition in the establishment of parliamentarism in 1890. Earlier in October, 1881, the driving force of this movement organized the Liberal Party, the first full-scale political party of this country, under Itagaki Taisuke, while the intellectual class and fellow thinkers, who found the radical character of this Party unsatisfactory, organized the slow and steady Constitutional Progressive Party in March, 1882, under Ōkuma Shigenobu.

Though there had been several changes since the establishment of these parties, they were the source of two main currents in the political history of Japan up to the outbreak of the World War II: the Constitutional "Political Friends" Party, established in 1900 in the current that appeared in the Liberal Party (Itō Hirobumi, the leader), had for a long time shared the control of the political world with the Constitutional Party under Katō Takaaki and its rebirth, and with the Constitutional Democratic Party under Hamaguchi Osachi, respectively established in 1916 and 1927 in the Constitutional Progressive current.

The establishment of the Ōkuma Cabinet in 1898 supported by the Constitutional Party, and of the Itō Cabinet in 1900 with the members of the Constitutional "Politi-

cal Friends" Party as its ministers launched the party cabinet system of this country. Since then we have had party cabinets often. The Hara Cabinet of 1918, established under Hara Takashi and of organized on the lines of the Constitutional "Political Friends" Party, especially marked a turning-point in the development of party politics in Japan as a genuine party cabinet. Afterwards, almost only party cabinets had been organized successively till, in the year of 1932, the Saitō Cabinet saved the political situation subsequent to the assassination of Premier Inukai adopting as slogan the "whole-nation cabinet". After that, in place of the ebbing influence of political parties, a dictatorial color became gradually deeper with the development of national and international situations, and eventually resulted in the establishment of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association in October 1940. This change marked the beginning of the one party system of this country dissolving the then existing political parties.

As for the Proletarian parties, signs of activities to organize them were observed about the year 1901 when the Social Democratic Party was ordered to be dissolved immediately after its organization. About 1926, various proletarian parties were successively organized. By the first universal suffrage carried out in February, 1928, they succeeded for the first time in sending 8 candidates to the House of Representatives (the Social Peoples Party 4; the Labor and Farmer Party 2; the Japan Labor and Farmer Party 1; the Local Proletarian Party 1). Afterwards with the development of the labor movement, the proletarian parties gradually began to extend their powers, and the Social Working

Peoples Party won 36 seats in the general election held in April, 1937. However, the development could not but become dull owing to such a combination of unfavorable situations as the recentness of the organization of the working classes, indifference and lack of understanding of the general public, especially of the farmers, and oppressive measures taken by authority through restraining legislation including the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace.

After the Termination of the World War II

The cessation of hostilities by the acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration brought about a rapid permeation of democracy in this country. In November of 1945 the Japan Social Democratic Party was organized under Katayama Tetsu, which was followed by the Japan Liberal Party under Hatoyama Ichirō and the Japan Progressive Party under Machida Chūji, both organized in the same November. The Japan Communist Party was legalized and launched openly with Tokuda Kyūichi as its leader. The new Constitution provided that the Diet should be the highest organ of state power, and the remarkably improved influence of the political parties has made their activities unprecedentedly animated.

The Cabinet organized under Katayama Tetsu in 1947 was the first proletarian party cabinet in the political history of Japan as well as the first one under the new Constitution. It goes without saying, that the ones organized by the succeeding Premiers, Ashida, Yoshida and Hatoyama, were without exception party cabinets. Though post-war political parties, either conservative or reformatory, have not been able to avoid the changing of alignment, the reunion of the right and left factions of the Social Democrats in October, 1955, and the formation of the Liberal Democratic Party in November of the same year by fusion of the then existing conservative parties, the Japan Democrats and the Liberals, brought about for the first time the two-party system much the same as the

one established in England, and, through the opposition of the conservatives and the reformatives, further development of political parties in this country is being expected.

Present status

The Number of the Seats of Each Parties in the Diet (as of December 7, 1955)—

Party	House of Representatives	House of Councillors
Liberal Democratic	299	119
Japan Socialists	154	68
Japan Communist	2	1
Labor and Farmer	4	2
Ryokufū-kai		46
Independent and Others	5	9
Vacancy	3	5
Total	467	250

Present Status of Each Party; Its Organs, Officers and Policies

The Liberal Democratic Party. This is conservative party born of the trends in the pre-war Constitutional "Political Friends" Party and the Constitutional Democratic Party. It was organized in November, 1955, by the fusion of the then existing Japan Democrats and the Liberals. It was decided that a vicarious organ was to take the place of the president until the presidential election scheduled in April, 1956. In order to improve the instability of policy and the weakness of the backing organization which had been the unconquerable weak point of the conservatives, the Party has been putting forth efforts by strengthening the Political Affairs Research Committee, and by establishing recently the chairman of the national organizing committee and the local resident organizing members.

Organs—(a) Executive Organs—President, Vice-President, Secretary-General, National Organizing Committee (b) Deliberative Organs—Party Convention, General Meeting of the Members of both Houses, General Affairs Board (c) Political Affairs Research Committee (d) Organs inside the House—General Meeting of the

Members of the House of Representatives, General Meeting of the House of Councillors, Diet Affairs Committee, Election Affairs Headquarters (e) Other Organs—Audit Organ, Party Discipline Committee, Local Resident Organizing Member, etc.

Officers—(a) Vicarious Officers—Hato-yama Ichirō, Ogata Taketora, Miki Bukichi, Ōno Bamboku (b) Secretary General—Kishi Nobusuke.

Policy—(a) General Fundamental Policy—1. Establishment of people's morals and reformation of education 2. Clean-up of political and official world 3. Achievement of economic independence 4. Establishment of a welfare state 5. Positive propulsion of foreign peace policy 6. Completion of independent structure of the nation. (b) Emergency Policy—1. Solution of pending diplomatic problems (a. Reasonable adjustment of Russo-Japanese diplomatic relations b. Solution of reparation problems) 2. Establishment of clean politics 3. Reformation of education 4. Achievement of economic independence (a. Propulsion of the five-year program of economic independence b. Increase in employment c. Consolidation of social security system) 5. Improvement of food control system 6. Retrenchment in administration and finance 7. Utilization of atomic energy in peace and promotion of scientific techniques 8. Independent amendment of the Constitution.

The Japan Socialist Party. The right and left factions, parted from each other since January of 1952, reunited in October, 1955. Representing the reformative voice of the nation, it has been sharing the political world with the Liberal Democrats.

Organs—(a) Central Organs—Party Convention, Central Committee, Central Executive Committee, Regulation Committee (b) Local Organs—Similar organs are established in each prefectural federation and branch.

Officers—(a) Chairman of Central Executive Committee—Suzuki Mosaburō (b) Secretary General—Asanuma Inejirō.

Policy—(a) External Policy—1. Achievement of perfect independence 2. Ensuring of peace and security 3. Establishment of independent foreign policy 4. Achieve-

ment of economic independence 5. Dissent from present rearmament, checking of the increase of self-defence forces and realization of their gradual decrease 6. Support to the United Nations and the United Nations Police Force.

(b) International Policy—1. Establishment of pacifistic and democratic politics and the safeguard of the Constitution. 2. Socialization of state structure. 3. Drawing up and realization of five-year and ten-year programs in order to re-establish Japanese economy. 4. Completion of social security and promotion of housing program. 5. Creation of new social culture.

The Japan Communist Party. It was established in 1922 as an underground organization. With the legalization after the war the party began to extend its influence by leaps and bounds making "Beloved Communist Party" (advocated by Nosaka Sanzō) its motto, and by the general election of members of the House of Representatives carried out in January, 1949, the party succeeded in winning 35 seats by the votes which reached as many as 2,980,000 (or 9.7% of the total votes polled); however, the switchover to the power revolution formula consequent on the Cominform's criticism in January, 1950, resulted in marked loss of its influence. The party has again reverted to its policy so as to recover influence.

Organs—(a) Central Organs—Party Convention, Central Committee, Standing Caucus of Central Committee, Secretariat, Control Committee (b) Conference and Committees are established in each local, prefectural and district organization.

Officers—(a) Standing Caucus of Central Committee—Nosaka Sanzō, Shiga Yoshio, and six other members.

Policy—(a) External Policy—Racial independence and establishment of the sovereignty of Japan, etc. (b) Internal Policy—Abolition of the Tennō system and establishment of a democratic republic etc.

The Labor and Farmer Party. Established in July, 1948, by the members who seceded from the Japan Social Democratic Party. Its standpoint lies midway between

the left faction of the Socialists and the Communists.

Organs—(a) Central Organs—Party Convention, Central Committee, Central Executive Committee, Central Headquarters Offices (b) Similar organs are established in local organizations.

Officers—(a) President—Kuroda Toshio, Secretary-General—Nakahara Kenji.

Policy—(a) External Policy—Peace through diplomatic conference, etc. (b) Internal Policy—Dissent from the retrogressive amendment of the Constitution, checking of fascism, revival of militarism, etc.

The Ryokufū-kai. This organization was established by independent members of the House of Councillors elected by the first election carried out in May, 1947. This political organization is, strictly speaking, not a political party but a sort of negotiation body, and, following neutral, clear-cut principles, it often holds the casting vote the second or third leading party of the House of Councillors.

Officers—(a) Chairman of the general assembly of the Councillors—Satō Naotake (b) Chairman of the Political Affairs Research Committee—Hirose Hisatada (c) Chairman of the Executive Committee—Gotō Fumio.

Administrative Organization

History

Central Administrative Organization

Following the progressive Western countries, Japan established the cabinet system in 1885, four years prior to the promulgation of the Imperial Constitution of Meiji, taking the place of the then existing *Dajō-kan* (a cabinet of old regime) system. This may be considered the beginning of central administrative organization in Japan in its modern sense, and its various defects were corrected as well as its setup firmly established in a gigantic structure of central administration by the enforcement of the Imperial Constitution of Meiji.

Under this Constitution the executive power resided in the Emperor, and the competence of the Ministers of State or the Cabinet as a collegiate court was limited to such an extent that they were only able to assist the Emperor in his exercise of executive power. The Constitution also provided that each of the Ministers of State must assist the Emperor and that the Cabinet was to be organized by the Imperial Ordinance. All the Ministers of State, including the Premier, were appointed by the Emperor without the Diet's concern. To him alone

they were to be responsible. With the increase in power of the political party the system of Diet cabinets, similar to that established in England, was successfully organized for some time, but the out-break of the last war put a period to this half-ripe political custom. Furthermore, independently of the Cabinet, the Privy Council was established as an advisory organ to the Emperor with the object of discussing important matters of state, and, in actual politics, it restricted the government to a third House of the Diet. The setup of the executive was determined in principle in compliance with the Imperial Ordinances promulgated by the sovereign power of the Emperor.

With the promulgation of the new Constitution a marked change was brought about in the setup of administrative organization. The Principal points were: (1) consequent on the fundamental change of the Emperor's position to the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people, based on the principle of the residing of sovereign power with the people, the Constitution provided that the executive powers be vested in the Cabinet: (2) consequent on the adoption of the Diet Cabinet principle, the Cabinet was placed under the control of the Diet: and (3) the position of the Prime Minister as the head of the

Cabinet was firmly established. The setup of administrative organization was based on the laws passed by the Diet.

Local Administrative Organization

The adoption of municipal and town-village systems in 1888 and the following prefecture and county systems in 1890 established the modern local autonomy system for the first time in Japan. Though, after the promulgation of the Imperial Constitution of Meiji, the local right of self-government had been gradually extended through repeated revisions, the local administrative organization during the years of the Imperial Constitution was held under the extensive state control and could be called only a nominal and virtual local autonomy system. This was especially so in the case of prefectures of which governors and other higher staff-members were national public officials.

The new Constitution guaranteed the principle of local autonomy. Bureaucracy has consequently been done away with in all kinds of public organizations, and a special emphasis has been placed simultaneously upon the inhabitant's participation in autonomy as well as on the independent character of local public government.

Present setup

Central Administrative Organization

The Cabinet is the highest administrative organ and consists of the Prime Minister, who is its head, and sixteen other Ministers of State. The Prime Minister is designated from among the members of the Diet and the Emperor appoints him as designated. The Ministers of State are appointed by the Prime Minister, and a majority of them must be chosen from among the members of the Diet. The Prime Minister may remove the Ministers of State as he chooses. The Prime Minister is the head of the Cabinet and (1) presides over Cabinet meetings, (2) submits Cabinet bills, budgets and other proposals to the Diet representing the

Cabinet, and (3) exercises control and supervision over various administrative branches in accordance with the policies to be decided upon after consultation at Cabinet meetings.

Management of foreign affairs including the conclusion of treaties, administration of the civil service, enactment of cabinet orders, decision on amnesty, and other important matters of administration are decided by the Cabinet. The Cabinet gives, in addition, advice and approval on matters of state of which the Emperor is the executive.

The Cabinet is, in the exercise of executive power, collectively responsible to the Diet. If the House of Representatives passes a non-confidence resolution or rejects a confidence resolution, the Cabinet must resign en masse, unless the House of Representatives is dissolved within ten days. When there is a vacancy in the post of Prime Minister, or upon the first convocation of the Diet after a general election of members of the House of Representatives, the Cabinet must resign en masse.

A Secretariat and a Legislative Bureau are set up as auxiliary organs to the Cabinet. The Legislative Bureau is in charge of examining of Cabinet Draft bills to be submitted to the Diet, and of Cabinet orders and functions as a sort of legal advisor to the Cabinet. Aside from these, the National Personnel Authority is established under the jurisdiction of the Cabinet, taking charge of personnel administration relating to the public officials from an independent point of view.

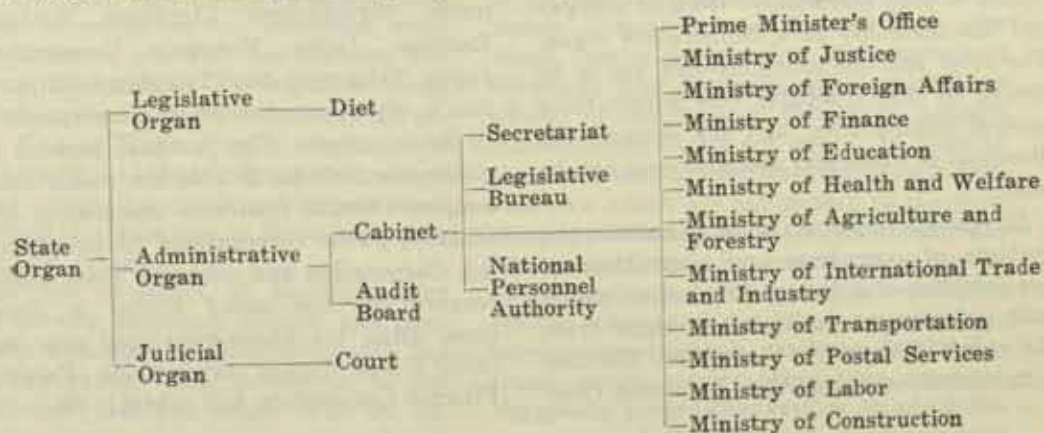
The administrative organization is constructed, with the Cabinet, as its highest executive organ. Under the Cabinet, *Fu* (Office on ministerial level) and *Shō* (Ministry) are established: the Prime Minister's Office, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health and Welfare, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, Ministry of International Trade and Industry, Ministry of Transportation, Ministry of Postal Services, Ministry of Labor, and Ministry of Construction compose the government at present. The Prime Minister's Office takes charge of matters concerning

honors, pensions, statistics, the Imperial Household, local autonomy, administrative management, and other duties that do not come under the jurisdiction of any Ministry. The Prime Minister himself is to hold concurrently the post of the Prime Minister's Office Chief, Ministers of other Ministries are appointed by the Prime Minister from among the Ministers of State. There are also several Ministers of State without portfolio. The Prime Minister and Minister of each Ministry are, with authorization by law, able to enact official ordinances (in the case of the Prime Minister's Office) and Ministerial ordinances chiefly for the purpose of executing laws and Cabinet orders. In Offices on ministerial level and Ministries Commissions (e.g. such so-called administrative commissions as Fair Trade Commission of the Prime Minister's Office, Central Labor Relations Commission of Ministry of Labor, etc.) and Agencies (e.g. Administrative Management Agency and Autonomy Agency of the Prime Minister's Office, Fisheries Agency of Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, Patent Agency of Ministry of International Trade and Industry, etc.) are set up as external bureaus. The heads of some of these external bureaus (Autonomy Agency, Administrative Management Agency, etc.) function as Ministers of State. An Office on ministerial level, Ministry, Commission and Agency may, in case there is special necessity, establish local branch offices (e.g. Tax Administration Agency of

Ministry of Finance; Regional Forestry Office, Regional Forestry Station under the Forestry Agency of Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry; etc.), and councils, committees, experimental stations, educational facilities, medical facilities, etc., as subordinate organs. In addition, the Science Council of Japan is established as an organ of the Prime Ministers' Office, under which the Japan Academy is set up. In relation to this, the Japan Art Academy is established in the Ministry of Education.

Each Ministry, or each government organization of which the head is, according to law, to be the Prime Minister or other Minister of State, may have one parliamentary Vice-Minister who assists the Minister, participates in the formation of policies and program planning, regulates the ministerial affairs, and acts in line with the Cabinet. Each Ministry also has one permanent Vice-Minister who assists the Minister, regulates the ministerial affairs and supervises the subordinate bureaus, sections and organs. The Board of Audit is established in compliance with the provision of the Constitution to this effect, of which the chief constituents are three Auditors who are appointed, with consent of the Diet, by the Prime Minister. The status of Board of Audit makes it independent of the Cabinet.

The following is the chart of the main organs of State.



Local Administrative Organization

The establishment of the Local Autonomy Law in 1947, based on the ideal of the new Constitution brought about a substantial change in local administration.

Local public bodies consist of ordinary and special ones. The prefectures, cities, towns and villages come under the ordinary local public bodies, while the special local public bodies include the special cities, special wards, associations of local public bodies, and financial wards. The prefectures are called, according to the administrative setup, in four different ways in Japan, namely, *To*, *Dō*, *Fu* and *Ken*. There are at present one *To* (Tokyo), one *Dō* (Hokkaidō), two *Fu* (Kyoto and Osaka) and forty-two *Ken*. Special wards are in Tokyo-To, but no special city is established as yet. In Tokyo-To, different from other prefectures, twenty-three special wards divide the former "City of Tokyo" and surrounding metropolitan area, and the other remaining area consists of cities, towns and villages. Each special ward has its own head and assembly of which the competence is, however, more limited than those of cities, towns and villages, and often reserved by the prefectural organs of Tokyo-To.

Fundamental organs of ordinary local public bodies consist of the chief as an executive organ (governor of prefecture, mayor of city, headman of town or village) and the assembly as a deliberative organ. The chief and the assembly-men are to be elected by direct popular vote within their several communities, and the demand for dismissal of chief and assembly-men can be made.

In relation to certain kinds of matters the systems of committee and committeemen are established in local public bodies, which hold independent position and right from the chief. Education Committee, Election Administration Committee, Personnel Com-

mittee, Public Safety Committee and Inspection Committee are some of these.

Local public bodies have the right to manage their property, affairs and administration, as well as to enact their own regulations within the law. The State's authoritarian meddling in local public bodies is restricted as much as practicable, and the State is, in most cases, able to give only non-authoritative advice. Concerning matters, however, in which the act is performed by the chief of an ordinary local public body as a State organ, the competent authorities are authorized to supervise on the whole, to suspend and withdraw the step taken by him. In addition to these rights, such rights as to order the chief of an ordinary local public body to execute its function, to dismiss him and to place a proxy in place of him, are also given to the competent authorities.

In order to prevent the danger of the Diet's oppressing local autonomy by means of legislation, the Constitution provides that a special law, applicable to only one local public body, cannot be enacted without the popular vote by the voters of the local public body concerned.

Juridical Persons in Public Law

With specialized national purposes the juridical persons in public law have been established under the supervision of the State. Important among them are the public corporations (Japanese National Railway, Japan Monopoly Corporation, Japan Telegraph and Telephone Corporation), which are treated as corresponding to State organs. The juridical persons in public law include, in addition, public associations (Health Insurance Association and others), public corporations (Japan Housing Corporation and others); these public corporations are called *Kōdan* in Japanese, while the above-mentioned ones are called *Kōsha*, finance corporations (People's Finance Corporation and others), etc.

Public Service Personnel

History

After the Restoration of Meiji the public service personnel system had been gradually consolidated by efforts of the newly-born government. The enforcement of the Public Service Regulations in 1887, prescribing that the public service personnel should in the first place pledge their allegiance to the Emperor and to the Emperor's government, abide by laws or orders and discharge their duties, firmly established the public service personnel system in this country, together with the adoption of examination system in compliance with the Regulation concerning Civil Service Personnel in A-class and B-class. The modern setup was thus gradually nearing completion under the Imperial Constitution of Meiji, and the establishment of the examination system and substitutional system of appointment by screening on the one hand, and the status guarantee system on the other, eventually succeeded in shutting out personal considerations. Concerning emoluments and pension a comparative repletion was also achieved. However, that the power to appoint and to dismiss public service personnel was included in the Emperor's prerogative clearly showed the fundamental status of the personnel who belonged to the Emperor, and the setup and system relating to public service personnel were provided for in principle not by laws but Imperial Ordinances. Furthermore there was such a classification as permanent officials, *Koin* or *Yōnin* (junior employees in A or B-class), and the advantages stipulated by laws concerning public service personnel were applied exclusively to those belonging to the first category.

Since the cessation of hostilities the public service personnel system has been radically reformed in compliance with the new Constitution. The provisions of the Constitution that the people have the inalienable right to choose their public officials

and to dismiss them, that all public officials are servants of the whole community and not of any group thereof, brought about a substantial change in the status of the public officials from those belonging to the Emperor to the public servants of the people. With this demand of the Constitution to change their character, it was decided that the public service personnel system should be radically reformed from the standpoint of efficiency and technique. The Public Service Personnel Law was accordingly promulgated in 1947 establishing the fundamental standard of the new system of public officials, in order to secure democratic as well as efficient administration of public services.

Present setup

Kinds of National Public Service

The national public service is divided into the regular government service and the special government service. The latter comprises the government positions politically appointed (the Prime Minister, the Ministers of State, the Secretary-General of the Cabinet, the Parliamentary Vice-Ministers, etc.), those independent from the government (the Judges, the Diet Personnel, etc.), those of which the appointment requires an election, or consent of the Diet (members of the National Public Safety Commission, etc.), and those for which special qualification or procedure is necessary from their character (the higher officers of the Imperial Household Agency, Ambassadors, Ministers, etc.). In place of the provisions of the National Public Service Law which are not applied to the positions as mentioned above, a definite law has been established in order to prescribe special matters peculiar to each position. On the other hand, the regular government service comprises all positions in the national public service other than those in the special government service, to which the provisions of the National Public Service

Law are applied. However, for those regular government services in charge of education, foreign affairs, field service, etc., special provisions are enacted in accordance with their specific characters.

The following is the outline of the system of the regular government service.

Central Personnel Administration Organs

Though the head of each Ministry or Agency must assume the responsibility for its general personnel administration as a matter of course, the National Personnel Authority is set up under the jurisdiction of the Cabinet in order to prevent the harmful influence of office hunting by political parties on the one hand, and to realize a unified personnel administration throughout the governmental organs on the other. The National Personnel Authority is organized by three Commissioners of whom one is appointed as the Chairman. Its character of independence from the Cabinet is established to a not inconsiderable extent, and corresponding right of legislation and judicature is also vested in it. The National Personnel Authority is to be in charge of planning, coordination, instruction, advice, etc., of various matters connected with the personnel administration.

Position Classification Plan

As a foundation of the personnel administration, the National Personnel Authority is provided to develop a position classification plan, by which all positions in the service are classified by classes determined according to the kinds of duties, and by grades according to the degrees of complexity of duties and responsibilities involved; a law relating to this position classification plan has been promulgated in consequence, but, at present, the new position classification plan does not take the place of the old one.

Employment

As for employment an ability-centered principle is adopted: the initial appointment and promotion of personnel is by competitive examinations or by means of an evaluation of demonstrated abilities. In compli-

ance with this principle various kinds of national public service examinations are carried out by the National Personnel Authority.

Emoluments

The National Personnel Authority must at all times conduct necessary investigations and studies concerning the pay plan prescribed by law and, as frequently as it deems such action necessary, prepare and submit to the Diet and to the Cabinet any revisions, either upward or downward, of the emolument schedules. At present the systems of managerial and administrative allowance, family allowance, allowances for service in specially designated areas, allowances for extraordinary services, overtime payment, etc., are carried out aside from usual emoluments. The system of accident compensation is also established.

Pension is given to the persons in the service who have faithfully served for a reasonable period of time and retired. Usually an amount of approximately one third of the monthly emoluments is given for life to the civil service officials who have retired after serving seventeen years or over. To those retired after serving less than seventeen years a lump sum is given. As for the expense necessary for such pension or lump sum it is provided that public service personnel must pay two percent of the emoluments to the National Treasury which provides the remainder.

Equity System

The employee being subject to disadvantageous dealing and treatment against his will may appeal to the National Personnel Authority for investigation. On receipt of such an appeal the Equity Commission must investigate the case in pattern of legal procedure, and upon the minutes of proceedings of which the National Personnel Authority adjudicates.

Performance of Duty

In view of the position of public service personnel as the servant of the community their rights concerning labor are restricted in various ways. Public officials are grant-

ed the right of organization except of those in the service of police, etc., but each employees' organization must be registered in the National Personnel Authority. Though public officials are able to appoint representatives through unions or organizations so as to make them negotiate with the authority concerned about working conditions, the right of concluding a collective agreement is not recognized. (Personnel in field service has this right in accordance with the special provisions as mentioned before.) The right of strike is also disapproved. Every person in the service is requested to exert his utmost in the performance of his duties taking an absolutely fair and neutral standpoint, and, in consequence, strict prohibitive clauses are established concerning his political action.

Efficiency

For study and training, evaluation of performance of duty, health management, safety management and recreation activity concerning public officials, the head of each Ministry or Agency is to assume the responsibility, and, parallel with it, the National Personnel Authority takes charge of making an over-all plan, coordinating and

supervising the Ministries or Agencies concerned.

As for the local public service the Local Public Service Law has been promulgated based on the same spirit as that of the National Public Service Law, and within the fundamental principles provided for by this Law, each local public entity is granted the right to establish regulations in close touch with respective local reality.

As for the personnel of Public Corporations and other public entities, a personnel administration similar to that of national public service is under way.

The number of national public officials: special government service—190,282; regular government service—645,683; total—835,965.

The number of local public officials: regular public officials—596,207; educational personnel—628,513; police personnel—129,523; total—1,354,243.

The number of Public Corporation personnel: Japan Monopoly Corporation—39,801; Japan National Railway—447,725; Japan Telegraph and Telephone Corporation—166,234; total—653,760. (As of June, 1954)

Judicial Administration

History

The idea that the administration and the judicature should be respectively independent did not exist in the years under the Tokugawa Shogunate. By the Restoration of Meiji (1868) the feudal system was broken down, and the ideal of separation of the three powers was subsequently declared in the *Seitai-sho* (lit. Interpretation of Administrative Policy) of 1868.

In 1871 the Ministry of Justice was established, and the Temporary Court, the Court of the Ministry of Justice, the Circuit Court, the Prefectural Court and the Local Court were placed under its jurisdiction. The Temporary Court was established *pro tempore* in order to deal with a

problem of vital importance to the State and a crime committed by a judge. The Court of the Ministry of Justice was the highest of the ordinary courts, the chief of which was to be concurrently taken charge of by the Minister of Justice, who was an administrative official. The position of chief of each Prefectural Court was also concurrently held by the chief local administrative official.

Distinction between administration and judicature became gradually clearer by the time of the establishment of the Supreme Court in May, 1875, but it was the Regulation governing Court Organization of 1886 that brought about the firmly established independence of judicature. The Regulation prescribed the appointment qualifications of judges as well as secured their

status stipulating that they should not be removed or punished against their will except by criminal or disciplinary punishment. In accordance with this Regulation a new court system, consisting of the Court of Peace, the Court of First Instance, the Felony Court, the Court of Appeal, and the Supreme Court, was completed in outline.

In the Imperial Constitution of Meiji promulgated in 1889 the independence of judicature, legal qualification of judges, security of status of judges and the principle of opening trials to the public were provided for, as well as that the constitution of the courts should be determined by law. In 1890 was promulgated the law for the Constitution of the Courts in which the system of courts was changed into the Local Court, the District Court, the Court of Appeal, and the Supreme Court. Aside from these ordinary civil courts, the Imperial Constitution of Meiji provided that special courts could be established in case laws to that effect were duly promulgated, of which the Court-Martial can be cited as a typical example. Furthermore, the establishment of the system of the Court of Administrative Litigation for the purpose of dealing with administrative cases inevitably limited the scope of judicature to merely civil and criminal affairs.

Thus the independence of judicature was established about the year 1890 even if only in the eye of the law, but the spirit of independence of judicature failed for the time being to permeate not only the general public but the government itself. Such was the situation on the whole when the so-called Konan Incident (Otsu Incident) took place in 1891. It was a scandalous incident in which the Crown Prince Nicholas of Russia was, during his stay in Japan, injured at Otsu when attacked by a police on guard. According to the Criminal Code of those days, in such a case as that in which an injury was inflicted upon a foreign prince there was no alternative but to punish the assailant by applying the provision concerning ordinary attempted murders. Though the Government wanted to sentence the offender to death by applying, with an extended interpretation,

the criminal clause concerning the inflicting of an injury of the Japanese Crown Prince, so as to express Japan's apology to Russia stating that the case was of greatest importance for national destinies, the then President of the Supreme Court, Kojima Iken, firmly opposed such an attitude of the government taking up the position that the principle of legality of punishment should be held on to in order to establish the independence of judicature. Eventually he succeeded in dealing with the case as stipulated in the provision of law. Through this dispute understanding of the importance of judicial independence became deepened among the government officials and the general public, to say nothing of the judges.

Though, in this way, the independence of judicature was, generally speaking, guaranteed in the years under the former Imperial Constitution of Meiji and was scarcely threatened in actual cases, it is needless to say that the promulgation of the new Constitution established such a spirit more firmly.

Present setup

Courts

Under the new Constitution, provision courts is made to judge every legal dispute: the judicature covers not only civil and criminal affairs but administrative cases needing trials, and no special court or court of administrative litigation is approved.

As courts of law, the Supreme Court, the High Court, the District Court, the Family Court, and the Summary Court are set up. The Family Court, placed on the same level with the District Court, handles such family cases as partition of the estate, annulment of marriage, etc., as well as such juvenile protection cases as placement of delinquents, etc.

Though trials must be conducted and judgment declared publicly, where a court unanimously determines that publicity is dangerous to public order or morals a trial can be conducted privately. However, trials of political offenses, offenses involving the press, or cases wherein the rights of

people as guaranteed by the Constitution are in question must always be conducted publicly.

Judges

As for judges qualification is strictly provided for by law.

The Chief Judge of the Supreme Court is appointed by the Emperor as designated by the Cabinet, while other judges are appointed by the Cabinet. The appointment of the Judges of the Supreme Court must be reviewed by the people at the first general election of members of the House of Representatives following their appointment, and must be reviewed again at the first general election after a lapse of ten years, and in the same manner thereafter; in case the majority of the voters favors the dismissal of a judge, he is dismissed.

The judges of the inferior courts are appointed by the Cabinet from a list of persons nominated by the Supreme Court. All such judges are to hold office for a term of ten years with privilege of reappointment.

As for the security of status of judges, it is provided that judges are not be removed except when judicially declared as incompetent, mentally or physically, to perform official duties, or when publicly impeached on the ground that there has been misdeed or deed degrading themselves conspicuously. For the purpose of trying those judges against whom removal proceedings have been instituted the Diet must set up an impeachment court from among the members of both Houses. No disciplinary action against the judges is administered by any executive organ or agency. The administration of such action is taken only by courts by means of trials.

Rule-making Power of the Supreme Court

The Supreme Court is vested with the rule-making power under which it determines the rules of procedure and of practice, and of matters relating to attorneys, the internal discipline of the courts and the administration of judicial affairs. A part of this rule-making power of the

Supreme Court, namely, the power to make rules for inferior courts may be delegated to such inferior courts.

Power to Determine the Constitutionality of Laws, etc.

The Constitution provides that the Supreme Court is the court of last resort with power to determine the constitutionality of any law, order, regulation or official act. By this provision the judging power of unconstitutional legislation, etc., has been vested in the court, which was not approved under the former Imperial Constitution of Meiji. However, the Supreme Court is able to exercise such power only in the cases in which a question has arisen whether or not the law or order concerned should be applied to actual lawsuits relating to rights and obligations, and it is not provided to institute a lawsuit stating abstractly the invalidity of a law on the ground that there is a doubt about the constitutionality of it. This is a point different from the system of Constitutional Trial established in West Germany and other countries.

Jury System

Under the Jury Law promulgated in 1923 the jury system was once established in this country. However, this Law has been suspended up to the present since 1943, owing to the fact that the system failed to possess the confidence of the people, that it needed a considerable amount of expense, and that it was in consequence not used in actual cases. The new Constitution has no provision concerning the jury system.

Public Procurators

In criminal cases public procurators are to bring public action, request the proper application of law by courts, supervise the execution of judgments, and, as representatives of the public interest, perform such functions as are authorized by other laws.

In criminal cases a court is held upon the indictment by the public procurator, and fair justice is given by judges after assertions of both the accused and the public procurator have been presented.

All business matters handled by public procurators are conducted at the public procurator's offices, which consist of the Supreme Public Procurator's Office, the High Public Procurator's Office, the District Public Procurator's Office and the Local Public Procurator's Office.

Public Procurators are separately engaged in exercising various functions, but, at the same time, they are lined up under the

control and supervision of the Procurator-General and other higher public procurators. As the Minister of Justice assumes the highest responsibility of business matters handled by public procurators he is provided to control and supervise the public procurators on the whole in regard to their functions; however, in regard to the examination and disposition of a special case he may control only the Procurator-General.

Police

History

It was in 1871 that a modern police system was for the first time established in Japan. Consequent on the fact that this system followed the Continental School of laws modelled on those of the police forces of Germany and of France, its character was one of centralized authoritarianism, with powers exceedingly comprehensive and extensive. The system was constructed in such a way that the power of exercising police functions was vested in the Superintendent-General of Metropolitan Police and in the Prefectural Governors, both State officials, who commanded subordinate Chiefs of Police of prefectures, cities, towns and villages, subject to the direction and control of the Minister of Home Affairs. Aside from such proper charges as protecting lives, persons and property of the people, detecting crimes, maintaining public safety, etc., the functions of police extended to the fields of sanitation, labor, fire defense service, construction, business and trade, etc., and Chiefs of Police of cities, towns and villages were authorized in acts such as permission and license, restraint without warrant, and summary disposition or contravention of police regulations.

As a link in the chain of the policies of the Allied Occupation Forces for democratizing Japan carried out since the termination of the World War II, a radical reform of the police system was put into practice in

1948 based upon a note of the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers addressed to the then Prime Minister of Japan. The reform aimed at establishing a system of democratic authority vested in the people to safeguard the rights and liberties of the individual, dissolving the then existing centralized police organization. The new system thus (1) limited the functions of police to its proper and original ones, (2) placed police under the supervision of Public Safety Commissions, consisting of representatives of the inhabitants concerned, for the purpose of democratizing police administration, and (3) established a dual system of the Police of Autonomous Authorities for cities and for urban communities of a fixed population or over, and the National Local Police for other areas, so as to decentralize police administration.

Though this new police system was of epoch-making significance in regard to the decentralization of the police system and establishment of democratic police, various defects were observed so far as the problem of efficiency and economy of administration of police functions is concerned. The system was, in consequence, partially revised several times afterwards, and the complete amendment of the Police Law in 1954 eventually succeeded in coordinating the requirements from the standpoint of not only the democratic ideal, but that also of efficiency and economy. In this way the present setup of police administration has been completed, as will be seen in the outline given.

Present setup

Responsibilities of Police

The Police must have charge of protecting lives, persons and property of the people; preventing, suppressing and detecting crimes; apprehending suspects; controlling traffic; and maintaining public safety and order.

Central Police Setup

According to the present system, the police power is to be in principle exercised not by the State but the prefecture (local public body) excepting the cases of "state-of-national-emergency" proclamation; however, concerning certain special matters closely related to the State security, it is provided that the State is able to direct and supervise the prefectural police. For the purpose of taking charge of such direction and supervision so as to assume full responsibility of the State in the field of public security, the National Public Safety Commission and subordinate National Police Agency are established as police organs of the State.

National Public Safety Commission. Established under the jurisdiction of the Prime Minister as a central organ in charge of the operational control of the police. The Commission consists of a chief and five members: a Minister of State is assigned as the chief; other members are appointed by the Prime Minister with the consent of the Diet.

The duties and competence of the National Public Safety Commission are (1) to administer police affairs relating to State security, (2) to exercise general control over such affairs as police education, communication, criminal identification and criminal statistics, and (3) to coordinate police administration on the whole.

National Police Agency. Established under the jurisdiction of the National Public Safety Commission in order to carry out practical business within the authority of the Commission. The Director-General of the National Police Agency,

appointed by the Commission with the approval of the Prime Minister, controls the Agency affairs as well as superintends prefectural police concerning matters under the jurisdiction of the Agency, subject to the operational control of the National Public Safety Commission. One Vice-Director-General is placed in the Agency, under whom the Director-General Secretariat, the Police Affairs Division, the Criminal Investigation Division, the Police Guard Division, and the Communications Division are set up as the internal organization. The Scientific Crime Detection Laboratory, the Headquarters of the Imperial Guard, etc., are also attached to the Agency, in addition, seven Regional Police Bureaus are established as local organs which share a part of matters under the jurisdiction of the Agency.

Prefectural Police

The Prefectural Police, established by the unification of the former National Local Police and the former Autonomous Police of cities, towns and villages, carries out police functions within the boundaries of the respective prefecture, under the supervision of the respective Prefectural Public Safety Commission.

On the one hand the Prefectural Police is clothed with every possible character of autonomy in such a way that the expense is borne in principle by the respective prefecture, and that the important matters concerning administrative control, including the planning of the setup of internal subdivisions, without exception established by means of regulations; while, on the other, the centralized character is also granted to the Prefectural Police in regard to the speciality of police functions, that is, (1) the Prefectural Police is subject to the direction and supervision of the Director-General of the National Police Agency in relation to affairs under the jurisdiction of the Agency, (2) the status of the Senior Superintendents and the higher police officers is provided for by making them National Public Official in regular government service, and (3) of the Prefectural Police expenses, the ones necessary

for certain special matters are disbursed by the National Treasury.

Prefectural Public Safety Commissions. Under the jurisdiction of the Prefectural Governors the Prefectural Public Safety Commissions are established with the object of providing operational control over the Prefectural Police.

Each Prefectural Public Safety Commission is composed of three or five members. A five member commission is established in *Tokyo-To* (lit. Tokyo Metropolis) and five designated prefectures, namely, Kanagawa, Aichi, Kyoto, Osaka and Hyōgo. The members are appointed by Prefectural Governors with the approval of the respective prefectural assembly, but, in the above-mentioned designated prefectures, the respective Governor appoints two of five members in accordance with the recommendation by the mayor of the designated city concerned (Yokohama, Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka, and Kōbe; each city corresponds to each prefecture mentioned above) with the approval of the respective city assembly. As for Hokkaidō, the Hōmen (lit. district or precinct) Public Safety Commission is established as a controlling organ of the Hōmen Police Headquarters, aside from ordinary Dō Public Safety Commission of prefectural level.

Prefectural Police Headquarters. The Metropolitan Police Board is established as the headquarters of Metropolitan Police of *Tokyo-To* and the Prefectural Police Headquarters as those of Prefectural Police, of whom the chief is called the Superintendent-General of Metropolitan Police in the former, while, in the latter, the Chief of Prefectural Police Headquarters. These chiefs control respectively the affairs of the Metropolitan Police Board and the Prefectural Police Headquarters, and direct and supervise the Police Personnel attached to the Prefectural Police, subject to the operational control of the Prefectural Public Safety Commissions. Appointment and dismissal of the Superintendent-General of Metropolitan Police are made by the National Public Safety Commission with the consent of the Metropolitan Public Safety Commission and, in addition, with the ap-

proval of the Prime Minister; while, in cases of the Chiefs of Prefectural Police Headquarters, the National Public Safety Commission appoints and dismisses them with the consent of the Prefectural Public Safety Commission concerned.

In Hokkaidō the area is divided into five Hōmen because of its extent and each district has its own District Police Headquarters. In the abovementioned designated cities Municipal Police Headquarters are established within the area of these cities so as to share the affairs under the jurisdiction of the Prefectural Police Headquarters, by reason of the multiplicity of population and other special conditions characteristic of the larger cities.

In each division of the prefectures a police station is established, a first-line police organ directly related to the inhabitants concerned. The police station may establish police-boxes or police sub-stations as a lower organization.

Police Personnel

At present, the fixed number of the police personnel of the National Police Agency and that of the Prefectural Police are 1,777 and 132,500, making a total of 134,277. The Police Officers are allowed to have small weapons, of which the use is also approved in stipulated cases.

Special Measures in a State of National Emergency

If deemed especially necessary for the maintenance of peace and order in such a state of national emergency as disaster extending over a wide area, or a serious disturbance, the Prime Minister may, upon the recommendation of the National Public Safety Commission, issue a proclamation of a state of national emergency in respect of the country as a whole or any part of it.

When such a proclamation has been issued, control over the whole police force is temporarily assumed by the Prime Minister. In this case, the Director-General of the National Police Agency directs the Superintendent-General of Metropolitan Police or the Chiefs of Prefectural Police

Headquarters within the area set forth in the proclamation, while the Director of the Headquarters of the Police Region directs the Chiefs of Prefectural Police Headquarters within the area of the proclamation. The proclamation of a state of national emergency by the Prime Minister must be ratified by the Diet within twenty days of the date of the proclamation.

Maritime Police

With the object of maintaining marine safety as well as securing the safety of navigation the Maritime Safety Agency is established as an external bureau of the Ministry of Transportation. The Agency performs its duties with a personnel (of 10,625) with 413 vessels and 6 aeroplanes.

Fire Defense Service

History

Back in 1650 the Tokugawa Shogunate publicly established in Edo (present Tokyo) the *Jōbikeshi* system, a system of semi-professional fire brigades, which was later followed by the *Daimyō-Hikeshi* system, also a semi-professional fire brigade selected from among the *daimyō's* men. Parallel with these another fire brigade organization, composed of civilian youths under headmen of villages and officials of towns, was playing an active part as an autonomous system. Such autonomous fire brigade were nationally systematized in 1894 as a company of firemen, subject to the control of Prefectural Governors and Chiefs of the Prefectural Police; while, on the other hand, the six big cities were equipped with standing fire services composed of prefectural officials. However, the reorganization of 1934 of the company of firemen into the *Keibō-dan* (lit. Defense Association) changed its character into the nucleus of civilian defense in the war-time, as a sort of auxiliary air-defense organ to the police under the State control.

The Fire Defense Organization Law and the Fire Service Law now in force were promulgated in 1948, three years after the termination of the World War II.

Present setup

As a State organ in charge of fire defense service the National Fire Defense Board is established under the National Public Safety Commission. The Board

takes charge of such affairs as the grading of cities pertaining to fire defense, the research and preparation of model fire codes, etc. Prefectures take charge of such affairs as education and training of the fire department personnel and members of *shōbō-dan* (fire squads), the fire defense statistics and information, the liaison between the municipalities in relation to fire defense, etc. Cities, towns and villages are responsible for providing adequate fire defense within the boundaries of the respective municipalities, over which the supervision is exercised by mayors or headmen. Any or all of such organs as Fire Defense Headquarters, Fire Stations and Fire Squads are established in cities, towns and villages.

There exists no control by the National Fire Defense Board or by Governors of Prefectures over the fire departments of cities, towns and villages. However, the Director of the National Fire Defense Board may give advice to prefectures and municipalities, and Governors of Prefectures to municipalities, in matters pertaining to fire defense, and, at the request of the mayors of cities, headmen of towns and villages, may instruct them. Aside from fire fighting, the functions of the fire defense service include the restriction of construction, investigation of the cause of fire, etc., which had been under the police jurisdiction.

In order to protect the lives, persons and property of people the fire defense service and police must cooperate with each other. In addition, the National Fire Defense Board, the National Police Agency, the

Governors of Prefectures, and the mayors of cities and head men of towns and villages are able to make agreements beforehand among themselves concerning disaster defense measures to be taken in the time

of earthquake, typhoon, fire, flood and similar emergencies. Fire defense facilities have been markedly improved for these years, and especially in the larger cities up-to-date equipment is in use.

Self-Defense

History

Up to the cessation of hostilities, Japan had maintained enormous land and sea forces. In those days the cardinal principle of the setup and operation of the forces was in the independence of military authority. That is to say, the prerogative concerning supreme command and organization of the forces was vested in the Emperor. Though the organization of forces was included in the affairs of State of which the administration was to be carried out with the assistance of Ministers of State, the supreme command of the land and sea forces was absolutely out of the control of the Ministers of State, and assistance or advice to the Emperor was given chiefly by the Chief of the General Staff and the Chief of the Naval Staff. The Minister of War and the Minister of the Navy, belonging to the Cabinet as Ministers of State also gave assistance or advice to the Emperor on matters of supreme command, to the position of which a general and an admiral were respectively appointed.

The army and navy personnel were recruited chiefly by means of the conscription system, and, up to the enforcement of the emergency measure taken during the years of the World War II, every male from seventeen to forty years of age was under the obligation of undergoing one of the five kinds of military services, namely active service, service in the first reserve, service in the second reserve, conscript reserve service and militia service.

Though the peacetime numerical strength of the Japanese army was approximately 250,000 or 17 divisions, nearly 5,000,000 persons were said to be called to the colors during the last war. While the pre-war

Japanese navy was in possession of about 300 war vessels, or 1,180,000 tons.

Consequent on Japan's acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration in 1945, a thoroughgoing disarmament was carried out side by side with the adoption of the demilitarization policy. Article 9 of the new Constitution promulgated in 1946 prescribed that the Japanese people forever renounce the use of force as means of setting international disputes, and that land, sea and air forces as well as other war potentials must not be maintained.

With the Korean War which broke out in June, 1950, as a turning point, the then Supreme Commander for Allied Powers, Douglas MacArthur gave an order to the Japanese Government that the national police force and the coast guards should be reinforced, and, upon this order, the Police Reserve Force was established with 75,000 members. This Police Reserve Force was an auxiliary organ to the regular police force, to be called out by the Prime Minister only in cases of pressing necessity for maintaining public safety.

The occupation army pulled out in accordance with Japan's recovery of her sovereignty in April, 1952, but the Japanese-American Security Pact signed at the same time as the Peace Treaty prescribed that the security of Japan was to be maintained temporarily by retention of U.S. forces in Japan.

On the other hand a gradual increase program of the self-defense forces of Japan has been also promoted. The Coast Guards, established in the Maritime Safety Agency in April, 1952, were the first step of this program taken up for the purpose of strengthening the preservation of maritime security. Following that, the Police Reserve Force was reorganized in August,

1952, as the National Security Force, and the Coast Guards were simultaneously renamed the Guard Force, which started as units under the National Security Agency the work of maintaining the public safety within the State.

In July, 1954, taking the place of this National Security Agency and Force of which the chief function had been the maintenance of the public safety, the present Defense Agency and Self-Defense Forces were launched with the object of defending the State. Throughout those years of gradual replenishment of the defense forces, various problems concerning the construction of the above-mentioned Article 9 of the Constitution have been hotly debated.

Present setup

The Defense Agency, the Self-Defense Forces and the National Defense Council form the defense organization, concerning the setup and administration of which a fundamental principle of "superiority of civil authority" has taken the place of that of "independence of military authority" of the former Japanese army.

National Defense Council

The Cabinet has the National Defense Council as an advisory organ to deliberate matters concerning national defense, and the Prime Minister must refer to the Council such important matters as (1) fundamental policy of national defense, (2) outline of the national defense program, (3) feasibility for defense operation, etc. Though it is prescribed that the composition of and other necessary matters concerning the National Defense Council are to be provided for by a separate law, the law to such effect has not been promulgated as yet.

Defense Agency and Self-Defense Forces

The Defense Agency is established as an external bureau of the Prime Minister's Office, with the mission of controlling and operating the Ground Self-Defense Force, the Maritime Self-Defense Force, and Air

Self-Defense Force, as well as of performing related functions. Sometimes the term "Self-Defense Forces" implies the whole organization of national defense, namely, the Director-General of the Defense Agency, the internal divisions of the Defense Agency, the Ground, Maritime and Air Self-Defense Forces, etc. The mission and setup of the Defense Agency and the Self-Defense Forces are as follows:

Mission. Their Chief mission is to maintain the security of the nation against direct or indirect aggression by foreign countries, and the second mission is to preserve public safety and order.

Setup. A Minister of State who is assisted by the Vice-Director-General concerning the general affairs of the Agency as a whole, takes the position of the Director-General of the Defense Agency. Five internal bureaus and the Director-General's Secretariat are established in the Agency, and, as staff organs, the Ground, Maritime and Air Staff Offices are also set up in addition to the Joint Staff Council composed of a Chairman and three Chiefs of Staff Offices. In addition, each Chief of Staff controls units and organs, and, as auxiliary organs, the Defense Staff College, the Defense Academy, the Technical Research Institute, the Construction Office, and the Procurement Office are established. Besides, there is a system of not more than eight councillors, including chiefs of internal sub-divisions, who participate in the formation of basic policy concerning the specific functions of the Defense Agency, while the Chiefs of Staff Offices put into force the orders of the Director-General in accordance with the policy decided by him.

Fixed number. The personnel consist of the Self-Defense Officials who perform the duties of the Self-Defense Force (uniformed personnel) and those other than Self-Defense Officials (non-uniformed personnel). The fixed number of the Self-Defense Officials is 150,000 for those of the Ground Self-Defense Force, 19,391 for those of the Maritime Self-Defense Force, 10,346 for those of the Air Self-Defense Force, 32 for those of the Joint Staff Council, making a total of 179,769.

Command systems. The Prime Minister holds the supreme powers of command of and supervision over the Self-Defense Forces. The Director-General of the Defense Agency directs the functions of the Self-Defense Forces, subject to the command and supervision of the Prime Minister. However, over the units and organizations, the command and supervision of the Director-General are executed through the appropriate Chief of Staff Offices.

The Activities. Activities of the Self-Defense Forces are divided into five, namely, defense operation, police operation, disaster dispatch, maritime security operation, and action against violation of territorial air space. As for defense operation, the Prime Minister orders the Self-Defense Forces into operation when he considers it necessary from the standpoint of defending the nation against armed aggression from the outside, actual or imminent. The order needs prior consent of the Diet in principle, and posterior consent in the event of extreme emergency.

Status of Self-Defense Official. Fifteen ranks are established concerning Self-Defense Officials of Ground, Maritime and Air Defence Forces such as *Shō*, *Sa*, *I*, *Sō*, *Shichō*, etc. The appointment is made, upon their own application, by examination or selection by means of demonstrated abilities. *Riku-shichō* (Leading Privates), etc., are enlisted for a period of two years, while the period of *Kaishichō* (Leading Seamen), *Kū-shichō* (Airmen 1st Class), etc., is

three years. For Officials of other ranks the age limit is established in accordance with the rank and character of the duty. Besides, the Self-Defense Reserve members are appointed on the basis of volunteer enlistment of those individuals who were Self-Defense Officials, who must serve as Self-Defense Officials when the defense operation order is issued. The period of employment of those Self-Defense Reserves is three years.

Organization and equipment. Ground Self-Defense Force—Organization: Two Corps (Division, Combined Brigade, Artillery Group, Infantry Regiment, Engineer Group, etc.), six Divisions (Infantry Regiment, Artillery Regiment, Tank Battalion, Engineer Battalion, Medical Battalion, Aviation Unit, etc.), other Units under the direct command of the Director-General, etc. Equipment: Tanks, etc. 350, Liaison Planes 200, etc. Emphasis is being laid upon the replenishment of firearms.

Maritime Self-Defense Force—Organization: One Self-Defense Fleet, five Maritime Regional Districts, other Units under the direct command of the Director-General. Equipment: Destroyers 4, Guard Ships 22, Submarines 1, etc. Total 342, or 71,000 tons. Aeroplanes 40.

Air Self-Defense Force—Organization: One Wing (chiefly jet planes), one Air Training Unit, one Transportation Wing. Equipment: Jet Trainers 47, other Trainers 171, Transport Planes 16, Liaison Plane 1.

Honors

History

The Honor system of Japan comprises court ranks, decorations and medals. Under the Imperial Constitution of Meiji there were, in addition, the systems of peers and peerages, but according to the new Constitution, they are not recognized

because of the principle of equality of all the people under the law.

Present setup

The Constitution provides that no privilege should accompany any award of honor, decoration or any distinction, nor should any such award be valid beyond the lifetime

of the individual who now holds or hereafter may receive it.

Court Ranks

The system of court ranks is said to have its origin in the year 603. At present the Court Rank Ordinance in which repeated amendments have been made since its promulgation in 1926 is in force. According to this Ordinance sixteen court ranks are established from the senior grade of the first court rank to the junior grade of the eighth court rank. The Ordinance provides that the first court rank is to be conferred personally by the Emperor (*shin-ju*); from the second to the fourth, personally by the Minister of the Imperial Household (*chokuju*); and the fifth and lower, by the same Minister but not personally (*soju*); in the last two cases by consent of the Emperor.

Notwithstanding the legal provisions that court ranks be bestowed upon those who have rendered distinguished services to the State, those who have rendered distinguished services worthy of commendation and government officeholders, the government officeholders are in reality excluded at present.

Decorations

There are two kinds of decorations: with rank and without rank.

The decorations with rank consist of the Grand Order of Merit and eight orders of merit from first to eighth. To any of those decorated with the Grand Order of Merit the Grand Cordon of the Chrysanthemum is awarded, and, in particular cases, the Collar of the Chrysanthemum is also added. To any of those decorated with one of the First to Eighth Orders of Merit, one of the Insignia of the Order of the Rising Sun, the Insignia of the Order of the Sacred Crown, and the Insignia of the Order of the Sacred Treasure, is awarded, and the first two insignia are superior to the last one. The Insignia of the Order of the Rising Sun are awarded in the case of males, while the Insignia of the Order of the Sacred Crown in the case of female.

Prior to the termination of the last war the system of the Order of the Golden Kite had been also established, and the insignia of the first to seventh order of it were awarded chiefly to those army and navy men distinguished themselves in action. However, this system was abolished with the promulgation of the new Constitution.

As a decoration without rank, there is the system of the Order of the Cultural Merits. This system was established in 1937 for the purpose of commending those rendering distinguished services to the development of culture. Up to the present 84 persons have been invested with it in the fields of natural science, cultural science, art, etc.

Medals

According to the Medals Regulations, to which repeated amendments have been made since its promulgation in 1881, the following six kinds of Medals are established at present.

Red Ribbon Medal. To those saving a life without regard to their own danger.

Green Ribbon Medal. To distinguished dutiful children or grandchildren, virtuous women, loyal servants, etc.

Yellow Ribbon Medal. To those assiduous in performing duties and held up as a paragon to the public.

Purple Ribbon Medal. To those producing distinguished achievements concerning artistic or scientific inventions, improvements or creations.

Blue Ribbon Medal. To those promoting public interests in such works as education, sanitation, charity, prevention of epidemics, construction of schools or hospitals, repair of roads, rivers, drains, banks or bridges, reclamation of waste land, afforestation, rearing of aquatic products, improvement of agriculture, commerce or industry, or to those rendering distinguished services in public works.

Dark Blue Ribbon Medal. To those having rendered distinguished services by donating private property for the public good.

The type of the persons invested these medals is by far wider than that of decora-

tions, so is the number of the persons invested.

The systems of these honors have been under review during these years, and it is expected that a radical reform will be carried out before long.

Independently of the above-mentioned honor systems the pension system for persons of cultural merits is established in compliance with the law concerning Pension for Persons rendering Distinguished Cultural Services. At present 68 persons are receiving the pension.

VI INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY

Historical Survey of Foreign Relations

Opening of the country

With the prohibition, early in the 17th century, by the Tokugawa Shogunate, the virtual ruler of Japan of the time, of Christianity, foreign trade and Japanese people's going abroad, Japan was completely closed from the rest of the world, except for the port of Nagasaki, where almost negligibly small amount of commerce went on with Dutch and Chinese traders. Any offender of the rule was punished by death. The isolation policy was strictly observed and jealously defended for more than two centuries, until it was made utterly impossible by the call of Commodore M. C. Perry who, in 1853, came up to the mouth of Tokyo Bay with a fleet of four battleships of the United States Navy.

The Shogunate was forced to sign in 1854 on board the U.S. Flagship off the coast of Yokohama, "the Treaty of Peace and Amity between the United States and the Empire of Japan". The reason for the Shogunate's

yielding to Perry's pressure by giving up the policy of evasion so far used in similar cases was the disparity of military strength which the Shogunate had thoroughly realized against the Western countries. The Shogunate, however, had no interest in trade so that it required the patient persuasions, backed with threats, of Townsend Harris, who came to Shimoda in 1869 as Consul-General of the United States. As the first Westerner to visit Edo, "the Capital of Tycoon", he was received by the *Shōgun* and had the Shogunate conclude "the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States and the Empire of Japan." In the following 1860, a mission was sent out by the Shogunate to Washington for the purpose of exchanging ratifications for the treaty concluded the previous year. They boarded on the U.S. Battleship Powhatan and made a long journey to the capital of the United States. The records of their journey are most interesting and valuable.

Within the country, however, the opposition to the Shogunate's foreign policy grew

in force and active demonstrations, resulting in the attack on the British Legation and frequent cases of violence on foreigners by fanatic patriots. The Shogunate was torn between the protests and threats of the foreign legations and the anti-alien movement of the elements within the country, hostile to the Shogunate. It sent out an envoy to London and proposed postponement of the date for opening of trading ports and succeeded in 1862 in having the London Memorandum signed.

The anti-alien movement was motivated mainly by the discontent of such elements as the court nobles of Kyoto and the Chōshū, Satsuma, and some other big clans of the southwestern provinces that had been long excluded from the central government but now demanded participation or complete control of it in their hands. In 1862, after the Namamugi (Yokohama) incident, in which some Englishmen crossing the procession of the Lord of Satsuma on the highway, were attacked by guards in the train, the British Minister had the homeland of Satsuma bombarded by a British naval force. The attack of the Chōshū clan on the foreign ships passing through the Strait of Shimonoseki was retaliated in 1864 by a combined naval force of the United States, Britain, the Netherlands and France and the fort of Shimonoseki was brought to surrender. The Shogunate agreed to pay as reparation the sum of 300 U.S. dollars, but at the same time it felt it necessary to close the port of Yokohama because of the disturbance within the country. The combined fleet of the four Western powers came up to Hyōgo in 1865 for direct negotiations with the Imperial Court in Kyoto and in the following 1866 obtained the Emperor's authorization of the previously drawn treaties as well as the signing of the agreement for revision of the tariff system. The Shogunate was now backed up by the French Minister while the British worked behind the Satsuma-Chōshū force for the restoration of the Emperor. In 1868 the *Shōgun* Yoshinobu restoring all political prerogatives to the Emperor, under whom the new national government was then established.

Revision of the treaties

The Meiji Government, composed of the court nobles and the victorious Satsuma, Chōshū and some other clans and headed by the young Emperor, now published its policy of opening the country to foreign commerce and, holding up its slogans of "Rich Nation and Strong Army" and "More Wealth, More Industry", launched its modernization program with zeal and energy. It naturally resorted to Westernization in all branches of the national life. In the field of foreign relations, it began preparations for revision of the treaties which had been concluded by the Shogunate in the terms similar to those forced on China by Western powers, including such as extraterritoriality and foreign control of tariff regulation. The removal of these unequal terms from the treaties was one of the foremost tasks of the new government.

The mission, headed by Ambassador Iwakura and sent abroad in 1871, comprised almost all of the ablest leaders of the new government and purposed the preliminary sounding for revision of the treaties. Though the mission failed to achieve anything material in the purposed field, it brought home valuable knowledge and suggestions for management of the new government. Bent on the growth of national industry, the young Meiji Government was in dire need of increasing its revenues. On the other hand it had to lighten land taxes from agricultural population, so that the possibility of increased revenues lay much on customs duties. Consequently, the acquisition of tariff autonomy was held the first aim in the revision of the treaties. In 1878 a revision agreement was reached with the United States with the provision that it was to be effective in case all the rest of the treaty states consented to the revised terms. The rest of the countries, beginning with Britain, refused to consent and so the attempt failed. In 1882, the Foreign Office called a conference in Tokyo, by requesting attendance of foreign ambassadors and ministers, and negotiated for tariff autono-

my and abolition of extraterritoriality. A raise in tariff was realized while the question of extraterritoriality was laid aside for the reason of the necessity, the treaty states demanded, of Japan's completion of modern codification and opening of the entire country to foreign residents.

Assisted by foreign advisors, the Japanese government now began codification of new laws on modern legal principles. At the same time the government leaders encouraged adoption of European style in every phase of life, of which the Victorian style balls at Rokumeikan Hall, led by ladies and gentlemen of new Japan, became a byword. The new treaty, concluded with Mexico in 1888 put conditions on its most favored nation clause as the first attempt for individual negotiation for revision. It provided that extraterritoriality was to be admitted only within the foreign settlements for five years after coming to effect of the treaty and that the posts of some of the judges of the Supreme Court were to be held by foreign specialists. The United States, Germany and Russia had signed the revised treaty, when the attempted assassination of Foreign Minister Ōkuma by some ultranationalists interrupted the progress of negotiation. The succeeding Foreign Minister Aoki proposed some modification to the draft treaty by removing the terms that would contradict the National Constitution, but had to resign in 1891 by taking on himself the responsibility for the injury inflicted on the Crown Prince of Russia during his visit in Japan. Mutsu as Foreign Minister succeeded in 1895 in obtaining Britain's consent to a revised treaty, which said that it was to come to force five years after its signing, so that during that interval Japan was to complete and put into practice the new codes of laws now in process of compilation and that the tariff question was to be decided on by concerted agreement of Britain, the United States, Germany and France. Extraterritoriality was removed for the first time by this revision while the issue of tariff autonomy was dragged further on.

Continental relations

The new government showed the greatest concern about Japan's territorial boundaries in the north and the south. First of all it took in the Ryukyu Islands which had long held an ambiguous position toward the overlordship of Japan and China. In 1875 Japan's territorial rights were established over the Kurile Islands in exchange for her complete relinquishment of Saghalin to Russian possession. This settled the disputes among the Japanese and Russian settlers in these northern regions. In 1876 Japan concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with Korea in the same unequal terms as these forced on herself by the Western powers and this opened up that hermit nation for the first time to world commerce. Japan, by this act, came face to face with China which had long regarded Korea as her tributary. Not able yet to counteract effectively, Japan in 1884 concluded with China the Treaty of Tientsin and agreed that in case of dispatching troops to Korea against any disturbance in the peninsula, each would do so by notifying the other.

The war with China that broke out in 1894 was started by Japan's sending an army to Korea in competition with China's dispatch of troops at the uprising of the Tonghaks and on China's refusal, after the suppression of the disturbance, Japan's proposal for joint control with China of Korean affairs on mutual recognition of Korea as an independent state. Japan's aim in the war was to get Korea away from the control of China and Japan's victory in 1895 resulted in China's concession of Formosa and Liaotung Peninsula and payment of a reparation of 200,000,000 tael to Japan. However, Japan had to give up the possession of Liaotung upon interference of Russia, Germany and France. In 1896 she concluded a treaty of commerce and navigation with China and obtained the same rights as the western countries in matters of Chinese trade. The interference of the three Western powers in regard to Liaotung Peninsula had taught Japan the necessity of her coordination, in matters of interna-

tional diplomacy, to the actions of the leading powers of the world. When scrambling of the powers began for concessions in China—German taking lease of Hongchow Bay area, Russia Liaotung, Britain Kungloong, France Yunnan, etc.—Japan followed the lead and obtained pledge from China for non-alienability of Fukien on the south-eastern Chinese coast opposite Formosa. Japan now looked on Korea and this southern region in China as the two bases for her Continental advance.

In Korea, Russian influence had been growing, following the retreat of Chinese power. The failure of the coup d'état by the Japanese Minister in Seoul in 1895 marked the total retreat of Japanese influence from the peninsula. Patient efforts were then made by Japan for recovery of her hold in Korea through the winning over of the pleasure of the royal court, acquisition of railway concessions, offering of loans and encouragement of trade, etc. The Nishi-Rosen agreement of 1898 recognized the economic advance of Japanese residents in Korea and gave pretext for Japan's claim for Korea's inclusion in her sphere of interest.

The fact that Japan mobilized the biggest-sized force in the joint expedition of the powers for the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, proves Japan's completion of the first stage of her modern armament. The alliance with Britain, realized shortly later against the Russian occupation of Manchuria, showed Japan's leaning on Britain and the United States and demanding a free Manchuria while herself holding Korea within her sphere of influence. Russia, on the other hand, refused to recognize Japan's monopoly of Korea while herself plotting for occupation of Manchuria. The clash of the demands of the two countries led up to war in 1904. When Japan had driven back the Russian army to north Manchuria and defeated the Russian navy in the battle of Japan Sea, President Theodore Roosevelt of the United States intervened and at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, U.S.A. the peace treaty was concluded.

Advance to Manchuria

By the Treaty of Portsmouth Japan obtained (1) the protectorate of Korea, (2) Concession of the Russian lease of Liaotung, (3) the section of the Manchurian Railway between Port Arthur and Shangcheng, together with its branches and the coal mines attached for its use, (4) southern half of Saghalin, (5) fishery rights along the Russian coasts of Japan Sea, Okhotsk Sea and Bering Sea.

Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910 meant laying of good foundation for her advance on Manchuria. The renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1905 and again in 1911, the French-Japanese Pact of 1907, and the Russo-Japanese Pact of 1907, all defined the maintenance of *status quo* in Asian Continent against any future misunderstanding. The second Russo-Japanese Pact of 1910 defined the boundary between the Russian sphere of interest in north Manchuria and that of Japan in south Manchuria. On the foundation of these agreements with the powers, Japan established in 1906 the South Manchurian Railway Company and formulated, around the management of the railway, an extensive continental program including the managements of mines and harbors. The South Manchurian Railway Company closely resembled the English East India Company in form of organization and nature of capacity. It was a semi-governmental colonial company, a half of its capital being governmental, and acted as sole agent for the Japanization of Manchuria.

Though Japan regarded south Manchuria as reward for her war with Russia and consequently a land of special interests for her, other countries had different views. The United States, among others, insisted on the principle of "equal opportunity" and "open-door policy" and claimed an equal American opportunity for investment there, as seen in Harriman's international management proposal and Knox's neutrality plan for the Manchurian railways. The Japan-United States competition in Manchuria worked, in correspondence with the anti-Japanese im-

migration movement in the United States, in creating a critical aspect for the relations of the two countries. In 1908 the Root-Takahira agreement was drawn for confirmation of the territorial integrity of China and the *status quo* of the Pacific area.

China, on her part, as arena of the international scramblings, had another view. At the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war, she was rather hopeful for Japan's expulsion of Russian interference from her territories, but the results of the war were very disappointing, the Japanese victory having made the matter worse for her. An anti-Japanese sentiment spread among the Chinese people and grew into a strong feeling of nationalism. Japan's program for realization and expansion of her special interests in the Continent began to meet with rebuffs. In the midst of numerous pending questions, the Chinese Revolution commenced and the Republic of China came into being.

Closely following, World War I broke out in Europe. Japan's eagerness for participation in it was such that, despite her claiming the motive of her participation on the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Britain hesitated to approve. The Japanese force landed in Shantung and, occupying Tsintao, held down the German force in East Asia. China was suspicious of Japan's ultimate intention and demanded withdrawal of the Japanese force. The ultimatum of the "Twenty-One Demands", thrust on China in 1915, showed Japan's ambition to take thorough advantage of the war in Europe for solving in a single stroke the pending questions with China and thereby consolidating her position in East Asia. The Twenty-One Demands were all to do with China's acknowledgment of special rights and concessions for Japan in Shantung, south Manchuria and East Inner Mongolia with a considerable amount of Japanese sharing in the government of the latter two. They met with strong opposition of the Chinese people and severe criticisms of the powers. The Japanese people were divided in opinion, but many of them loudly denounced the Japanese government's high-handed stupidity.

The third Russo-Japanese Pact of 1916 was a secret alliance by which Japan took East Inner Mongolia into her sphere of influence. This secret was exposed by the Russian Revolution. When in 1918 Russia concluded a separate peace, Japan participated in the rescue of the Czechoslovakian army in Siberia. After the completion of the task the Japanese force stayed on and was even reinforced in face of severe denunciation of the powers. It incurred the massacre of Japanese residents in Nikolaevsk and ended in the total Japanese loss of a billion *yen*. It was paired with the so-called Nishihara Loans of 1917-8 to Dan Ki-zui's government as two mistakes of the greatest stupidity committed by the Japanese government during World War I.

By the Ishii-Lansing agreement of 1917, Japan came to understanding with the United States with regard to Japan's special Continental interests and the territorial integrity of China. In the Peace Conference of Paris in 1919, Japan came into direct conflict with China with regard to the method of disposition of Hongchow Bay area and China's total denial of the Twenty-One Demand Pact. China refused to sign the Peace Treaty, while Japan, in capacity and on duty of a member of the League of Nations, obtained concessions in Shantung and mandate of the former German territories in the south Pacific. The knots of Japan-China relations remained unsolved.

Washington Conference Structure

The Washington Conference, opened under the auspices of the United States in 1921, brought out the Naval Disarmament Treaty defining the 5-5-3 ration for Britain, the United States and Japan, and the Nine Power Treaty regarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China and the equal opportunity principle. Upon these two treaties was formed the so-called "Washington Conference Structure" that came to serve as foundation for all international relations in East Asia for the following decade or more. Its double aim was to guide the powers to cooperate effectively in order to check, on one hand, the Japa-

nese influence that had suddenly expanded over China during World War I and on the other hand to adequately face the anti-imperialistic movement that had risen throughout China during the same war.

Baron Shidehara, who held the post of Foreign Minister the longest period of time during the interval between the Washington Conference and the Manchurian Incident, was a well-known supporter of the Washington Conference Structure. Even the policies of the Tanaka Cabinet, which interfered with the revolutionary wars in China by twice dispatching armed force to Shantung (in 1927 and 1928) and which was responsible for the Tsi'nan Incident and the trapping to death of Chiang Tso-lin, were no exceptions to the rule. Japan participated in the signing of the Anti-War Pact drawn at Paris in 1928. Japan's foreign policy at that time was based on the principle of keeping within the Washington Conference Structure while driving her Continental program for economic and political interests in China as actively as would be permissible within that structure.

The Limited Armament Pact, concluded in London in 1930, was strongly opposed by the right-wing elements within the country. Even when the Privy Council was undecided, the Hamaguchi Cabinet of the time, to which Baron Shidehara was Foreign Minister, firmly stood for and finally effectuated the Naval Pact. This Cabinet admitted the fact of Japan's inability to keep a frightful naval race with Britain and the United States and of the necessity of close friendship with these two big powers for the sake of effectively coping with China which was now fast tending toward national unification. In 1930 Japan acknowledged China's tariff autonomy though still with various restrictive conditions. However, the antagonism of Japan and China still aggravated with regard to Manchurian railway problems.

After the failure of her Siberian expedition, Japan frequently negotiated with Russia for restoration of diplomatic relations, but the attempt did not succeed until 1925 when a basic treaty was finally signed

in Peking, by which Japan officially recognized the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Manchurian Incident

The worldwide economic panic of 1929 seriously affected Japan and caused her to wish for colonial expansion even by use of military force. The Japanese army worked out the blasting of the South Manchuria Railway at a point near Mukden in September 1931 and started on its occupation of Manchuria. In the following 1932, clash came in Shanghai between the Chinese and the Japanese army. Though the Shanghai fighting was pacified by intervention of the powers, the Japanese army went on with its plans in Manchuria and built a new independent state of Manchukuo under its complete control. By the Japan-Manchukuo pact in 1932 Japan was entrusted defense of Manchukuo and acquired monopolistic rights and concessions regarding railways and major natural resources of Manchuria. The League of Nations, on the basis of the reports of the Litton Commission which it had sent out to investigate the circumstances of the Manchurian Incident, refused to recognize Manchukuo and proposed in 1933 to place Manchuria under international supervision. Thereupon Japan withdrew from the League of Nations. Despite Japan's constant profession for her adherence to the Nine Power Treaty, the Japan-Manchukuo pact was a definite violation of it.

Japan now concentrated her efforts on the development of Manchukuo and at the same time executed her advance program over the Great Wall to north China. By the Tanku Agreement of 1933, a neutral zone was established along the southern side of the Great Wall and in 1936 a new government was set up over an area including Peking and Tientsin. Taking advantage of the neutral zone, Japan resorted to smuggling her goods into China, the amount reaching nearly a third of the entire imports to China and drastically damaging China's customs revenues.

The Soviet Union, which came to confront Japan by the establishment of Manchukuo, frequently proposed conclusion of

a non-aggression pact with Japan but was refused. In 1935, she ceded the North Manchurian Railway to Japan. Toward the end of 1935 Japan notified the powers of her relinquishment of the Washington Naval Pact and in 1936 she withdrew from the London Naval Conference. On the other hand, she entered in 1936 into an anti-communist pact with Germany for common defense against the Soviet Union. The Nazi Germany, a newly risen power in Europe, had also quitted the League of Nations.

China Incident

The tension in north China came to a rip by the Lukochiao Incident of 1937, during the first Konoe Cabinet. Fighting quickly spread to Shanghai and further on, and in five months the Japanese army occupied Nanking, the capital of China. About this time Japan proposed, through mediation of Germany, to negotiate for peace with China but was refused. Thereupon she published, in the midst of the aggravating situation, her statement for non-dealing with Chiang Kai-shek's Government. China was a good market for Germany as well as for Japan so that Germany was not particularly anxious about ending the China Incident at that point.

With the advance of Japanese occupation, beginning with Manchuria and now spreading over key areas in China, protest grew in increasing force from the League of Nations and the signatories of the Nine Power Pact, headed by Britain and the United States. Premier Konoe, in 1938, published Japan's aim for "Establishment of a New Order in East Asia". Foreign Minister Arita, in reply to the protest of the United States, pointed out the "mistake of judging by the prewar conception the new situation in China that had developed since the war". Japan now openly challenged the force of the Nine Power Treaty.

In her struggles for opening up a way out of the protracted war against the tenacious resistance of the Chinese people, Japan succeeded in winning over Wang Chao-ming one of the leaders of the Nation-

alist Party, and after obtaining extensive concessions over the entire area of China, had him establish his government in Nanking in the spring of 1940. It seemed at this moment that Japan had attained her purposed conquest of China. However, what Japan could really control over the vast area of China was only the principal cities, railways and directly adjacent zones. In north China, the Japanese army was under constant attacks of the Chinese communist army, while Britain and the United States further strengthened their assistance for China. In the north, the Japanese army was defeated by the Soviet force at Nomenghen and Changkufeng. Japan stood completely isolated in that tense international situation of the time. However, taking advantage of the international crisis in Europe, Japan succeeded in pressing Britain into recognizing, by the Anglo-Japanese Conference of July 1939, the special position of Japan in East Asia. Thereupon the United States came into counteract Britain's compromising attitude by notifying Japan of her abrogation of the Japan-United States Commercial Treaty. When war started in Europe in September 1939, Japan declared non-interference and concentrated herself on the solution of the China Incident.

Tripartite Alliance and negotiations with the United States

Around 1938 to 1939 a movement rose, led by the military, for strengthening Japan's liaison with Germany by a defensive and offensive alliance. Whether the assumed enemy for the projected alliance was to be the Soviet Union alone or also include Britain and the United States was an issue of loud dispute within the government and the general opinion was against the Army's claim for having the Soviet, Britain and the United States all on the opposite alignment. Many feared that close alliance with Germany in disregard of the strength of Britain and the United States which both had great amount of interests in China, would only deteriorate the desired prompt solution of the China Incident.

The dispute was put aside temporarily on Germany's most unexpected conclusion, in the summer of 1939, of a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. The overwhelming victory of Germany in the war which started in September of that year, had serious effects on Japan and the international situation in East Asia. Japan made the Dutch East Indies pledge continued exports to Japan of oil and some other desired goods and forced Britain and France to stop their assistance for China via Burma and Indo-China.

The Second Konoe Cabinet, formed in the autumn of 1940, got Matsuoka Yōsuke for its Foreign Minister and concluded the long disputed alliance with Germany and Italy against Britain and the United States as assumed common enemy. This was a turning point for Japanese diplomacy, for Foreign Minister Matsuoka, after conclusion of the Tripartite Alliance, succeeded in obtaining friendly relations with the Soviet Union and launched his program of linking the Axis Powers with the Soviet Union and letting them together confront Britain and the United States. Britain thereupon reopened the Burma route for Chinese assistance and the United States strengthened her embargoes on exports to Japan. For preparation for southward advance, Japan now occupied northern Indo-China. In the spring of the following 1941 Matsuoka went to Moscow and concluded the Japan-Soviet Neutrality Pact, which removed the fear in the north.

The matter stood as above when the final Japan-United States negotiation commenced in April 1941. It seemed possible at first that some compromise would be reached, but on closer deliberation on each other's propositions, hope of compromise receded. In June of the year Germany turned against the Soviet Union and began advance on Russian territory. Japan mobilized her force along the Manchurian-Siberian front but held hands off the war. On the other hand she pushed her southward advance into southern French Indo-China. Britain and the United States retaliated by freezing Japanese assets and the Japan-United States negoti-

ation came to assume the most discouraging aspects. The Konoe Cabinet, which desired compromise with the United States even by temporarily withdrawing the force from China, was made to resign and the Tōjō Cabinet, that succeeded, at once went on with war preparations. The so-called Hull Note, which the United States brought out in November of the year, demanded the dissolution not only of the Wang Chao-ming Government but also of Manchukuo, which meant in sum the bringing back of the East Asian situation to the status previous to the Manchurian Incident and which Japan thought she could not possibly accept. In December of the year Japan declared war on the United States, Britain and the Netherlands.

World War II and Japanese defeat

The Pacific War commenced by the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor of the Japanese air force, followed by Japanese occupation of Malay Peninsula and the Philippines and the surrender of the Dutch East Indian forces. The initial Japanese superiority met with effective counterattacks of the Allied forces after the Japanese defeat at Midway in June 1942. Guadal Canal was now given up and the subsequent progress of war on the Japanese side was of successive losses in the naval and air forces.

In June 1944 Saipan was occupied by the United States force and the Tōjō Cabinet was, chiefly through the pressure of the Elder Statesmen (*jūshin*), forced to resign in favor of the Koiso-Yonai Cabinet. The war situation further aggravated when the United States force regained the Philippines, landed in Iō Island and, based at the Marianas, commenced bombing of the homeland of Japan. Okinawa was landed in April 1945 and the Koiso-Yonai Cabinet was replaced by the Suzuki Cabinet. The Soviet Union notified Japan of non-renewal of the Neutrality Pact. Already at the Yalta Conference in February 1945 the Soviet Union had declared her decision to join the war against Japan. Germany's

overall surrender and the annihilation of the Japanese force in Okinawa were so decisive that Japan resorted to the Soviet Union to mediate for peace with the Allied countries. The Hirota-Malik talks and the proposition of sending Prince Konoe to Moscow for peace negotiation were answered by the Soviet's definite refusal.

The Allies published their Potsdam Declaration in July of the year, defining their attitude toward Japan. On Premier Suzuki's publication of Japan's intention to

disregard the Potsdam Declaration, the United States atom-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Soviet Union declared war on Japan and advanced into Manchuria and Korea. The Suzuki Cabinet held council twice in the Imperial presence and with the Emperor's decision it resolved to accept the Potsdam Declaration. On August 14, 1945, the Emperor issued his edict for ending the war. In September Japan signed the instrument of surrender and went under the Allied occupation.

History of Foreign Intercourse

Oriental countries

The earliest mention of the Japanese islands is found in *Gishi*, the official history of Wei Dynasty that reigned in northern China through the greater part of the 3rd century A.D. The fact that the bronze mirrors and some other objects excavated from old tombs in various parts of the Japanese islands are either Continental products or Japanese imitations shows intercourse with the Continent being carried at least through the peninsula of Korea in the 3rd century A.D.

The record of official intercourse with the Continent dates back to the middle of the 4th century, when Japan, under the Yamato Government, established its depot called Nihonfu in Mimana near the southern end of the peninsula. The Kingdom of Pakche, which held a genuinely tributary position toward Japan at this time, was an active introducer of the Continental civilization. Korean peninsula served as the bridge over which the civilization of China, the most cultured region in East Asia of the time, flowed into the Japanese islands. Religion, art, learning as well as manual crafts of China were brought over mostly by Korean immigrants who settled in the Japanese islands and taught the natives. Some great clans took in these Korean immigrants under their protection and grew in power and wealth through application of their advanced knowledge and

skill. In this way, silk-weaving, use of Chinese writing system and Buddhism with its accessory arts were gradually taken into the life and culture of the Japanese people. As a result, a sharp political conflict rose between the progressives or those clans that had taken advantage of the imported Continental culture and the conservatives who had missed the benefit of it. The victory in 587 A.D. of the progressives, led by Prince Shōtoku and the Soga Clan, further accelerated Continental intercourse and resulted in the transplanting of the exuberant culture of China in the valley of Yamato (Nara Pref.) and blooming forth out of it the fine Buddhist culture of ancient Japan.

Direct intercourse was now opened with the Continent. China, after the political confusion accompanying the decline and fall of the Later Han Dynasty, was unified by the Sui Dynasty in 589 A.D. In 607 and again in the following 608, Ono-no-Imoko was sent over as envoy from Japan to the court of the Emperor Yang of the Sui. On his second mission, Ono-no-Imoko took with him eight students to be educated in China. The fact that these students were all descendants of Korean immigrants shows the Korean predominance in cultural leadership of early Japan. The periods of their stay in China were long, fifteen years being the shortest. Takamuko-no-Kuromaro and Minamifuchi-no-Shōan, who both played important roles later in the history

of Japan, spent thirty-two years and Buddhist priest Min twenty-four years.

With the death of the Emperor Yang, the Sui Dynasty fell and was replaced by the T'ang, which, learning from the strengths and weaknesses of its predecessor, organized its empire on such solid political foundation that for the following three centuries it remained the biggest and strongest empire not only in East Asia but in the known world of the time. Proportional to its political greatness was the splendor of its civilization.

The above-mentioned Japanese students were in China during the time of this change of dynasties and witnessed the founding and growth of the great T'ang. On their return home they became leaders of the new political thought, that was soon to be put into practice by the Taika Reformation (645 A.D.).

They reported on the highly civilized conditions of T'ang China and urged more frequent Continental intercourse. The first envoy to T'ang was undertaken in 630 and up to the middle of the 9th century more than a dozen times were missions dispatched to the imperial court of China.

China, since very early times, had been the political and cultural centre of East Asia, where numerous kingdoms and empires succeeded one another. The surrounding nations had long been in the habit of sending tributes to the "Middle Kingdom" in grateful acknowledgment of their cultural debts. Japan was one of them. No doubt the imperial court of China regarded Japan as one of its many tributaries. However, Japan herself claimed an equal footing and consequently sent her envoys usually without credentials which had to be written out in a most humiliating tone and to which she consequently objected. Following the envoy of 630, three more missions had been sent out in 653, 654 and 659 respectively, when a tension rose in our diplomatic relations with China in regard to a Korean issue. The rivalry between Silla and Pakche in the peninsula of Korea came to an open rip in 660 when the former, in alliance with T'ang, attacked the latter. Japan, to

whom Pakche had held a tributary position, had now to confront T'ang in hostility. The Japanese mission, sent out in 659, was detained in China until 661 when, however, they were permitted to return home unmolested.

With the growth in power of the Kingdom of Silla Japanese power in the peninsula had been dwindling. On Pakche's request Japan sent out an expeditionary force against the allied forces of Silla and T'ang, suffered in 663 a decisive defeat in the naval battle at the mouth of Paikchun-kang and completely lost her foothold in the peninsula.

The Japan-China relations, however, recovered amicability with comparative speed. The T'ang Government, evidently desirous for Japanese friendship against the growing power of Silla which was fast unifying the Korean peninsula, sent an envoy to Japan and in return for it the sixth mission to T'ang was dispatched in 665 from the court of Japan. During the century following, as many as six missions went to China. This period practically coincides with our Nara period, noted for its brilliant, aristocratic culture, an outgrowth of the civilization of the great T'ang.

After the founding of the capital in Kyoto in the 9th century, two more missions were undertaken to the Continent with increasingly longer intervals. When toward the end of the 9th century the 14th mission was planned, a protest rose against making this long, dangerous voyage to the country of the already declining T'ang China, now torn by civil wars. The project was given up, this marking the end of Japan's official relations with T'ang China.

A mission-to-T'ang, in its typical form, consisted of the Ambassador, Deputy-Ambassador, other diplomatic officials, interpreters, doctors, clerks, cooks, carpenters and the crew and generally took with them students both lay and religious. The whole party often numbered 500 to 600 people, who boarded usually on a fleet of four ships. They sailed out from the port of Naniwa (present Osaka) across the Inland Sea to Hakata (Fukuoka), whence, wait-

ing for a favorable wind, they went into the open sea. In the early days the ships sailed up along the west coast of Korea and crossed to Shantung peninsula, where the party landed and travelled across the vast inland to Changan, the capital of the T'ang Empire. Later, very likely due to the hostilities that had grown with Silla, our ships crossed East China Sea directly to the mouth of the Yang-tze, from whence they sailed up the Great Canal northward. This course, however, was extremely dangerous and numerous cases are recorded of shipwreck, drifting southward or back to the port of departure and of people perishing in the sea or on remote islands of hostile natives. Almost none of the undertakings went safe both ways.

Of the countries lying around the Imperial T'ang, Silla in south Korea and Pohai, founded in 713 A.D. in northern Korea over to south Manchuria, had the closest relations with Japan. Silla one time took a tributary position toward Japan but gradually grew in power until it unified Korea and turned away from Japan. Pohai, always in a position rivalling Silla, frequently sent friendly envoys to Japan. They landed in Tsuruga on the northern coast (Fukui Pref.), the oldest port for Korean traffic flourishing until replaced by Naniwa. After the Japanese government's dropping off official intercourse with T'ang, Continental traffic was kept up chiefly by trading ships of T'ang and Silla, for which Dazaifu (whose ruins are seen today some distance south of the city of Fukuoka), a depot in Kyūshū of the central government in Kyoto for defense and diplomatic transactions, now became the trading centre. Buddhist priests, desiring to study in China, now obtained passage on these trading ships to the Continent.

Under the Sung Dynasty, which succeeded the T'ang in the 9th century, overseas trade came to assume greater importance and Chinese merchants often came to Dazaifu, whereas the Japanese of this period were as a whole inactive in trading field and simply awaited the visits of traders from other countries. When the court nobility of Kyoto began to lose power over

the provinces, the *bushi* or newly risen military class of Kyūshū carried on trade with Chinese merchants. Taira-no-Kiyomori, who usurped central political power in the 12th century, tried to enlarge Continental trade and put it under his direct control by moving the trading centre from the remote Dazaifu to the port of Hyōgo near Kyoto. His power, however, was shortlived and the Genji, the overlords of the *bushi* who had risen in the eastern provinces in rivalry to the Heike of western Japan, now founded under their rule a feudal political order. Foreign trade was again left in the hands of private adventurers. Trade with Sung China, however, flourished to some extent and the copper coins of the Sung Dynasty brought over from the Continent came to be circulated in Japan and as a result stimulated to considerable degree the rise of commerce within Japan. The history of mintage in our country goes back to the Nara and early Heian period but these earliest coins had for many centuries ceased to be in use. The money of Sung China now became accepted currency of Japan and throughout the Kamakura and Muromachi periods Chinese coins of the succeeding dynasties were taken in and circulated in our country.

Cultural intercourse followed trade. Various sects of Buddhism at different times were brought over from China and those that best suited the cultural conditions of the Japanese people stayed and flourished. The sects that in the 9th century Saichō and Kūkai brought over superceded the older sects of the Nara Period and won warm support of the court nobles of the Heian Period. From the 12th to the 13th century a new sect was introduced from Sung China by Eisai and Dōgen and obtained firm following among *bushi* who were the ruling class of the time. These Buddhist priests, returning from China, together with a number of Chinese priests coming over from the Continent, brought over not only religion but also literature and art. Literary compositions and calligraphic works of the Heian nobles who had well assimilated and refined in their own way the cultural importations from the

Continent were sometimes taken to China and were well received and appreciated.

The Sung Dynasty was under constant menace of the Kingdom of Kin that was founded in the middle of the 12th century by a Manchu people in the north, and was finally conquered by the Mongol Dynasty of Yuen that had risen further north of the Kin and destroyed the Kin Dynasty first on its way down on the Sung. The Sung fell in the middle of the 13th century. The Mongols in the steppes to the northwest of China were united under Jinghis Khan early in the 13th century and with their daring nomadic horseback tactics built a vast empire covering the greater part of Asia and reaching over Europe. When Jinghis Khan's grandson Khublai came to the throne of the Great Khan, Korea had been conquered and the Sung Dynasty of China had been brought to bay around the lower stream of the Yang-tze. The Great Khan now looked on the Japanese islands.

In 1268, Koryu or Korea sent an envoy with Khublai's letter ordering Japan to pay homage to the Great Khan. The actual ruler of Japan at that time was the Hōjō Family holding in loyal subjection all the feudal *bushi* of Japan. Being at its height of power, the Hōjō Government did not hesitate to refuse the command of the mighty Khublai. The same command was repeated three times more without response from the rulers of Japan. In October 1274, a Mongolian force, vanguarded by a Korean army, in vast fleets of 900 battleships, fell on the northern coast of Kyūshū. The islands of Tsushima and Iki were instantly swept away and the invading army landed on the coast of Matsuura (Nagasaki Pref.). Another division came to attack *Dazaifu*, the principal fortress for the defense of Kyūshū. A fierce battle commenced but the heavy-armored knights of Japan, trained in single combat to be ceremoniously commenced with each fighter proclaiming his name and illustrious ancestry aloud and long, were no match to the Mongolian horsemen who in great hordes swept like a terrific hurricane. Moreover, they brought over a

terrible weapon the Japanese *bushi* had had no knowledge of, missiles that exploded overhead with hellish noise, emitting fire and brimstone. But the day was undecided. At night, after the enemy had withdrawn to their boats, a terrific storm rose and capsized the greater portion of their ships. The spared vessels sailed back in fright to their Korean base. More than 13,500 Mongolian soldiers, a half of the entire expeditionary force, were lost.

Khublai, not giving up his plan of conquest, sent out a second expeditionary army seven years later. The northern coast of Kyūshū had been fortified with stone walls, which effectively repelled the landing attempts of the enemy. Molested by daring night attacks of Japanese soldiers, the Mongolian squadrons withdrew to the Island of Taka off the coast of Hizen and were preparing a new battle array, when a storm rose again one night and worked even greater damage than before. Mongolian men were drowned by tens of thousands. Those who landed on the Island of Taka were killed off or taken prisoners by the Japanese army. According to the Mongolian record, the men who reached home safely amounted only to a tenth or a little more of the entire expeditionary force which originally numbered around a hundred and forty thousand. It is interesting to notice that the typhoons that yearly devastate one part or another of the Japanese islands have in the past twice saved the islands from foreign invasions.

The Mongolian invasions, though successfully repelled, left long reaching effects on the national structure of the Japanese people. The fighting with the terrific Mongolian hosts and the long years of defense efforts—fear of further Mongolian attack continuing long afterwards—exhausted the strength of the feudal *bushi* to such an extent that the smaller of them became totally helpless in face of the growing money economy.

The Kamakura Shogunate stood on the strength of *bushi* of the eastern provinces whose economic foundation was a feudal agricultural system and who consequently did not show much interest in foreign

trade. On the other hand, feudal lords of western Japan such as Kyūshū and the provinces around the Inland Sea continued, as has been referred to before, trading with China and Korea even during and after the Mongolian invasions. In fact, Japanese traders increased in number around this time and became active and aggressive. The Mongolian Dynasty of Yuen and the Ming that succeeded the Yuen in the 14th century, together with the government of Korea, put restrictions on the number of Japanese ships to come to the ports of Korea and China. Thereupon they resorted to smuggling. It seems that Japanese smugglers date far back. They worked all along the Continental coasts, turning to pirates whenever occasion called. After the middle of the Kamakura Period, there were more pirates than traders among the Japanese visiting the coasts of China and Korea. They plundered and ravaged to such extent as to bring about the fall of the Koryu Dynasty in Korea. The Chinese called them *wakō*.

The third Ashikaga Shōgun Yoshimitsu, desirous for the profits of official trade with Ming China, suppressed *wakō* on request of the government of Ming. However, with the decline of the Ashikaga Shogunate, Japanese pirates were let loose again and their terrors continued throughout the period of civil wars to the time of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, under whose political unification of the country their activity was successfully suppressed.

The principal constituents of *wakō* were *bushi* of Kyūshū and other western provinces. However, they were not necessarily Japanese, Chinese adventurers being frequently included. Some Chinese records say that out of ten men in a band of *wakō* only two or three were Japanese, or no Japanese at all in some cases, Chinese raiders simply using the fearful name of *wakō*. The famous buccaneer Wong Tsi, who appeared in the latter days of *wakō*'s activity, was a Chinese as is seen by his name. But his fortress was in Gotō in Kyūshū.

When the civil wars were ended by the conquests of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, Europeans had been on the Japanese shores

for some time and our European relations were becoming increasingly important. However, as the last of major events in our Asian relations of the ante-modern times, the invasion of Korea under Hideyoshi must be mentioned. Though various suppositions and inferences have been made as to the motive of Hideyoshi's Korean expedition, it is beyond doubt that his real aim was the conquest, not of Korea, but of China. Not contented with the unification of Japan, the elated military adventurer now thought of subjugating China and even India. However, his knowledge of these countries was next to nothing and his tactical plans were fabulous and utterly lacked adequate preparations. Without knowing Korea's tributary position toward China, he demanded Korea to act as vanguard for his expeditionary army to China and on being refused he sent his forces to Korea in 1592 and for the following seven years the Japanese forces suffered severe rebuffs in the peninsula and on Hideyoshi's death they were too grateful to withdraw.

After this, no event of note occurred in our relations with Asian countries. Culturally speaking, Japan had learned all she could from China by this time. For trade it was already the age of world commerce led in by the Europeans.

European countries

Exactly half a century after Vasco da Gama's arrival in India in 1493 was Japan reached by Europeans. In September 1543, a big storm-beaten ship drifted on the shore of Tane Island off the southern coast of Satsuma (Kagoshima Pref.). The local officers, upon inspection, found some Chinese among the crew and through "writing talks" with them they found the wreckage was a Portuguese trading ship. One of the crew, by the name of Zeimoto, showed the mazed Japanese crowd his skilful handling of a new and most powerful shooting machine, a gun. The feudal lord of the island was very much pleased to have a piece of it presented to him and at once had his retainers learn how to make gunpowder. He soon succeed-

ed in manufacturing guns upon this model. This was the first contact of Japan with Europe, a gun being the earliest importation from the Western culture. The use of guns quickly spread among the warrior-lords of the time who were fighting for military and political supremacy over the Japanese islands. It revolutionized the warfare of heavy-armed horsemen that had been the solid tradition since the beginning of the *Chū-sei* or Middle Ages.

In a few years after this incident, a considerable number of Portuguese traders began to come over and trade with warlords of Kyūshū. Some thirty years later Nagasaki was opened for the increasing Portuguese trade. The merchandise most widely welcomed in Japan was raw silk brought over from China by Portuguese vessels, whose European goods were not much of importance.

The greatest event of our Portuguese intercourse was the introduction of Christianity into our country. St. Francisco Xavier landed in Japan on the 15th August, 1549. He had been, since 1542, evangelizing in India and neighboring regions and met in Malacca in 1549 a Japanese by the name of Yajirō, a native of Kagoshima, who after a life of adventurous wanderings had come to Malacca to hear the holy man preach a new religion. Xavier took great interest in Yajiro and the Japanese people he spoke of and decided to evangelize in Japan. He took Yajiro to Goa where he educated and baptized him, and two years later a party of eight missionaries, led by Xavier and with Yajiro as guide, landed after a long, turbulent voyage, in Kagoshima in 1549, on the Assumption Day.

From Kagoshima Xavier travelled to Yamaguchi, Hirado, Bungo (Ōita Pref.), and to Kyoto, where he tried to see the *Shōgun* and obtain his assistance for his mission work, but was unsuccessful in this attempt. However, many of the warlords of Kyūshū and Yamaguchi became favorably disposed toward him and gave help for his mission work, apparently because of the attraction of Portuguese trade to be brought to their own fiefs in return to their friendly support

for the Christian missionaries. Through Xavier's two years of evangelical activities in Japan, Christianity spread over Kyūshū and Chūgoku District. In face of increasing converts and necessity of more missionary workers, Xavier left Japan in order to arrange and send reinforcement to Japan. He himself now planned to work in China but shortly later, in December 1551, he died of illness in Shangsen Island.

Portuguese merchants and Jesuit missionaries actively cooperated in Japan for their several purposes, while many of the feudal lords of Kyūshū were drawn by the profits of foreign trade and consequently favored missionary activities in their fiefs. As seen in the terms of the Concordat of Augsbourg of 1555, even in Europe feudal lords controlled the religious beliefs of their people, so that it was quite natural that the Jesuit missionaries in Japan counted the friendship of feudal *daimyō* and strove first of all to obtain converts among them and their retainers. The Arima Family of Shimabara (Nagasaki Pref.) and the Ōtomo of Bungo became the foremost Christian *daimyō* of the time.

In 1559 the mission work was brought to Kyoto, the central capital of Japan, by Father Gaspar Vilela and two Japanese brothers. One of the brothers by the name of Laurenço, was a one-eyed *biwa* player and eloquent speaker who had been baptized by Xavier. It was the latter part of the period of civil wars when the *Ashikaga Shōgun* in Kyoto had lost all his power and even Kyoto and its vicinity had been swept away in the midst of contention among warlords. Despite the confusion of the time, however, the missionary work seems to have made considerable advance.

Around 1570, Oda Nobunaga, with his decisive victory over his rivals, practically unified the country. He was favorably disposed toward the Jesuit missionaries and permitted them a considerable degree of freedom for their activities. In 1579, Aressandro Valignano, Inspector of the Jesuit Society, came to Japan and organized the missionary system in the country by dividing the entire country into three

districts, Miyako (Kyoto and Chūgoku District), Bungo, and Shimo (entire Kyūshū excepting Bungo), and establishing schools, theological seminars and *shūrenjo* in each district. According to the report of 1582, there were approximately 2,500 converts in Miyako, 10,000 in Bungo and 115,000 in Shimo, and some 200 churches throughout the country.

A memorable event, connected with Inspector Valignano, was the sending of young Japanese boys to Rome as envoys from three Christian *daimyō* of Kyūshū. Valignano's purpose in this project was to have Japanese Christians pay respects to the Pope and the royal court of Portugal and request for their help for more missionary work in Japan and at the same time to show the Japanese envoys the greatness of Christian civilization of Europe.

Four boys, Mancio Itō, Michel Chijiwa, Julian Nakaura, and Martino Hara, all aged around twelve or thirteen, left in February 1582 and after two years and a half of difficult voyaging, reached Lisbon and were most warmly received there. Pope Gregory XIII formally received in audience these young boys from the eastern end of the world. Leaving Europe in 1586 they arrived home in 1590, to find their country greatly changed during the eight years of their absence. Their overlord Nobunaga, a friend to Christians, was killed by a rebellious vassal in 1582. After a short period of confusion Hideyoshi got power. At first this new master of Japan was not particularly hostile toward the new religion, but in 1587 he suddenly ordered prohibition of Christianity and expulsion of Christian missionaries. The cause of this sudden change of policy is not clearly known. However, it is easy to conjecture that he began to fear the religious ardor of Christian converts and their possible political alliance with foreign influence. He, however, looked on trade completely apart from religious questions and permitted continued visits of foreign merchant ships, while forbidding the coming of missionaries and ordering Japanese converts to give up their new religion and their

churches to be demolished. Christians went underground now and in 1588 some missionaries were executed in Bungo as first Christian martyrs in Japan.

The Portuguese who had, since their sailors' landing in Tane Island, long monopolized Japanese trade, now faced strong rivals. The Spaniards, after establishing a footing in the Philippines, came to Japan and began trade during Hideyoshi's time. Franciscans and Dominicans followed the Spanish traders and even after Hideyoshi's prohibition orders they smuggled into the country. Most of them were discovered and executed. The most memorable was the crucifixion of twenty-six martyrs, including Pedro Baptista and some other Franciscan fathers and Japanese converts, who had been caught in Kyoto and were executed in Nagasaki. All of them were later canonized by the Pope. Even during the time of such an event, trade with the Philippines seems to have gone on quite extensively.

Shortly after the Spaniards, the Dutch began to appear around the Japanese shores at the time when Hideyoshi had just gone and been superseded by the Tokugawa Shogunate. In 1598, a Dutch ship, the *Liefde*, stranded on the shore of Bungo. In 1607 the Dutch were licensed by Tokugawa Ieyasu for Japanese trade. Some time later the English came. In connection with our trade with the Dutch and the English, the name of the Englishman William Adams must be mentioned. He was the navigating officer of the shipwrecked *Liefde*, who, with the captain of the same ship Jan Joosten, was warmly received by the first Tokugawa Shogun and stayed on in Japan. He worked for Japan's good trade relations with the Dutch and the English. He was given a fief in Miura peninsula (Kanagawa Pref.), from which he took up the Japanese name Miura Anjin ("anjin" meaning "pilot"). He married a Japanese woman, had a son and died at Hirado in 1620. A monument to his memory is seen today in Yokosuka in Miura peninsula.

Sharp competition now rose among the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English traders, who brought over their political

rivalry at their homeland of Europe to Asian shores as far as the Japanese islands. The English, after ten years of attempts, gave up their ambition for Japanese trade and withdrew.

The suppression of Christianity continued under the Tokugawa Shogunate with varied degrees of severity. Missionary fathers from Portugal and Spain continued to steal into the country, braving all threats of terrible punishments, and many of them were caught and executed. They were denounced as propagators of evil religion and all Portuguese and Spanish ships came to be accused of carrying these evil believers to Japan and now put under strict watch. Moreover, the Spaniards caused the Shogunate to suspect their political scheming against Japan and were completely shut out, while the Portuguese traders, though still allowed to come, had to face the hostilities of the Dutch and the English on the sea all through their difficult way to the farthest Orient and on arriving in Japan they had to trade under strict supervision of the Shogunate. Their Japanese trade naturally declined.

Unlike Hideyoshi who was desirous for the profits of Portuguese trade while rejecting Christianity, the Tokugawa Shogunate held from the beginning a misgiving toward all foreign trade. It saw money economy rising out of it and sensed its fatal effects on the feudal system, now reorganized and strengthened in such a way that the Tokugawa dynastical rule might rest on this order in eternal peace and prosperity. In extreme irritation against the tenacity of Christian resistance, the Shogunate now limited foreign traders to Portuguese and Dutch, the former to trade only at Nagasaki and the latter at Hirado under further tightened regulations. At the same time it prohibited all Japanese to go outside Japan.

The rebellion of Shimabara broke out in 1613, led by the agricultural population of Shimabara and Amakusa who revolted against the heavy taxation and rigorous persecution of Christians by their feudal

lord. The rebels, including a considerable number of Christian *bushi*, fortified the ruins of Hara Castle, the old residence of the Arima Family, former lord of Shimabara, and bravely held out the expeditionary forces of the Shogunate. When the rebellion was finally suppressed, the Shogunate, giving out the cause of the rebellion to have been the waywardness of the Christians, redoubled the force of its religious persecution, until apparently Christians were exterminated throughout the country. Roman Catholic Christianity, however, lived on in utmost secrecy in the traditions of the populace around Nagasaki until it was rediscovered two and a half centuries later.

Portuguese were now forbidden, so that after the Shimabara rebellion only the Dutch who were found non-Catholic and religiously indifferent, were allowed to come, together with Chinese traders, to Nagasaki. Thus began the two centuries and more of Japan's total isolation from the rest of the world. Not only were the Japanese people prohibited to go abroad but also the Japanese emigrants, who had lived in considerable numbers along the coasts of southeastern Asia, making up influential colonies in such as Macao, Jakarta and Manila, were forbidden to come back. Out away from home, these Japanese overseas disappeared completely in half a century.

From now on to the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate, almost nothing to note took place with regard to Japanese foreign relations, excepting for what happened in the port of Nagasaki which served as a single, tiny window for the Japanese to peep through to the outer world. Social growth slowed down and feudalism was effectively defended.

The Dutch visitors in Japan were permitted to live only within the compounds of Deshima, an artificial island in the harbor of Nagasaki, and were strictly watched over against their mingling with Japanese people. What they brought to Japan by way of trade was insignificant and left almost no effect on the life of the Japanese

people in general. However, it cannot be overlooked that these Dutch visitors passed the fast-growing scientific knowledge of Europe to a very few aspiring Japanese and thereby prepared the people for the wholesale influx of European culture later on.

Meanwhile great changes were taking place in Europe, due to the advance of industrial revolution. The Europeans pursued with redoubled energy their economic expansion and conquest of the world. The Russians, after the occupation of Siberia, came out into Okhotsk Sea and on to the northern bounds of the Japanese islands. They came asking for commerce with Japan in 1792 and 1804. Britain, via India, Burma and Malaya, got Hongkong in 1842 from China, which had pursued the policy of isolation like Japan but which was now made to open Shanghai, Canton, etc. to

foreign trade. The United States, too, now crossing over the Pacific, began trade with China. To these Western countries, the isolation of Japan was quite inconvenient. They all came pressing on Japan. The Tokugawa Shogunate refused as long as they could hold out on the excuse of isolation having been the long observed policy of the country. However, the international situation had already developed to such a point that it would no longer permit Japan to keep herself aloof from the rising currents of the world. Those Japanese who, through their contacts with the Dutch, had some idea of the West, were the first to speak for the opening of the country. The call in 1853 of Commodore Perry, commander of the East Indian Fleet of the United States Navy, at the mouth of Tokyo Bay, signalled the termination of Japan's two and a half centuries of peaceful isolation.

Current Foreign Relations

Peace treaties and restoration of diplomatic relations

San Francisco Treaty

In September 1951, at the San Francisco Opera House, the Peace Treaty was signed between Japan and forty-eight of the Allied countries. It was duly ratified and took effect on April 28, 1952, Japan thereby regaining her sovereignty and re-entering as a full member into the current international society. With the Republic of China, India and Burma, which did not participate in the San Francisco Treaty, Japan concluded a separate peace treaty with each. Of the signatories of the San Francisco Treaty, those that have not yet ratified and consequently have not re-entered into normal diplomatic relations with Japan are, as of February 1956, the Philippines and Indonesia, with whom, however, diplomatic relations, very near normal, have been established through opening of consular offices (and such other means).

Current Status of Japan's Diplomatic Relations

With all the signatories of the San Francisco Treaty, excepting the Philippines and Indonesia, Japan has regained normal diplomatic relations through the ratification or exchange of official notes. The separate peace treaties with the Republic of China, India and Burma have all become effective as the necessary exchange of ratifications has been completed for each case.

Japan's current status of diplomatic relations, as of January 1956, is as follows:

1) 64 countries have recovered or newly opened diplomatic relations with Japan, of which 45 countries have duly ratified their respective peace treaties; 17 countries have exchanged simply official notes with Japan; 2 countries have practically recovered diplomatic relations with Japan through exchange of ambassadors or ministers.

2) 18 countries have not yet re-entered into diplomatic relations with Japan, of which Finland, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and the Philip-

pires have entered into virtual diplomatic relations through opening of consular offices.

With the Soviet Union Japan has been negotiating for peace at London since June 1955.

The United States Security Forces stationed in Japan and their installations

Strength of the United States Security Forces in Japan

According to the terms of the Security Pact signed at San Francisco between Japan and the United States, following the conclusion of the Peace Treaty, the United States has continued to station her forces in Japan and neighboring localities. The strength of the United States forces stationed in Japan, as of December 31, 1955, is:

- a) Far East Air Force..... around 2,000 planes
- b) The 7th Naval Fleet around 180 ships based on carriers and mobile force
- c) Land force 1 division and 2 regiments (1st Cavalry Division, 3rd Marine Regiment and 508th Aircraft Combat Regiment, of which the second is moving to Okinawa and the third to home shortly.)

In Okinawa are stationed 2 regiments of land force (75th Infantry Combat Regiment and 9th Marine Regiment).

A small force of the British Commonwealth as constituent of the United Nations Expeditionary Force to Korea, is stationed in Kure area, which, however, is to leave shortly.

Installations of the United States Security Forces

The amount of the installations and lands, used by the United States forces in Japan according to the terms of the Security Pact and the Administrative Agreement, is decreasing with curtailment of the stationed forces.

The number of cases and the areas of the above, as of April 1, 1955, are as follows (figures in parentheses are those of the practice grounds):

Total no. of cases	659 (65)
Lands (unit-1,000 <i>tsubo</i>)	
Total area	410,562 (316,699)
State-owned lands	227,267 (153,333)
Private or municipal lands .	183,295 (163,366)
Buildings (total floor space)	
Total area	3,487 (56)
State-owned	2,919 (55)
Private or municipal	568 (1)

Reparation problems

India and the Republic of China, each with a separate peace treaty with Japan, relinquished all claims to reparations. Cambodia has also expressed her intension of not claiming reparations from Japan. The countries with which Japan is currently concerned about reparations questions are Burma, the Philippines, Indonesia and Vietnam.

Burma

In November 1954, an agreement was signed with Burma regarding reparations and economic cooperation. This agreement, together with the peace treaty separately concluded, took effect on April 16, 1955 and it is now being carried out according to the itemized settlement signed on October 18 of the same year. It stipulates Japan's payment to Burma of \$200,000,000 worth of service and goods over a period of ten years and \$5,000 worth of economic assistance.

The Philippines

Reparations negotiation with the Philippines were started in January 1952 before the same question was taken up with Burma and in April 1954 an agreement was provisionally reached to the effect that

Japan should pay \$400,000,000 in such a way that the Philippines would thereby gain economic values of not less than a billion dollars. At the last moment, however, it failed to be signed because of the change of circumstances in the Philippines.

Indonesia

Reparations negotiation with Indonesia is still unsettled except the signing in Tokyo late in 1953 of the intermediary reparation agreement regarding Japan's salvage service to Indonesia.

Viet-Nam

With regard to Vietnam, a salvage service agreement was provisionally signed in September 1953, but it has not been put into effect yet by formal signing. No regular reparations negotiation has been commenced yet.

Introduction of foreign capital

Always suffering from lack of capital, Japan has, since the close of the war, shown particular concern, just as she did before the war, about inviting foreign capital. In 1950 she enacted "the Law in regard to Foreign Capital", by which the Japanese government has come to stand surety for the principal, interests and dividends of all foreign capital invested on its authorization in Japanese businesses. Apart from the above Foreign Capital Law, an agreement regarding the security of foreign investments has been signed with the United States and been in force since May 1954. This agreement stipulates that in case any part, principal or profits, of the private investments of the United States citizens under the Japanese government authorization becomes inconvertible into the United States currency or is confiscated or held up in any way, such a loss is to be covered by the United States Federal Government on behalf of the United States investor who is subject to the loss and the Japanese gov-

ernment is to disimburse the coverage to the United States government.

The number of cases and the amount of foreign capital invested in Japan, including those coming under the Foreign Capital law, as of December 31, 1955, are:

a) Technical assistance contracts (authorized cases)	501
b) Shareholding (authorized cases)	12,195 (¥15,567,367,000)
c) Beneficiary bonds	642 (¥ 285,042,000)
d) Debentures	9 (¥ 11,421,000)
e) Loan credits	46 (¥41,128,069,000)

Of the suppliers of capital, the United States comes first, holding some 70% of the total amount equally in technical and money investment fields. In matters of technical cooperation, Switzerland and West Germany come next to the United States. As for loans, those from the World Bank are predominant.

Japan's relations with the United Nations

Japan applied for UN membership in June 1952, but the application was vetoed by the Soviet Union in the Security Council in September of the same year. Japan has since on every possible opportunity striven to vindicate her qualification for UN membership. In the 7th session of the UN General Assembly the United States' proposition to acknowledge Japan's membership qualification was voted for with an overwhelming majority. However, until the 8th and the 9th session of the General Assembly, no definite prospect was obtainable as to the possibility of Japan's joining the United Nations.

Meanwhile Japan has with a goodwill participated in the activities of the subordinate organs of the United Nations. She has become a regular member of the International Court of Justice and of ECAFE,

joined one by one, nearly all of the subordinate organs and taken part in their meetings and other activities.

In November 1955, Canada proposed the lump admission of 18 countries to the United Nations and the bill was extensively supported, even the Soviet Union, who had firmly opposed Japan's admission, expressing her support of the bill on condition that Outer Mongolia be included in the 18 countries to be admitted. Japan's admission became hopeful.

The happy prospect was brushed aside, however, when at the Security Council meeting of December 13 of the same year, the Nationalist China vetoed the admission of Outer Mongolia. Thereupon the Soviet Union vetoed the admission of all the non-communist countries in the list and the bill was rejected altogether. Two days later, on December 15, the Soviet Union proposed the deliberation on the admission of the 16 countries on the list, excluding Japan and Outer Mongolia. The voting of the Security Council showed 8 pros, 1 con and 3 waivers, and in the General Assembly meeting of the same day the 16 countries were at once admitted, leaving out Japan and Outer Mongolia.

The United States, who had proposed addition of Japan to the 16 countries for admission and had been instantly vetoed by the Soviet Union, now made an advisory proposition for carrying the admission of Japan in the following 11th session of the United Nations. This was also vetoed by the Soviet Union, who, on the other hand, proposed the admission of Japan and Outer Mongolia jointly but failed to obtain support of any of the rest of the member countries. Britain now proposed a resolution for the prospect of the earliest possible admission of Japan, but the voting for this was indefinitely postponed for fear of the Soviet Union's opposition. The question of Japan's admission made only so much progress in the 10th session of the United Nations.

Cultural agreements

Japan prewarly concluded cultural agreements with Hungary, Germany, Italy, Brazil, Thailand, and Bulgaria. With the commencement of World War II, these cultural agreements were declared null or in temporary suspense.

After the war Japan exchanged notes first of all with the United States for plans of educational exchanges and has since signed the following five cultural agreements:

a) With France; signed on May 12, 1953; effective on Oct. 10, 1953.

b) Brazil; by Brazilian government's notice of May 23, 1953, the prewar agreement became affective again.

c) Italy; signed on July 31, 1954; effective on Nov. 11, 1955.

d) Mexico; signed on Oct. 25, 1954; effective on Oct. 5, 1955.

e) Thailand; signed on April 6, 1955; effective on Sept. 6, 1955.

These cultural agreements are all similar in content, stipulating for the greatest possible mutual assistance for promotion of cultural intercourse by means of a) exchange of publications, lectures, concerts, art exhibitions, radio programs, films, etc.; b) exchange of professors and students through scholarship awards; c) mutual study for acknowledging in one country of the degrees and other qualifications awarded by educational organizations in the other country; encouragement of cooperation between similar cultural organizations in the two countries.

On the basis of these cultural agreements, the following undertakings have been effectuated so far: Exhibition of French books (in Tokyo), French film festival (Tokyo), French art exhibition (Tokyo and other cities), exhibition of French medical books (Kyoto), participation of *Noh* drama in the Italian international dramatic festival (Venice), exchange of books between Japanese Foreign Office and the Middle and Far Eastern Institute of Italy, Italian film festival (Tokyo) and Mexican art exhibition (Tokyo, Osaka, Kurashiki, etc.).

Japan's Relations with International Organs

United Nations Subordinate Organs

Though not yet awarded regular membership of the United Nations, Japan has been admitted into such UN subordinate organs as the Economic Commission for Asia and Far East (ECAFE) and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and also in the UN Technical Assistance Plans. At the time of the formation of ECAFE, Japan was not included within the area under its competence. In June 1952, by approval of the 14th session of the UN Economic and Social Council, the ECAFE area was enlarged so as to include Japan as a provisional member. Japan obtained regular membership of ECAFE in June 1954. The 11th meeting of ECAFE was held in Tokyo in March-April 1955, at the Sankei Hall.

Japan received the first UNICEF aid in 1949 in the form of powdered milk and cotton material amounting to \$570,000. In 1953, \$10,000 was given Japan toward welfare work for crippled children and some \$300,000 for the relief of children suffering from damages of floods, typhoons, and cold weather. From 1955 on for three years, a yearly UNICEF assistance of some \$625,000 has been pledged for welfare of the children of Amami-Oshima. On the other hand, Japan contributed in 1950 the cost of transportation and processing of UNICEF supplies to Korea, amounting to some \$220,000 in money value, and since 1952 she has yearly contributed \$100,000 worth of supplies to UNICEF.

Japan signed in December 1953 the basic agreement with UNICEF and was in 1954 elected to its executive board.

For the UN Technical Assistance Program, Japan contributed yearly \$80,000 from 1952 to 1954 and \$90,000 for 1955. The current status of Japan's participation in the Program is as follows:

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
No. of fellows and scholars sent abroad	7	5	17	36	19	33
Specialists sent to Japan from abroad	0	0	1	4	3	1
Fellows from abroad to Japan	0	0	13	13	16	7
Specialists from Japan to abroad	0	0	2	7	5	4

United Nations Specialized Agencies

Joining the World Health Organization on May 16, 1951 was Japan's first step for participating in UN activities. She has since joined all the rest of UN Specialized Agencies in the following order:

Agencies	Dates of entry
World Health Organization (WHO)	May 16, 1951
UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	July 2, 1951
International Labor Organization (ILO)	Oct. 26, 1951
Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)	Nov. 21, 1951
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)	Aug. 13, 1952
International Monetary Fund (IMF)	Aug. 13, 1952
Universal Postal Union (UPU)	Sept. 10, 1953
World Meteorological Organization (WMO)	Sept. 10, 1953
International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)	Oct. 8, 1953
International Telecommunication Union (ITU)	Oct. 20, 1953

Japan's position in these UN specialized agencies is growing in importance. In ILO, WHO, UPU, UNESCO, IMF, IBRD,

and FAO, Japanese representatives have been elected on the governing board.

The International Court of Justice

Japan prewarly was a constituent country for the Standing International Court of Justice and three Japanese judges in succession were elected to its body of judges. She thus sufficiently shared in the prewar international efforts for peaceful solution of disputes among the nations of the world. When, after the war, the International Court of Justice was organized as a major constituent of the United Nations, by taking over the organization and activity of the prewar Standing International Court of Justice, Japan obtained regular membership of it in April 1954 and participated in the regular election and the special election for its judges, held in October of the same year and nominated a Japanese candidate for the regular election.

GATT

Japan, whose national economy depends much on foreign trade, naturally has great concern in international economic cooperation, so that she early expressed her desire for admission to GATT. She applied in July 1952 for customs negotiation as the preliminary step, and in September 1955, on completion of all necessary procedure, was properly admitted into GATT.

Colombo Plan

Japan was properly admitted into the Colombo Plan in October 1954 and for 1955 appropriated ¥40,000,000 in the national budget for the fund for sending out 30 Japanese specialists and receiving an equal number of students to Japan.

Other inter-governmental organs

The inter-governmental organs Japan is participating in are: International Raw Materials Council (raw cotton, pulp, paper, tungsten, molybdenum, manganese, nickel and cobalt committees), International Grains Committee, International Wheat Council, International Sugar Council, International Raw Cotton Trial Board, Indian and Pacific Fishery Council, International Whaling Committee, International Union of Governmental Travel Organs, International Red Cross Committee, World Veterinary Secretariat, International Freezing Association, Universal Central Bureau for Weights and Measures, International Hydrographic Bureau, International Irrigation Committee, International Criminal Police Board, Universal Union for Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, Universal Industrial Property Rights Protection Union, International Association for Unifying Private Laws, Hague International Council for Private Laws, International Criminal Laws and Prisons Foundation.

Aliens

During the Occupation, the General Headquarters of the Occupation Forces had control of the entry into and departure from Japan of aliens, as a part of their occupation administration. With the termination of the occupation Japan recovered her right of the visa system, which is employed by most other countries of the world. Although by the coming to effect of the Peace Treaty, Japan became a full

member of the international society, there are still a number of countries with which Japan has not, because of the complications of the reparations questions or of the present division of the world into two opposing camps, reopened normal diplomatic relations. She has not yet opened consular offices in these countries, where consequently no procedure is possible for her issuing a visa for entry into Japan.

The consular visa, from the current Japanese point of view, is simply one of the conditions for entry into the country, although theoretically speaking, the Aliens Entry and Departure Control Order is the sole legal foundation for the control of aliens' entry. The visa, given in a country where Japanese law has no force, is simply effective so far as it gives unofficial instruction to the homeland officials as to the desirability or otherwise of entry into Japan of an alien. However, the criterion of the desirability is defined in the same Control Order, so that people in a foreign country are, in effect, placed indirectly under the force of this Order.

The Aliens Entry and Departure Control Order was issued during the occupation as one of the Postdam Directives, and on coming to force of the Peace Treaty it has been given the force of a law. The same Order denies the conditions of the aliens who are, as a principle, to be precluded (Art. 5) and also the length of the term of stay according to the nature of the visit and the activity of the visitor in Japan (Art. 4), the nature of the activity of a visitor being thus emphasized as a weighty condition. An in-coming alien, who has obtained a visa, is to be examined once more at the time of actual entry when the final official decision is to be given as to permission or refusal of his entry.

During the occupation the qualification of aliens coming into Japan was greatly limited as it was to accord with the objective of the occupation, but since Japan's recovery of normal diplomatic relations with most countries and free intercourse with them, aliens coming into the country have naturally increased in number. The foreigners coming in and going out of Japan in 1955 counted double the number of those who came in or left in 1951, the year before the conclusion of the Peace Treaty.

When classified by nationality, the United States citizens come at the top of the list in number, as will be easily seen by the nature of Japan's international position. Next come the Chinese and the British. The notable difference between the Western visitors and the Orientals, like the Chinese and the Koreans, in Japan is that, while the foreigners in most cases leave Japan when they have finished their business here, the Chinese and Koreans stay far longer than most Westerners or plan to stay permanently in Japan, which is one of notable post-war phenomena with them. Thus Koreans and Chinese (mostly Formosan Chinese) are the alien groups with the longest records of residence in Japan, evidently due to the fact that through Japan's prewar possession of their countries many of them have had the foundation of their lives rooted in Japan.

When classified by occupation, those engaged in commerce count the most, and these commercial men are naturally concentrated in big cities like Tokyo, Osaka, Kōbe, Nagoya, Fukuoka, and Yokohama.

A phase peculiar to the current Japan with regard to the issue of resident foreigners, is the fact that, according to the Security Pact signed together with the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951, the United States keeps on stationing her Security Forces in Japan. The constituents of the Security Forces, including the civilians attached to them and all the families of the constituents are, by the Japan-United States Administrative Agreement, held outside the application of the Alien Control Order, so that their coming and going and their activities in Japan naturally do not come out on Japanese official records. However, it is a matter of course that they have connection with the activities of ordinary foreign residents as well as of Japanese people in general.

Present Status of Japan's Cultural Intercourse

Since the beginning of Meiji Period up to quite recently, the Japanese people have been busily occupied in taking in Western

culture so that our international cultural intercourse has been chiefly a one way flow. It was only during 1930's that Japan began

to feel the necessity of introducing her culture abroad and started a both-way cultural diplomacy.

In 1934 the Kokusai Bunka Shinkō-kai (the Society for the Development of the International Cultural Relations) was founded with governmental backing and began actively to engage in introduction of Japanese culture abroad. The Cultural Department of the Foreign Office was enlarged and, from 1938 on, it concluded cultural agreements with Hungary, Germany, Italy, Brazil, Thailand and Bulgaria, though nothing material was attained through these agreements owing to the outbreak of World War II. Around this time, the Society for the Development of the International Cultural Relations opened the Japan Institute in New York and until the commencement of World War II it was actively engaged in propaganda of Japanese culture in the United States.

During the war, our international cultural activities were centered chiefly on the southeastern Asian countries, from which students were invited to study in Japan. During the occupation after the close of the War, the United States' cultural activities and Japan-United States exchange of persons, financed by the United States, did much for promoting mutual understanding between the two countries.

After the coming to effect of the Peace Treaty in April 1952, Japan, on her recovery of her sovereignty and independence, began her cultural diplomacy on her own account. In the following 1953, she signed a cultural agreement with Brazil, Italy, Mexico, Thailand, and currently negotiations are going on for cultural cooperation with West Germany, India and Iran.

Our people have, since the close of the War, shown notable growth in their international outlook and consequently our cultural exchanges have become remarkably active, chiefly through the following channels.

UNESCO

The Japanese people, with their blunders in World War II, have naturally shown

great concern in the activities of UNESCO, whose purpose is to promote peace through educational, scientific and cultural cooperation among the countries of the world. Admitted into the organization in 1951, Japan has proved herself one of the most enthusiastic and most faithful members of UNESCO and has formed a centre of international activities for Asia by acting as host for various UNESCO seminars and symposia held since 1952. She has actively participated in UNESCO conferences, seminars and international plans and has supplied an increasing number of specialists on the advisory committees. It is to be noted that, through UNESCO, international cultural cooperation is promoted and strengthened, not over given areas and countries, but over the entire world.

Non-governmental International Organs

International cooperation of individual specialists in various fields through non-governmental intercourse is very significant. Until recently, non-governmental cultural organizations seem to have centered their activities on friendly relations with the Western countries. With the stimulus and encouragement given by UNESCO, various new fields have been opened up in international cultural cooperation and non-governmental organizations have come to be newly established with branches in areas so far overlooked. Branches of various international organizations have in this way been established in Japan. The Pen Club has had a Japanese branch for many years since the prewar days, but such as the International Theatre Institute (Kokusai Engeki Kyōkai), International Council of Museums (Kokusai Hakubutsukan Kyōgikai), International Music Council (Kokusai Ongaku Kyōgikai), International Association of Plastic Arts. (Kokusai Zōkei-Bijutsu Remmei), and International Federation of Translators (Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs) (Kokusai Honyakuka Kyōkai Remmei) have each backward in the field of world cultural cooperation, Japan's international position therein is

highly appreciated, and the activities of the Japanese national committees of these international cultural organizations are most decisive for furthering of Asian friendship and cooperation.

Western countries' growing interest in Japanese culture

It seems that during the seven years of the occupation, people from Europe and America came to live in Japan in increasing numbers and their close experience with things Japanese has contributed much to the recent growth of Western interest in Japanese culture. In the United States, Japanese culture has begun to be studied on an extensive scale. In Europe, Germany leads in this field and in many of German universities courses in the Japanese language and Japanese culture are coming to be permanently established side by side with the traditional courses in Chinese studies.

In 1951, on urgent request of the United States, a Japanese art exhibition was held in San Francisco and again in 1953 an itinerary exhibition of a similar kind was given in Washington, New York, Boston, Chicago and Seattle, covering the period of the whole year and was everywhere most keenly appreciated. Requests for similar undertaking have been received from France, Britain, Italy, the Netherlands and Switzerland. The New York Museum of Modern Art has had a *shoin*-style Japanese house built in its garden for exhibition. Japanese artists have participated in various international art exhibitions, including the Biennale of Venice and some others in Europe and not a few of them have won prizes.

Another notable phase is the current Western enthusiasm for translation of Japanese literary works. UNESCO is taking active part in this translation movement and has published its plans for translation of representative literary works of the world, including translation and publication in English and French of representative Japanese works both classical and modern.

International film contests seem to be the most effective means of promoting international understanding, particularly among the masses of different peoples. In the 1951 Venetian Film Festival the Japanese picture *Rashōmon*, and in the one given in Cannes in 1954 another Japanese production *Jigokumon* won the Grand Prix, and several other Japanese films have been awarded in various international contests. In the International Dramatic Festival held in Venice in 1954, the Japanese *Noh* drama participated and in the same year and again in 1955 the *Azuma-kabuki* dancers made a tour of Europe and America with notable success. It is to be regretted that in face of such a favorable atmosphere prepared for the introduction of Japanese culture abroad, neither the Japanese people nor the Japanese government is well prepared for effective cultural diplomacy.

International scientific cooperation

The award of a Nobel Prize in 1951 to Dr. Yukawa Hideki gave Japanese scientists encouragements and self-confidence, although the award was not necessarily the barometer for general levels of Japanese sciences.

In Japan today the Science Council of Japan (Nihon Gakujutsu Kaigi) is regarded as representative of all scientific societies in Japan and under its supervision delegates are sent to various international scientific conferences. The International Symposium on Theoretical Physics of 1953 and the one on Mathematics of 1955 were both held in Tokyo, evidencing Japan's active participation in international cooperation in scientific fields. The meetings of our non-governmental scientific organizations have often been participated by specialists from other countries and not a few of our scholars have been invited to lecture in European and American universities, as is seen in the instances of Dr. Yukawa and Dr. Suzuki Daisetsu and some others. The Japanese expeditions to Ceylon and other spots for participation in the international observations of the solar eclipse, the one to Afghanistan and also the

recent expedition to the south pole region as a part of Japan's participation in the international astrophysical observations of the earth to be carried out from 1955 to 1958—all these activities are notable instances of Japan's active scientific co-operation.

Cultural intercourse in Asian area

The Asian countries, despite their old cultures, are mostly those that have only since the close of World War II gained independence and belong to the group of so-called "economically underdeveloped countries". Beginning with the two Chinas, they present complicate economic and political relations. The complexity of their languages and cultural traditions of these countries makes it difficult for them to come to such effective cultural intercourse as seen in some other areas of the world. However, the desire of these countries for cultural cooperation is most urgent as seen in the resolutions passed at the Bandung Conference of 1955 and in the Asian Regional Conference held in 1956 by representatives of the UNESCO Asian national commissions.

Japan, since 1954, has annually invited some 20 students from various southeastern Asian countries and received technical students entrusted to Japanese institutions by the governments of these countries. She has also given, according to the UNESCO plans, technical assistance to the countries in this region. This, however, is only the beginning of Asian cultural cooperation requiring far greater efforts. In this sense, the annual holding of the southeastern Asian film festival, begun in 1954 by the leadership of Japanese film producers, is very significant. The Asian Cultural Conference held in New Delhi in 1955 by non-governmental international groups did much for opening up social intercourse among intelligentsia of different countries.

Cultural exchanges with Continental China has been, in the past few years, carried on with increasing activity and success. The visit to Continental China of

Ennosuke and his troupe was particularly significant as first successful introduction abroad of our *kabuki* drama. Japan, which has so far emphasized the importance of cultural intercourse with Western countries, is now turning to the Asian countries, which is significant particularly for the improvement of cultural living standards in these countries.

Lastly we shall list the principal organs which function as agents for Japan's international cultural activities:

Governmental organs. The Third Section of the Public Information and Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Foreign Office attends to conclusion and carrying out of international cultural agreements and also to all services for foreign inquiries and requests with regard to Japanese culture. The Education Ministry takes responsibility for domestic management for international cooperation in educational and scientific fields. The International Culture Section of the Research Bureau of the Education Ministry attends to the liaison and adjustment between international activities of different sections within the Education Ministry, and particularly to the business management for exchange of professors and students. Japanese National Commission for UNESCO has been established as an organ within the Education Ministry and attends to advice, planning, liaison and research in matters of UNESCO activities. The National Commission for Protection of Cultural Properties, which is also an organ in the Education Ministry, has much to do with introduction abroad of old Japanese works of art and also holding of art exhibitions at home and abroad. The National Diet Library is the principal organ for exchange of publications with foreign institutions, attending at present to exchange with 136 institutions in 25 different countries. The representative organ for scientific organizations in our country is the Science Council of Japan, which is under direct competence of the Prime Minister.

Non-governmental organs. The Society for International Cultural Relations, mentioned before, is not so active as to used

to be before the war, but still issues publications, runs a library and gives lectures for foreign students of Japanese culture. The International Student Institute (Kokusai Gakuyukai) manages the International Students' House and a Japanese language school. The International House of Japan was completed in 1955 for the cultural centre in Japan for international intercourse of intelligentia. This organization has for the past several years contributed much to exchange of persons between Japan and the United States. The Japan-France Society House was built in 1924 and has

a long history of cultural cooperation between the two countries. Numerous other organizations exist for mutual understanding and friendship between foreign residents in Japan and Japanese people.

It is to be added here that many big Japanese newspapers and major broadcasting corporations play important roles for international cultural exchanges through introduction of foreign art, music, dancing, etc., as seen in the instances of the Louvre Exhibition and the Mexican Exhibition recently given under the sponsorship of one or other of our major newspapers.

Study of Japan by Foreigners

The United States

After World War II enthusiasm for Japanese studies has been greatly enhanced in the United States. Of course the study of Japan was in evidence before the war, but articles on Japan in English were mostly written by the British authors such as James Murdoch, Pringle, Ray Atherton, Sir George Sansom and A. Welley. Very occasionally articles on Japan written by Americans were found, but they were mainly the result of their accidental interest or their long sojourn in Japan and not the result of academic research.

Under such situation the founding of the Harvard-Yenching Association in Harvard University stimulated interest in this field. The work of this association was centered on the study of China at the beginning, but it drove in a wedge for the study of the Far East. This fact means a great deal for the future study of Japan.

Meanwhile, the activities of the Institute of Pacific Relations in the 1920's had much to do with the promotion of research on Japan coupled with the expansion of research materials for the Far East at the U.S. Congress Library, and Columbia, California and Michigan universities.

As a result of such expansion the U.S. produced prominent authorities on Japan such as W.A. Aker, Hugh Borton, Charles

Fahs, Robert K. Reischauer, Edwin O. Reischauer, Alexander C. Soper, Joseph Yamaguchi, and Yanaga Chitoshi. Herbert Norman, a Canadian, was active in USA round this time. However, it cannot be said their works were particularly excellent and furthermore, they were numerically few. Their influence, was therefore limited. Also the handicap of language constituted a serious obstacle to the further study of Japan.

After World War II the number of Americans who engage in Japanese studies has greatly increased. Except in a few cases those who have no knowledge of Japanese language cannot be qualified as authorities on Japan. The following seven organs are engaged vigorously in the study of Japan.

University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

As part of the study of East Asia the Japanese language, fine arts, history and political science are included in Japanese studies. For those who specialize in the study of Japan a group system is employed. Here, Prof. Delmer M. Brown of history, Prof. Robert A. Scalapino, Prof. T.A. Bisson and Prof. Ronald H. Shively of political science are in charge of the group.

Since the founding of the Institute of East Asiatic Studies in 1949 for the purpose of conducting research on East Asia activities have greatly been enhanced.

Columbia University, New York. At this university the Japanese language and

history courses are included in the department of philosophy for the benefit of all students. In the graduate school there are the Chinese and Japanese departments and the East Asian Institute for regional studies. This institute was primarily set up for the benefit of graduate students who wish to study about China, Japan and also any other regions. However, China and Japan constitute the main part of studies. The seminar staff in connection with Japanese studies is made up of Prof. Hugh Borton, the former head of the institute; Sir George B. Sansom, Prof. Takeuchi Tatsuji, Prof. Harold G. Henderson and Shirato Ichiro, lecturer.

The sphere of studies includes language, history, law, politics, international relations, economics, sociology, arts and literature. This institute has produced many authorities on Japan.

Harvard-Yenching Institute, Harvard University. This institute was founded in 1928 with the legacy bequested by the late Charles M. Hall under the joint administration of Harvard University and the defunct Yenching University. The authorities on the Far East now active in the United States have more or less been influenced by this institute. The institute helped to enrich the course of Oriental studies while it was instrumental in the exchange of professors between the United States and China, Japan and Korea.

The two professors, Serge Elisseeff and Edwin O. Reischauer are on the staff connected with Japanese studies. They give lectures at the university while taking an active part in the administration of this institute.

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The number of books on Japan at this library in 1900 was only 140, but Prof. Asakawa Kan'ichi of Yale University donated 9,000 books on Japan when he returned to Japan in 1906. Since Miss Sakanishi Shio's appointment as assistant chief of the Japanese section in 1930 books on Japan particularly those concerning civic science and art had been collected. During her 10-year stay the number increased to 50,000.

Following the end of World War II the Occupation authorities in Japan re-

quisitioned the books on economics, natural science and industrial technology owned by various organizations belonging to the Japanese army. Out of the collection about 300,000 were donated to the Congress Library.

Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan. Since 20 years ago lectures on Oriental civilization had been given, but gradually emphasis began to be placed on the study of Far East.

After World War II Prof. Robert B. Hall with the support of the Social Science Research Council, advised the university to set up the center for Japanese studies. According to his advice the center was installed in 1947. This is the first such institute abroad where studies are concentrated on Japan.

It is a well-known fact that University of Michigan Library owns a great number of books on Japan. With the establishment of the center for Japanese studies a special library was set up, too.

There are 50,000 books on Japan and some 100 Japanese literary magazines are subscribed. The center is also equipped with its own printing office which has about 80,000 types of Chinese characters.

The center is headed by Dr. Robert B. Hall assisted by Dr. Robert E. Ward as assistant chief. On the staff there are Prof. Ronald S. Anderson and Drs. Richard K. Bearsley, James I. Crump, John W. Hall, Donald A. Holzman, James M. Plumer, Charles F. Remer, Shohara Hide, Mischa Titilf and Joseph K. Yamagiwa.

University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. At this university Japanese studies are being conducted at the Far Eastern and Russian Institute. Studies on China, Korea and Mongol are also conducted, but the Japanese study is particularly stressed. On the faculty there are Prof. Marian Jansen and Prof. John Mari.

There is a plan underway in a group of professors and students to compile biographies of modern Japanese political leaders with an effort to grasp the social conditions under which such Japanese politicians are active.

Yale University, New Haven, Conn. The late Dr. Asakawa Kanichi was appointed as professor of this university to give lectures on Japanese history in 1907. This must be the first time that lectures on Japan were given. Later in 1946 the Japanese studies were revived by Prof. Yanaga Chitoshi and such studies became the nucleus of the graduate studies on Eastern Asia.

The main study subjects are the Japanese language, literature and history, but after the war the social science studies have been taken up. The faculty is made up of Dr. Yanaga who heads the institute, and Drs. J. Le Roy Davidson, Amuel E. Martin, Johannes Rahder, David N. Rowe and Herold J. Siens. Among the professors emeritus there are Prof. John F. Embree and Prof. Kenneth S. Latourette.

England

This country can be called a pioneer in that it has produced such scholars on Japan as A. Welley, Sir George Sansom, Sir Ernest Mason Satow and Ray Atherton who became internationally famed.

This fact must be attributed to the amiable relations between Japan and England during the Meiji and Taisho eras (1868-1925). England sent to Japan many prominent diplomats and English instructors in a considerable number. Their contact with the Japanese culture prompted their interest in Japan and by overcoming the language obstacle they accomplished a great deal.

In prewar days London University was the only institution where Japanese studies were conducted, but the war and postwar conditions have given opportunities to the British to come into contact with Japanese things. As a preliminary measure the study of Japanese language has been taken up by many students at London University.

In 1947 Japanese lectures were started at Cambridge University followed by Oxford, Durham and Manchester universities.

University of London. Since the founding of the Eastern Studies Institute which is the predecessor of the present School of Oriental and African Studies the study of

the East had been on the road for progress. The school became known as a central organ for Oriental studies. Particularly after the War the increased need for Japanese language has prompted the activities of this school.

University of Cambridge. Following the appointment of Sir Thomas Francis Wade to the faculty of Oriental Languages (founded in 1866) lectures on the Far East were installed in 1888. Since then the Japanese studies were conducted in connection with the study of the Chinese language and history.

In 1947 the Japanese course was set up. On the faculty there are E.B. Ceadel, D.L. Keene, J. R. McEwan and another. During the three-year university course the students are required to take Japanese classics, modern literature, speaking language and history of literature. Also the Chinese language is taught as it constitutes an important element in Japanese language.

Italy

Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. This institute was founded in 1933 as an auxiliary organ of the Foreign and the Education Ministries with an aim to exchange cultures between Italy and the countries in the Middle and the Far East.

Since the founding the institute has contributed greatly to the promotion of cultural exchanges with the Middle and Far Eastern countries including Japan. It has sponsored lectures on Eastern cultures, held exhibitions, exchanged professors and scholarship students, collected books and publications and conducted research works. The institute has published a quarterly, East and West; and an academic magazine, "Serie Orientale Roma" and many other reading materials.

Australia

In connection with the history of Japanese studies the names of James Murdoch and Arthur Lindsay Sadler should not be omitted. Murdoch who was then professor

of the defunct 7th Higher School in Japan was invited by the Royal Military College to start Japanese lectures in 1917. This was the beginning of Japanese studies in Australia. In the following year he began to give lectures on Japanese language as part of the Eastern research course in Sydney. The teaching of Japanese language was continued for the next 20 years by Sadler.

The Australian interest in Japan is apparent in things connected with industries, foreign trade and immigration.

Netherlands

The State University of Leyden. It was the first institute which opened a course on Japanese language. In 1851 Dr. J. J. Hoffmann became the first professor of Japanese language and collected a number of books. In 1860 he made Japanese printing types which contributed greatly to the promotion of Japanese and Chinese studies.

After the death of Dr. Hoffmann his place was left vacant for some years till M. J. de Visser was appointed to fill the place in 1917. Dr. Visser is author of *Buddhism in Japan* and Japanese folklores.

Among his disciples there are famed scholars including Dr. C.C. Krieger of Utrecht University who is well versed in Oriental fine arts and Japanese language, J.L. Pierson, translator of *Manyōshū* (collection of 10,000 leaves), J.B. Snellen, translator of the *Nihongi* (oldest history in Chinese character) J. Rahder, successor of Dr. Visser, T. Volker, authority on Japanese fine arts and many prominent authorities.

Dr. Rahder who was professor at University of Leyden from 1931 to 1946 is well versed in philosophy of Buddhism and Japanese language. At present he is at Yale University in the United States. His place at Leyden has been filled by Dr. F. Vos. Dr. Vos is now translating the *Ise Monogatari*.

Canada

Canadian Institute of International Affairs. This institute was founded in 1928.

It operates studies of all the countries of the world and Japanese studies are conducted as a part of Asian studies.

Sweden

Statens Ethnographiska Museum, Stockholm. This museum owns collections of books on folklores and archaeology of the countries except those in Europe. The main collections concerning Japan include Carl Peter Thunberg collection of lacquer, clothes and clothing material and woodblock prints; H.M.S. Vanadis Collection of things connected with customs, habits and religions) and Didrik Bildt collection mainly of handicrafts. In the library there are books and magazines on Japanese fine arts and culture.

Czechoslovakia

L'institute Oriental de Prague. This institute was founded following the passage of a special law by both the Upper and Lower Houses in 1922. It belongs to the Education and Arts Ministry as a self-government body.

In 1953 it became part of the graduate school of Czechoslovakia. It consists of three departments. The present president is Dr. J. Prusek, who is professor of Chinese and Japanese languages at the University of Prague and member of the Czechoslovakia Academy.

This institute has published many articles on the East, and among those published periodically is included *L'Archiv Orientalni* and *Nouvel Orient*.

Chile

Universidad de Chile. The Pacific research course was established in 1951 in the history and culture investigation society of the philosophy department of the university. It conducts studies on histories, literatures, arts and languages of Australia and islands in the Pacific Ocean, Indochina, China, the Soviet Union, Japan and other countries in the Pacific. There are Pierson's

Chilean-Japanese dictionary, and the collection of Japanese poems of the Yoshino collection.

Isidro Suarez, graduate of the University of Chile, is in charge of Japanese studies and Oskar Kressler who taught in Japan many years is teaching Japanese language.

Germany

In Germany Japanese studies are included as Japanologie or Japankunde in the Oriental department of German universities since World War I. The Germans who came to Japan during the Meiji Era to teach studied about Japan while here and upon their return introduced Japanese things to the European countries. This became the beginning of Japanese studies.

In 1926 the Japan Institute was founded in Berlin and later the Japan-German Society was organized in Tokyo. The relations between the two countries became closer and the German interest in Japan increased. Following the rise of Nazi the political and military ties between the two countries became intensified with the result that the Japanese studies in universities were encouraged.

Among scholars on Japan can be enumerated Karl Lamprecht of the University of Leipzig, the late Prof Oscar Kressler of the University of Hamburg, Prof. Martin Ramming of the University of Berlin, Prof. Clemens Scharschmidt and the late Prof Trantz authority on Seibalt.

The Japanese studies at universities in Germany along with Chinese studies are progressing tremendously. Scholars are complaining the difficulty of obtaining magazines on academic studies and publications on the up-to-date science.

Finland

At Helsinki University the late Prof. Gustav John Ramstedt gave lectures on Japanese language and Prof. Kuwaki Tsutomu on modern Japan. Ramstedt published a book entitled "As Ambassador to Japan."

At present not much is being done on the line of Japanese studies. The Japan-Finland Association and "*Minasan Group*" (Everybody's Group) are engaged in Japanese studies and propagation of Japan.

As individual Mrs. Marta Keravuori, translator of "Japanese Legends" "Japanese Classical Poetry" and "Japanese Folklore" is best known.

France

Oriental studies in France were concentrated on China, India and Indonesia with the result that the Japanese studies there were passive and unorganized. However, as individuals there are many who are interested in Japan and engaged in the study of Japanese culture. There is quite a number of accomplished studies and collections.

Thanks to the efforts of Charles Haguenauer during and after the war plans are underway for more systematized studies. At the University of Paris a course on Japanese language and culture has been installed and progress has been realized at L'Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes and L'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Personal collections have been donated to the library and museum, too. Classified catalogues have been made.

L'Université de Paris. Under the jurisdiction of this university there are two organs which are in charge of Japanese studies.

1) La Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris has installed lectures on Japanese language, literature and culture since 1953. Haguenauer is in charge of this course. During the one year period between 1953 and 1954 he lectured on Japanese grammar, historic study, comparative study of Japanese language from the phonetic standpoint, "*Taketori-monogatari*" and formation and structure of Japan as a nation.

2) L'Institut d'Etudes Japonaises de l'Université de Paris:

This institute was founded at the initiative of the Japanese, but later it was merged

with the research institute of the university. In prewar days it helped Japanese students in France, gave assistance to Japanese scholars and men of culture and provided information on Japan.

At present it has stopped activities because of financial difficulties and help is requested of Japanese and French men of culture.

L'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. At this school studies of Japanese language and culture are mainly undertaken. There is no regular lectures though studies of Japanese literature and language are being done. The professor in charge gives special guidance to those students who are studying to write thesis. There is no examinations, but the students are requested to write thesis after three years' study and if the jury of the school recognize it, then the students are granted a B.A. degree.

L'Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes. The first course on Japanese language was founded in 1868 by Leonde Rosny and Joseph Dautremet. From 1932 to 1953 it was placed under the authority of Charles Haguenauer. At present René Siefert is head professor.

After three years' studies of theory and practical use of Japanese language those who have achieved outstanding scholastic standards are awarded a certificate. Also the students in the third year and graduates whose scholastic records are high are allowed to enroll in the University of Sorbonne where they can continue the study of Japanese language and culture on higher level.

Musée Guimet. This museum was founded in Lyon in 1879 and in Paris in 1885 by the late Emile Guimet, a businessman, who was deeply interested in the Oriental religious history. After his death it was attached to the National Museum and in 1945 it was placed under the administration of the Musée du Louvre and the books

belonging to the museum were transferred to the Musée Guimet. At the museum there are about 50,000 books on the Orient and particularly those on Japanese arts and archaeology and reference books are highly prized.

Musée Cernuschi. As part of the city museum it was established in 1896. Collections of books on ancient China and Japanese arts are in possession. Along with the Musée Guimet it provides important study material to the students of Japanese culture.

L'Ecole Internationale de Tanka.

It was established by Nagashima Hisayoshi, a Japanese resident in Paris in 1948. It has in possession translations of Japanese poetry of 31 syllables. This is frequented by those who wish to write poetry with in the spirit of Japanese tanka.

Belgium

Japanese studies were introduced in 1903 when Dr. M. Theo Gollier wrote a thesis "Japanese Political Structure." Since then some kind of Japanese studies has continued.

During World War I the library of this university was destroyed by the German army, but it was rehabilitated by the assistance from all over the world. By Japan more than 10,000 books on classics and various books on philosophy, religion, literature and handicrafts were donated to be utilized by those who wish to study about Japan. About 20 years ago Baron Satsuma started a course on Far Eastern civilization.

Portugal

At the Societdade de Geografia de Lisbon the Asian committee is conducting studies on Japanese as one of Asian countries on a small-scale.

VII SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Social Security

The social security system of Japan has achieved a remarkable development since the end of the World War II. The Constitution, promulgated in 1946, guaranteed the fundamental human rights of the people, affirmed the people's right to live, and classified the ideal of constructing a democratic welfare state. On the other hand, however, Japan's surrender to the Allied Powers brought about an overflow of repatriates, demobilizees and jobless persons, aggravation of the food situation, and severe housing shortage reaching several millions. Such economic and social confusion and difficulties have found their silver lining in a rapid development of the social security system, with the powerful backing of Constitutional affirmation of the people's right to live.

Public assistance and social welfare

The most notable of the post-war development of the social security system of Japan may be the establishment of the public assistance system in compliance with the enforcement of the Daily Life Security Law. A series of social welfare legislations, such as the Child Welfare Law, the Physically Handicapped Persons' Welfare Law, the Social Welfare Service Law, etc., have occurred thenceforth centering around the Daily Life Security Law, and have played

not an inconsiderable part in stabilizing the people's living during the years of intricate and straitened aftermath of the war.

Livelihood Protection

In 1946 the Daily Life Security Law was promulgated. This law prescribed that the State should provide necessary assistance to all of the citizen in need, irrespective of causes and without discrimination or preference, for the purpose of guaranteeing their minimum standard of living. The over-all amendment made in 1950 firmly established the modern and progressive character of the public assistance system, both in name and reality.

Kinds of assistance. The assistance consists of Livelihood Aid, Educational Aid, Housing Aid, Medical Aid, Maternity Aid, Occupational Aid, and Funeral Aid. The scope of assistance is decided within the limit of necessity for the minimum living of respective household. The standard of each aid is established by the Minister of Health and Welfare taking the actual living conditions into consideration, and, up to the present, amendments have been made thirteen times in accordance with the rise in commodity prices and in the standard of people's living. The Livelihood Aid is provided at a recipient's home or by placing a recipient in an appropriate institution, of which the former is the principle. The aids are provided by means of benefit in money

excepting the Medical Aid, which is provided by means of benefit in kind from its specific nature.

Organs of assistance. Enforcement organ of assistance is the mayor in cases of cities and the prefectural governor in cases of towns and villages. The organ in charge of actual operation of assistance is the Welfare Office, established one per 100,000 population roughly by cities or prefectures. Paid, full-time Social Welfare Secretaries are stationed in such Welfare Offices, who take charge of the matters pertaining to daily life assistance, and the Welfare Visitors (unpaid, voluntary) cooperate with them. The number of the Welfare Offices is 1,024 at present.

Expenses of assistance. As a preliminary step the prefectures and cities, of which the head is the enforcement organ of assistance, stand total expenses, and, thereafter, 80% of them is defrayed out of the National Treasury. In other words the rate of disbursement of the State to the prefectures and cities is 8 to 2.

Protective institutions. For a recipient of assistance needing to be placed in an appropriate facility various protective institutions are established throughout the country. The kinds of protective institutions are Home for the Aged, Relief Institution, Rehabilitation Institution, Hospital and Clinic, Work Providing Institution and Public Lodging. No person other than prefecture, city, town, village, the Japanese Red Cross Society and social welfare juridical person can establish such protective institutions. As of March, 1955, the number of these institutions was 1,299 where 77,766 persons were cared for, but the accommodation capacity was and has been too limited to admit all those needing in-door protection.

Present status of protection. As of March, 1955, the number of recipients of public assistance was 1,931,000 (21.4 persons per 1,000 population) and the monthly assistance expenses were ¥3,470,000,000. The budget for public assistance in the fiscal year 1955, ¥ 34,652,000,000, was seven times as much as the amount of the fiscal year 1947, when the Daily Life Security Law was put into force, and the increase

in the expenses for medical aid is most remarkable. The rate of medical aid to the total expenses for public assistance swelled from 36% in 1951 to 52% in 1955. This marked increase was due to the development of medical treatment and medicine, increase in the number of beds in hospitals, rise in medical fee, etc., and similar rapid increase is observed in the amount of medical care benefits of various medical insurances. The number of persons who, though receiving no livelihood aid, cannot bear medical expenses has been increased, and 38.1% of the medical aid recipients was receiving no other kind of aid. This percentage was 53.7% and 73.6% in cases of tuberculosis and mental disease respectively, for which a long hospitalization is necessary.

Child Welfare

In December, 1947, the Child Welfare Law was promulgated as an over-all legislation to promote the welfare of children.

Discovery of and measures for children in need of care. When a child without guardians or with inadequate guardians is discovered the prefectural governor, the mayor of city, the headman of town or village give advice and guidance, or, if necessary, place the child under the care of a foster home or of other proper guardians, or of such child welfare institutions as Day-Nursery, Mothers' Home, Infant Home, Children's Home, Home for Mentally Handicapped Children, Home for Blind, Deaf and Dumb Children, Home for Physically Weak Children, Home for Physically Handicapped Children, Home for Juvenile Training and Education. In March, 1955, there were 1,711 child welfare institutions, public and private, throughout the country where 81,813 children were cared for. The number of day-nurseries and of children accommodated was 7,939 and 623,812 respectively, and 14,948 foster parents were registered.

Expenses. The expenses necessary for taking these measures are preliminary disbursed by the prefecture, city, town or village which has carried out the measures concerned (as for the National Juvenile

Home for Education and Training the expenses are disbursed by the National Treasury), and, later, in the case of the prefectural disbursement the National Treasury bears 80% of it and, in the case of the city, town, or village disbursement, the treasury of State and prefecture respectively bears 80% and 10% of it. If in such cases the recipient or the persons responsible for his care are able to meet the total or partial expenses, the expenses are collected in accordance with their expense-bearing capacity.

Organs of consultation and guidance.

As organs of consultation and guidance pertaining to the matters mentioned above, 122 Child Welfare Centers, 1,024 Welfare Offices, and 783 Health Centers have been rendering services. As full-time specialized caseworkers Child Welfare Officials and Social Welfare Secretaries are stationed respectively at Child Welfare Centers and Welfare Offices. Child Welfare Centers are in charge of consultation and, if necessary, of guidance of children and their families with complicated problems needing special diagnosis. Health Centers are in charge of medical examination of children and of expectant and nursing mothers, of medical consultation of physically handicapped children, and give necessary medical guidance to them.

Physically Handicapped Persons' Welfare

In 1949, the Physically Handicapped Persons' Welfare Law was promulgated with the object of promoting the welfare of physically handicapped persons by carrying out necessary protection works for their rehabilitation.

Physically handicapped persons. The "physically handicapped persons" used in the Law are those having optical disability, auditory disability, verbal disability, disability in limb or trunk, and disability in nerve center, whose handicaps are severer than the stipulated degrees, and, at the same time, those received physically handicapped persons' handbook. As of March, 1955, the respective number of physically

handicapped persons and those received the handbook was 501,739 and 432,300.

Welfare measures. For the physically handicapped persons rehabilitation consultation service is rendered; medical, psychological and vocational diagnosis is made; medical treatment is so given that the functional disorder may be relieved as well as vocational capability may be recovered; prosthetic appliances are provided; and suitable vocational guidance and training are carried out accommodating them in rehabilitation institutions.

Protective organs. The consultation and guidance services on the whole fall within the jurisdiction of Welfare Offices and Social Welfare Secretaries are in charge of casework. However, for the purpose of dealing technically with the matters pertaining to consultation, guidance, and diagnosis, the Rehabilitation Consultation Office for Physically Handicapped Persons is established in every prefecture, to which 830 Physically Handicapped Persons' Welfare Officials are attached as specialized caseworkers.

Rehabilitation Institutions. As rehabilitation institutions four national and eighteen public and private ones are established. The number of persons accommodated is respectively 708 and 2,385.

Expenses. As for the expenses necessary for the protection of physically handicapped persons, the National Treasury disburses total expenses in relation to national institutions and 80% of those borne primarily by prefectural or city treasury. In case a physically handicapped person or the persons responsible for his care have expense-bearing capacity, the total or partial expenses are collected from them.

Measures for sick and wounded ex-soldiers. To the physically handicapped persons whose disability has been due to war wounds or disease contracted at the front the invalidity pension or one-time allowance is granted. Aside from it they are entitled to the medical operation or treatment with the object of lessening the degree of their physical handicaps as well as to the delivery and repair of prosthetic appliances, totally at State charge. Those hardly move

about because of severe physical handicaps are accommodated in two National Convalescent and Recuperation Homes.

Private Social Welfare Activities

As private organizations cooperating with public welfare activities as well as carrying out such activities voluntarily, the Social Welfare Council, the Community Chests and the Welfare Visitors System are established.

Social Welfare Council. Launched under the Social Welfare Service Law of 1951. Regional organizations set up voluntarily by those engaged in or interested in social welfare work, with the object of promoting the welfare of the inhabitants concerned. The Council were organized up to 1955 in approximately 80% of total cities, towns and villages, playing an active part in the matters concerning protection of needy persons and physically handicapped persons, promotion of child welfare, improvement of public sanitation, betterment of living conditions on the whole, and the like.

Community Chest Campaign. The Community Chests and the Social Welfare Councils are like the two wheels of a cart. The start of the Community Chest movement as the Red Feather Campaign was in 1947, 4 years earlier than that of the Social Welfare Council. Since then the Campaign has been carried out choosing October as its month, in order to afford financial support to private social work institutions and other welfare activities. Community Chests are established in prefectures, cities, towns and villages, conducting the campaign as well as determining the allocation of contribution taking the suggestion of Social Welfare Council into consideration. As of 1954 the amount collected was ¥1,084,000,000, which was distributed to 13,494 institutions.

Welfare Visitors. Welfare Visitors are volunteers who, with the spirit of serving the community, make efforts to promote general social welfare through protection and guidance of the needy persons living within regional communities. Though the history of this Welfare Visitors System

dates back to 1917, the Welfare Visitors Law of 1948 is the legal basis at present. The Minister of Health and Welfare commissions them every three years upon recommendation of members of the Welfare Visitors Nomination Committees established in the areas of cities, towns and villages. The post is a honorary one without recompense. The Welfare Visitor holds concurrently the post of the Child Welfare Worker and makes efforts to promote child welfare, in parallel with engaging in the community organization work as a composing member of the Social Welfare Council. The number of the Welfare Visitors is 125,000 at present.

Social insurances

Side by side with the public assistance, the social insurances have been playing the most important part in the social security system of Japan. The Social Security System Council, established in the Cabinet in 1948, submitted the "Advice on the Social Security System" to the government in October, 1950. This advice pointed out, aside from matters concerning the public assistance system, public sanitation, etc., the necessity of consolidating medical, pensionary, and other social insurances for the general public. However, it is an undeniable fact that the driving force in the great strides of development of social insurance system in the post-war years was nothing else but the extremely necessitous circumstances of people's living. This fact is sustained by the statistics that 70 to 80 percent of total employees is now enjoying the advantages of medical, unemployment, accident compensation, old age and/or invalidity insurances, while approximately 65% of the total population is making good use of medical insurance.

Medical Insurance System

The first social insurance established in this country was the medical insurance system, for which the people's demand had been continued since early. There are six kinds of insurances covering the workmen and employees on the whole: Health In-

insurance (for the general employees), Day Laborers' Health Insurance, Seamen's Insurance, National Public Service Mutual Aid Association, Mutual Aid Association for Staffs of City, Town and Village, and Mutual Aid Association for Teachers and Employees in Private School. As a system opened to the self-employed, farmers, and persons not covered under the abovementioned insurances, the National Health Insurance is carried out establishing regional area as a unit. Generally speaking, such medical insurances are being confronted by financial difficulties brought about by the marked increase in benefits for medical treatment. The impossibility of rating up the premium, which has almost reached the limit, is inevitably resulting in steadily increasing demand for the national subsidy.

Health Insurance

Established in 1922 as the first social insurance system in Japan; the nucleus of kinds of medical insurances.

Insurer. The Health Insurance Program is administered either by the government or by the health insurance societies. Such societies are formed, with the approval of the government, by the employers regularly having 300 or more employees in the working places.

Insured persons. Any person who is employed in a firm, factory, or other working places regularly having 5 or more employees is covered, except a few kinds of occupations, under the Health Insurance Program compulsorily. Any person who is employed in a working place regularly having less than 5 employees is also covered under the program, when the employer obtains approval of the prefectural governor concerned with the consent of not less than one half of the employees. As of March, 1955, the number of the insured persons of the insurance under government and of the one under societies was respectively 4,940,000 and 3,220,000, while the number of the dependents was 7,114,000 and 6,150,000; these figures have been showing the continuous increase.

Insurance benefits. Under the Health Insurance an insured person is entitled to

medical care benefit, sickness or injury allowance, delivery expense, maternity allowance, nursing allowance, and funeral expense. However, the occupational sickness and injuries are not covered under this Insurance.

The medical care benefit covers total medical fee in the case of an insured person except the fee at the time of his first consultation, and one half of the fee in the case of a dependent of an insured person. For one case of sickness or injury of the insured medical care benefit is given for a period of 3 years. The benefit is, in principle, provided in kind, such as medical examination, supply of medicines, medical operation, hospitalization, and the like, through the panel doctor whom the insured person has chosen from among those designated by the prefectural governor concerned.

Sickness or injury allowance is granted when an insured person is incapacitated for work. The amount is equal to 60% of his monthly standard emoluments (maximum: ¥36,000; minimum: ¥3,000). The maximum period of granting this allowance is 6 months in usual cases, 18 months for tubercular diseases.

Delivery expense, maternity allowance, and nursing allowance are given when an insured female is incapacitated for work because of giving birth to a child. When the spouse of an insured person gives birth to a child, delivery expense for spouse and dependents' nursing allowance are granted.

Funeral expense is paid when an insured person or a dependent of him dies.

For health insurance societies additional benefit is approved besides the established one as mentioned above, and in some Societies the benefit covers total amount of expenses in case of a dependent of an insured person.

Financial resources. Except the office expenses disbursed by the National Treasury financial resources for the Health Insurance Program are contributions. The sum of contribution is, in the case of the insurance under the government, obtained by multiplying 0.065 to the monthly standard emoluments of the insured and is shared principally in equal proportion by the em-

ployer and the insured. While in the case of the insurance under society management the rate may be determined by the respective society within the range of 3% to 8% of the monthly standard emoluments. The average rate was 6.2% in 1955, and in many cases the employers shared a larger part.

Day Laborers' Health Insurance

The effort to establish a health insurance system for day laborers could not but pause at technical difficulties and it was in November, 1953 that the program was at last put into force.

Insurer and insured persons. The insurer is the government. The insured person is a day laborer employed in a working place under the application of the Health Insurance, in an unemployment relief work under the Emergency Unemployment Measures Law, or in a public undertaking.

Insurance benefits. The kinds of benefits are medical care benefit for an insured day laborer and his dependents, delivery expense and funeral aid. The term is 12 months. To receive such insurance benefits the insured person must satisfy the condition to pay contributions of (1) 28 days or more within 2 months, or (2) 78 days or more within 6 months.

Financial resources. In view of the special character of the employment of day laborers the stamp system is adopted as the method of collecting contributions. The amount of daily contributions is 16 yen in the case of 160 yen daily wage or more, and 13 yen in the case of less than 160 yen, of which the employer bears 8 yen in both cases. The National Treasury disburses 10% of the benefits in addition to the official expenses.

National Health Insurance

In 1938, a sickness insurance system was established with the inhabitants of certain regional area as its insured persons. At the outset this program was carried out by associations establishing city, town or vil-

lage as a unit, but, since the amendment of the basic law in 1948, public management by city, town, or village has become the principle. This National Health Insurance Program has often encountered difficulties since its start, and it was even on the verge of collapse immediately after the war as the result of drastic economic fluctuations. However, 63% of total cities, towns and villages throughout the country carried out the program in 1955, and the number of the insured exceeded 26,000,000 persons. Further development is expected as the nucleus of the coming medical insurance system for all the people.

Insurer

As a principle, cities, towns and villages are the insurer of this program. The insurers other than those municipalities are the Regular and Special National Health Insurance Association, of which the former had been established since prior to the amendment of the law, and non-profit corporate juridical persons, but they are limited in number. The Special National Health insured persons was 26,638,000 in March, 1955, which corresponded to 48.41% of the eligible population of the National Health Insurance program (55,000,000).

Insurance benefits

In addition to the most important medical case benefit the benefit concerning child-delivery and death is granted. As the kind, scope or extent of such benefits is, different from the Health Insurance program, not provided for by law but is left to the decision of respective insurer, financial conditions and inhabitants' convenience inevitably bring about some disparity. As for medical care benefit, for example, approximately 50% of the expense is borne by the insured in most cases, but some of the insurers disburse total expense necessary for the benefit.

Financial resources

The insurer can collect the insurance contribution. Since the amendment of the Local Tax Law in 1950 the municipal insurer (city, town or village) has been able to collect insurance due through the Nation-

al Health Insurance Tax (objective tax). Though some disparity is observed in relation to the insurance due and insurance tax, the averaged annual share of a household was 2,292 *yen* in the fiscal year 1954. The national subsidy covers total office expense, and one third of the expense in relation to the establishment of hospitals and clinics, operated directly by this program, and public health nurses, of which the amount reached as much as ¥2,200,840,000 in the fiscal year 1955. The granting of national subsidy covering 20% of the medical care benefit has been realized since the fiscal year 1953 in response to the long-cherished demand of the insurers, and contributed to the repletion of insurance benefits by extricating the insurers from severe financial difficulties resulted from the increase in the amount of medical expense. The subsidy in the fiscal year 1955 amounted to ¥4,797,000,000. However, even the realization of such subsidy could not but find it difficult to solve at a stroke the financial stringency of the insurance program lasted for several years, and, furthermore, the continuing increasing tendency observed in the expenses for medical care benefit seems to indicate thorny prospects. On the other hand, the money transferred from the general account of municipalities is playing an important part in maintaining the municipal insurance economy, with amounting to a considerably large sum in total.

Public Health and Medical Care Facilities

One of the characteristics of the National Health Insurance Program is that efforts are put forth for prevention of sickness; in other words, the program has the advantage of making possible the cooperative activity with public sanitation programs of the city, town or village concerned. Most of the cities, towns and villages station public health nurses as the nucleus of the public health programs, who numbered 4,453 in the fiscal year 1954. Besides, in recent years, many insurers have been establishing clinics and hospitals under their direct management, at which services concerning the prevention of sickness and medical con-

sultation are rendered as well as the business concerning medical care benefit. There have been established 345 hospitals and 1,927 clinics under the direct management of insurers up to March, 1955.

Seamen's Insurance, National Public Service Mutual Aid Association, Mutual Aid Association for Teachers and Employees in Private School, Mutual Aid Association for Staffs of City, Town and Village—Outlines will be given later, as they are the insurances of over-all character in which long-term benefits are furnished as well as medical care benefit.

Welfare Pension Insurance

The Welfare Pension Insurance was established in 1941 as a pension system for the employed persons. Though the program was once driven in on the threshold of losing its *raison d'être* consequent on the aggravation of post-war inflation, its defects were diminished by the amendment of the basic law in 1954.

Insurer. Insurer is the government.

Insured persons. In the same way as the Health Insurance Program, all persons employed in working places in which five persons or more are regularly employed are insured under this program. Any insured person whose insured term of coverage is 10 years or more but less than the years eligible for the old age pension and who is disqualified as insured is able to continue to be insured upon the approval of the authority concerned. The number of the insured persons was 7,882,000 in March, 1955.

Insurance benefits. The kinds of benefits are old age pension, invalidity pension, invalidity allowance, survivors' pension, and retirement allowance.

Old age pension is granted when a person whose insured term of coverage is 20 years or more (15 years or more in the case of an insured underground miner) is disqualified as insured after attained the age 60 (55 in the case of an insured underground miner or a female), or when such person attains the age 60 after disqualified as insured. There are some exceptional prescriptions in relation to those applying for admission after the age 40. The amount of

the old age pension consists of basic and additional pension. The basic pension consists of a flat amount of ¥24,000 and a sum equal to 0.5% of the average monthly standard emoluments (the maximum of monthly standard emoluments: ¥18,000; the minimum: ¥3,000) multiplied by the number of months of the insured term of coverage. For instance, the basic pension of a person, whose average monthly standard emoluments are ¥10,000 and the number of months of the insured term of coverage is 20 years, is ¥36,000 annually. The additional pension, a sum of ¥4,800, is granted on behalf of the spouse and each child (under 18 years of age or having physical mental handicaps.)

Invalidity pension and invalidity allowance. Invalidity pension is granted when an insured persons whose insured term of coverage is 6 months or more became disabled in an established degree, and its annual amount is classified into 3 classes in accordance with the degree of disability: (1) Class 1—above-mentioned old age pension plus ¥12,000, (2) Class 2—an amount equal to the above-mentioned old age pension, and (3) Class 3—an amount equal to 70% of the above-mentioned old age pension. Invalidity allowance is a one time allowance granted when the degree of disability is minor and not falls within the three classes established in relation to the eligibility for the invalidity pension. The amount of an invalidity allowance is an amount equal to 140% of a basic pension.

Survivors' pension is granted to the survivors in certain stipulated cases such as when a person eligible for old age pension or invalidity pension of class 1 or class 2, and when a person whose insured term of coverage is 6 months or more dies while he is in the employment, etc. The amount of a survivors' pension is equal to one half of the old age basic pension plus additional pension.

Retirement allowance is granted when a male insured person, whose insured term of coverage is 5 years or more, is disqualified as insured after attaining the age 55, and when a female insured person, whose in-

sured term of coverage is 2 years or more, is disqualified as insured.

Financial resources. The financial resources of the Welfare Pension Insurance consist of the contributions and the national subsidy. The rate of contribution is 3% of the monthly standard emoluments (3.5% in the case of an underground miner), and the contributions are shared in equal proportion by the employers and the employees. The national subsidy is granted to bear the administrative cost required for the operation of the program, as well as to share the expenses for benefits in an amount equal to 15% (20% in the case of underground miners) of the total amount of benefits payable to the insured. The reserve fund of the Welfare Pension Insurance amounted to ¥113,534,000,000 in August, 1955, which has been utilized on behalf of the welfare of the insured as a kind of loan for the construction of dwelling houses and hospitals of the employees.

Unemployment Insurance

The Unemployment Insurance Law was promulgated in 1947, and, in 1949, the scope of the insured persons was enlarged in parallel with the launch of the Day Laborers' Unemployment Insurance.

Insurer and insured persons. The insurer is the government. Any person who is employed in a working place regularly employs five or more employees is covered under the program compulsory, except certain kinds of occupations.

Insurance benefits. The Unemployment Insurance Benefits are granted when a person is disqualified as insured whose insured term of coverage is 6 months or more during the period of 1 year prior to the day of unemployment. The amount is equal to 60% of the daily standard emoluments and not exceeds the stipulated maximum of ¥460. The period for granting the benefits is less than one year from the day of unemployment, and three classes of maximum limit, i.e., 90 days, 180 days, 270 days, are prescribed in compliance with the period of employment. The benefits are granted provided that an unemployed person applies for employment to the Public Employment

Security Office and receives the recognition of unemployment. The benefits are granted after the lapse of the waiting period of seven days.

Financial resources. The financial resources of the program of the Unemployment Insurance consist of the contribution and the national subsidy. The national subsidy is granted to bear the administrative cost required for the operation of the program, and to share one third of the expenses for benefits. The rate of contribution is 1.6% of the monthly standard emoluments, and is shared in equal proportion by the employers and the employees.

Day laborers. Day laborers and those employed under contract of a period of 30 days and less are also insured under the program of Unemployment Insurance, provided that they are employed in the working places within certain stipulated areas, to which the program is applied.

The daily amount of benefits is ¥140 in the case of class 1 and ¥90 in class 2. The benefits are granted on condition that the contribution for 28 days in total has been paid during the period of 2 months. Though the period of receiving benefits is different the accordance with the amount of contribution, the maximum period is 17 days a month. The contribution is ¥6 in the case of class 1 and ¥5 in class 2, of which ¥3 are borne by the employers. The National Treasury shares one third of the expenses for benefits.

Workmen's Accidents Compensation Insurance

Simultaneously with the promulgation of the Labor Standard Law in 1947 prescribing the compensation of workmen's occupational accidents, the Workmen's Accidents Compensation Law was promulgated with the object of securing and facilitating the compensation by employers in compliance with the provisions of the Labor Standards Law.

Insurer. The insurer is the government.

Applicable occupations. The occupations to which the program is applicable are divided into compulsory and voluntary ones.

The former is the occupations of which the potential frequency of accidents is comparatively high, such as manufacturing, mining, transportation, construction, and the like, and to the occupations other than these the program is applied upon voluntary application of them.

Insurance benefits. The kinds of benefits are compensation expense for the medical care, compensation expense for the rest, compensation expense for the disability, compensation expense for the survivors, funeral expense and compensation expense for lump sum payment.

Compensation expense for the medical care bears the total amount of the expense for medical care needed as the result of an occupational accident, when it exceeds ¥1,000.

Compensation expense for the rest is granted in the amount of 60% of the daily average wage when an insured person takes rest for 7 days and over as the result of an occupational accident.

Compensation expense for the disability is granted in the amount from the average wage for 50 days to 1,340 days when any disability as the result of an occupational accident remains after an insured person has recovered from injury or disease.

Compensation expense for survivors is granted in the amount of the average wage for 1,000 days when an insured person dies.

Funeral expense is granted in the amount of the average wage for 60 days when an insured person died, to the person who carries out the funeral rite.

Compensation expense for lump sum payment. In case the injury or disease of the insured receiving the grant of medical care compensation is not recovered after the lapse of 3 years from the commencement of the medical treatment, the average wage for 1,200 days is granted to the effect that thereafter all of the compensation are brought to a close.

Financial resources. The financial resources are the contributions borne only the employers. The rate of contribution is provided for on the basis of the frequency of accidents of respective kind of enterprise. The Merit System is adopted in

relation to certain enterprises for the purpose of bringing about the rationalization concerning the decrease in accidents and contribution amount to be borne.

As for public service personnel, similar compensation program is carried out: the National Public Service Accident Compensation Law covers regular government service personnel, while other laws are put into force on behalf of special government service personnel.

Seamen's Insurance

The Seamen's Insurance Law was promulgated in 1939 with the object of securing the seamen's livelihood, taking their specific labor environment into consideration. The characteristic point of this insurance lies in the fact that it is an all-in-one insurance in which such benefits as medical care, pension, unemployment and accident compensation are included.

Insurer and insured persons. The insurer is the government. The insured persons are those seamen provided for by the Seamen's Law.

Insurance benefits. Though the kinds and details of the benefits are much the same as those of Health Insurance, Welfare Pension Insurance and Workmen's Accidents Compensation Insurance, the pecuniary level is a little higher than that of the land workmen consequent on the specific feature of the seamen.

Financial resources. The financial resources of the program consist of the contributions and the National Subsidy. The rate of contribution is 161/1,000 (shipowners—112/161; seamen—49/161) of standard emoluments in the case of those to whom the unemployment benefit is granted, while, in the case of those to whom no unemployment benefit is granted, the rate is 145/1,000 (shipowners—104/145; seamen—41/145).

Mutual Aid Associations

National Public Service Mutual Aid Associations. Organized in every Ministry or Agency for the national public service personnel, public corporation personnel and prefectural public service personnel. Act-

ing for the program of Health Insurance, it also furnishes benefits most the same as the "pension" to those employees who excluded from the application of the Pension Law. (The "pension" hereinbefore referred to is the life-time or one-time benefits granted to certain qualified public service personnel or family thereof after the retirement or death, by the state or local public entities.)

Mutual Aid Association for Staffs of City, Town and Village. Organized in every administrative areas of prefectures for staffs of city, town or village. In addition to the medical care benefit as in the case of Health Insurance, pension or one-time allowance is granted for the employees to whom the above-mentioned "pension" under the Pension Law is not applied.

Mutual Aid Association for Teachers and Employees in Private School. Organized for teachers and employees in private school. The benefits are most the same as those of National Public Service Mutual Aid Association.

Conclusion

The above-mentioned is the outline of the present status of the social security system in Japan. Though other efforts which can be considered as links in the chain of the social security program are observed in the field of social welfare, medical care or public sanitation, it is omitted out of space consideration. In conclusion, a numerical bird's-eye view of the scope of social security program in Japan will be given below.

The estimated expenses for social security in 1954 aggregated ¥464,355,000,000, which accounted for 7.5% of the total national income of the same year, ¥6,197,000,000,000. The expenses for social security in the national budget in the fiscal year 1955 was ¥165,660,000,000, which corresponded to 16.7% of the total budget, ¥991,457,000,000. If the pension for ex-soldiers, etc., is excluded from the expenses for social security, the rate decreases to 9.4%. The increasing tendency of such rate observed in these years can be said to show the enhancement of social security

program in Japan, but there still remain many defects seeing from the viewpoint of an over-all coordination. It has become of

utmost necessity, in consequence, to simplify and unify the ramified insurance systems into a smart, well-balanced one.

Population Problem

In postwar Japan population changes have been taking place more rapidly, probably, than ever before in a civilized nation. These changes have brought correspondingly rapid social changes, and they are expected, moreover, to have a serious effect upon the social and economic life of the Japanese people in the very near future.

Before going into any explanation of these rapid postwar population changes, let us examine briefly the way of the population changed during the 50 years beginning in the late 19th century as a result of the modernization of Japan. It is a well-known fact that, during this fifty-year period, the process of modernization and the transition to modern population conditions was very rapid. In 1872, not long after the Meiji Restoration, the new government carried out a census of the population with the object of establishing a modern national registration system. The result showed that the population was approximately 35 million. At the time, the government was making great efforts to modernize Japan, but the desire for improvement and reform was such that even an industrial revolution on the European model did not seem sufficient; there were even some who argued for "racial improvement" by introducing European blood into the Japanese race. This is just an episode that proves how desperate the Japanese were at that time to modernize the nation. The years before the beginning of the twentieth century can be called the era of preparation. Modernization began to develop very rapidly once this century had begun. As it progressed, the rate of increase of the population also began gradually to climb. In 1911 the population was 50 million; by 1925 it had increased to 60 million; and in 1936 it was 70 million. The population of Japan had, thus, doubled during the 64 years since 1872. Figure 1 illustrates the rate of increase during this period.

It is estimated that in 1872 approximately 85% of the employed population was engaged in the primary industries (agriculture, forestry and fishing), whereas in 1920 the percentage had decreased to 54%, and in 1940 to 44% (Table 9). Modern industries came to develop in the large and medium-sized cities, and the population quite naturally tended to center around those cities. In 1899, only about 9% of the entire population lived in cities larger than 50,000, but in 1920 this percentage was about 16%, and in 1940 it had grown to over 34%. Modernization in Japan had created, generally speaking, four great agglomerations in the population. The first was the area centering around Tokyo; the second was the area around Osaka, Kyoto and Kobe; the third was around Nagoya; and the fourth was the area in Northern Kyūshū around Fukuoka. Just before the World War II, one-third of the entire Japanese population was living in the 7 prefectures that held these large cities within their boundaries.

From 1920, when modernization in Japan seemed to have achieved a fairly high level, the birth rate started to decrease, following a decrease in the mortality rate. This decrease in the birth rate, however, was so slow that it had no influence on the natural rate of increase, which rose still higher with no sign of coming down.

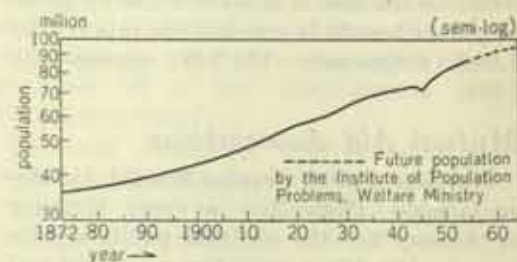


Figure 1. Population Growth in Japan

At the most recent census, taken in 1955, the population of Japan was 89.3 million. Calculations of subsequent births and deaths, together with emigration and immigration figures, bring last year's population, as of July 1, to an estimated 90.9

Table 1. Population Growth in Japan (1920-1957)

Year	Population in thousands as of Oct. 1	Annual Average Increase Rate
1920	55,391	1.3%
1925	59,179	1.5%
1930	63,872	1.4%
1935	68,662	1.1%
1940	71,400	0.2%
1945	72,200	2.9%
1950	83,200	1.4%
1955	89,276	1.0%
1957	*90,900	

Populations for 1920-50 are based on population censuses and adjusted to the area of Japan's territories in 1950.

Source: Bureau of Statistics, Estimates of Yearly Population in Japan, 1953.

*July 1, current population estimated by the Bureau of Statistics.

million (Table 1). Japan now has the fifth largest population in the world after China, India, Soviet Union and the United States. With her defeat in the war, Japan lost 46% of her former territories and at present covers an area of only about 370,000 square kilometers. This great population, in other words, is living in an area approximately that of the State of California. Consequently, the population density is very great and about 246 people are living in each square kilometer. This population density is third only to Holland and Belgium. But topographical conditions in Japan must also be taken into consideration. In Holland and Belgium, two-thirds of the land can be used for cultivation, whereas in Japan, with its many mountains, the proportion is only one-sixth.

In 1945, directly after the war, the population of Japan was about 72.2 millions. This means that in the 12 years since the war there has been an increase of about 18 million people. The population of Thai-

land and Burma is about 18 million, so that in these 12 years an added population equivalent to the total population of one of these 2 nations has appeared in Japan.

There was a temporary decrease in the population after the war. Casualties among servicemen were estimated at about 1.8 million, and among civilians at 0.3 million. Yet on the other hand, 6.3 million Japanese were repatriated from abroad after the war, while only 1.2 millions foreigners left Japan. Furthermore, there was a baby-boom from 1947 to 1949, and the mortality rate dropped considerably. Thus, the postwar population increase soon covered the decrease caused by the war and went on to rise still higher. Nevertheless, since 1950, in spite of the drop in the mortality rate, the birth rate has dropped so suddenly that the population increase curve is levelling off quite rapidly.

Table 2. Crude Vital Rates (1920-1956)

Period	Birth Rate per 1,000	Death Rate per 1,000	Natural Increase Rate
1920-24	35.0	23.0	12.0
1925-29	34.0	19.8	14.2
1930-34	31.8	18.1	13.7
1935-39	29.1	17.3	11.8
1940-43	30.1	16.0	14.1
1947	34.3	14.6	19.7
1948	33.5	11.9	21.6
1949	33.0	11.6	21.4
1950	28.1	10.9	17.2
1951	25.3	9.9	15.4
1952	23.4	8.9	14.4
1953	21.5	8.9	12.6
1954	20.0	8.2	11.9
1955	19.4	7.8	11.6
*1956	18.4	8.0	10.4

Figures computed by the Welfare Ministry.

*Provisional.

As can be seen from Table 2, the mortality rate since 1947 has been dropping very quickly. The recent mortality rate is eight per thousand—half of what was before the war. This figure falls into the lower bracket among the civilized nations of the world. One further factor, however, should be taken into consideration—that the aver-

age population age in Japan is still quite low and the aged population, with its high mortality rate, correspondingly small.

The main reason for the drop in the mortality rate is that deaths caused by infectious diseases, especially acute contagious diseases, have decreased notably.

Furthermore, this improvement stems from the drop in the infantile mortality rate and the remarkable strides made in the treatment of tuberculosis among young people. The life-expectation of the Japanese people became 17 years longer within the twenty years from 1936-37 to 1956-57 (Table 3).

Table 3. Expectation of Life at Birth (1921-1957)

Life Tables	Period	Male	Female
Bureau of Statistics, No. 4	1921-25	42.06 years	43.20 years
Bureau of Statistics, No. 5	1926-30	44.82	46.54
Bureau of Statistics, No. 6	1935-36	46.92	49.63
Welfare Ministry, No. 8	1947	50.06	53.96
Welfare Ministry, No. 9	1950-52	59.57	62.97
Institute of Population Problems, abridged No. 10	1956-57	63.02	67.12

If one considers the life-span of women, however, which is 70 years in more than ten of the civilized nations of the world, it is clear that the mortality rate in Japan has not yet come down to a satisfactory level.

In the three years from 1947 to 1949, thanks to the postwar marriage boom and the subsequent baby-boom, the birth rate rose higher than the prewar level. Since 1950, however, the curve has been going down rapidly at a rate rarely observed before. The birth rate in 1956 was only half that in 1920, when the birth rate was the highest ever known in Japan. The rate for 1956 was just about the same as the birth rate in France, and could probably be rated among the lowest in the civilized nations.

If the present mortality rate continues and each woman in Japan gives birth to 2.3 babies in her lifetime, the population of Japan in the future will neither rise nor fall but become stationary. According to the figures for 1956, the women of Japan are each giving birth to 2.36 babies, so the increase rate is coming very close to a halt. And if the birth rate continues to curve downwards for some years in the future, a decrease in the population of Japan may well be expected.

The reason for this sudden drop in the birth rate can be found in the impoverish-

ed living conditions prevailing directly after the war and to the endeavors made to raise living standards. The method used to cut down the birth rate was at first, in most cases, abortion, since knowledge of contraception was limited to the larger cities.

In 1949, the Welfare Ministry, following a decision made by the National Council of Pharmacy, gave permission for the manufacture of large numbers of different contraceptives. Knowledge about contraceptives was, thus, gradually propagated, but the more convenient method of abortion still remained more prevalent, and even showed signs of increasing. In order to prevent illegal abortions, the Eugenic Protection Law was amended in May, 1949, and, as a result, abortion was legalized in a large number of cases. In 1951 the government, trying to prevent abortion in the interests of the mothers concerned, decided on a policy of further propagating knowledge of contraceptives. In 1952, when the Eugenic Protection Law was again amended and the legal procedures for abortion made simpler, new provisions dealing with the popularization of contraceptives were added at the same time. In 1954, the Foundation-Institute for Research on Population Problems proposed that the government take action to spread knowledge of family planning as part of

its policy for solving the population problem. In 1953, the Welfare Ministry had established a Population Problems Council as an advisory body to discuss population problems, and this Council in 1954 recommended that the government should work to spread the practice of family planning not, as hitherto, with the idea of protecting the mothers only, but as an integral part of its population policy. The government, that same year, decided to take resolute action along these lines.

The Welfare Ministry is working—relying chiefly on 845 Eugenic Protection Advice Bureaus scattered throughout the country—to give guidance, individually and collectively, on how to plan a family. In this, many civic organizations also are co-operating with the Welfare Ministry. As a result of such work, the number of abortions, which increased so greatly after the war and which reached a peak in 1955, seems to be showing a gradual tendency to decrease (Table 4). Knowledge of family planning, on the other hand, seems to be spreading gradually (Table 5).

Analyzing these trends in birth and mortality rates, the Institute of Population Problems of the Ministry of Welfare has

Table 4. Abortions reported under the Eugenic Protection Law

Year	No. of Abortions (unit: 1,000)
1949	246
1950	489
1951	638
1952	798
1953	1,068
1954	1,143
1955	1,170
1956	1,156

Table 5. Proportion of Couples Practising Contraception where Wife's Age is under 50

Year	Whole Country	Urban	Rural
1952	22%	28%	18%
1954	33	37	30

1952 data are from a sample survey by the Institute of Population Problems, Welfare Ministry and 1954 data from a sample survey by the Welfare Ministry.

made an estimate of Japan's population in 1965, based on the figures (male, female, age) obtained in the 1955 census, and they have further extended their estimate to 1975 (Table 6), assuming that the fertility

Table 6. Future Population as estimated by the Institute of Population Problems, Welfare Ministry (Unit: 1,000)

Year	Total	Age Group		
		0-14	15-64	65 and over
1955	89,275	29,992	54,558	4,724
1960	93,371	27,599	60,434	5,338
1965	96,398	22,925	67,363	6,110
1970	99,579	20,635	71,960	6,984
1975	102,729	20,626	74,254	7,850

Table 7. Hypothetical Crude Vital Rates in Future Population estimated by the Institute of Population Problems, Welfare Ministry (per thousand)

Period	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Increase Rate
1955-60	16.8	7.9	8.9
1960-65	14.1	7.7	6.4
1965-70	14.5	8.0	6.5
1970-75	14.9	8.7	6.2

rate of women at any given age and the mortality rate according to sex and age as estimated for 1965 would remain constant. As Table 7 shows, although the rate of increase of the population may continue to go down because of the decrease in the birth rate, yet somewhere around the year 1971, according to this assumption, the population of Japan will reach or pass the 100 million mark.

Even more important than the size of the population is the rapid change in its

age distribution caused by the postwar drop in the mortality rate and, in particular, by the decrease in the birth rate. This, too, will have a great effect on the social life of the Japanese people. For the past two or three years there has been an increase in the number of children in the first grade at primary schools, and a consequent shortage of teachers and class-rooms. This is because the children born during the baby-boom years are now entering school. Now, however, according to the newspapers, the kindergartens in their turn are having a hard time fulfilling the demands made on them. Old people, furthermore, are now saying frankly that formerly they tried to have many children, in spite of the hardships this involved, because they could expect their children to take care of the old folk. Recently, however, birth control is limiting the number of children and, what is worse, these children do not give the same thought to the old that their predecessors did. Though their life-span may have been lengthened, the old people complain they are worried as to who is going to take care of them in future.

Before the war, the proportion of children under 15 years of age in the population was growing, while the proportion of old people over 65 was decreasing, and the average age of the Japanese was becoming younger (Table 8). Since 1950, on the other hand, the proportion of children is

decreasing because of the drop in the birth rate, while the proportion of the population at the productive age and of old people is growing considerably, so that there is a definite trend in the direction of an aging population (Figure II).

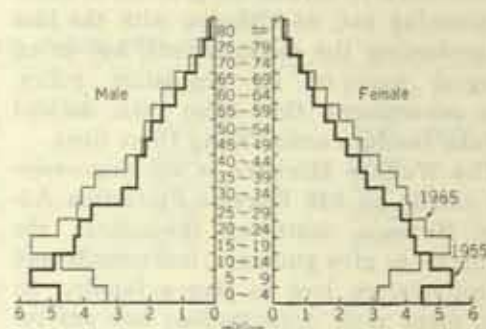


Figure II. Population Profiles for 1955 and 1965

The most important factor in the population problem in Japan during the next ten years will be the great increase in the productive population. As Table 8 shows, Japan's total population will increase by about ten millions in the 10 years between 1955 and 1965, but the increase in the productive population—between the ages of 15 and 64—will be as much as 13 millions. Compared with this, the population of children under the age of 15 will decrease by seven millions and the population of people over 65 by 1.4 millions. The foremost demographic problem, and the basic problem for future economic planning, will be how to find employment for this rapidly increasing population at the productive age and, at the same time, how to increase the rate of economic expansion in order to support them. As early as 1955, the Population Problem Council, mentioned above, gave the government a serious warning in the form of a resolution entitled "On Japan's Capacity to Support its Population." This problem is similarly the most important question of the Economic Planning Board is attempting to solve in the new economic five-year plan which it is now drawing up.

According to the 1950 census, there were only 0.72 million unemployed, compared

Table 8. Changes in Age Distribution (1920-1955)

Year	Average Age	0-14	15-64	65 and over
1920	22.33	36.47%	58.26%	5.27%
1935	22.02	36.86	58.40	4.64
1947	22.28	35.30	59.90	4.80
1950	22.33	35.37	59.69	4.94
1955	23.73	33.60	61.11	5.29
*1965	27.83	23.78	69.88	6.34
*1975	31.87	20.08	72.28	7.64

Data from Census Reports.

* Data from future population estimates made by the Institute of Population Problems, Welfare Ministry.

with approximately 36 millions employed. At the 1955 census, there were only 0.76 million unemployed, and about 39 millions employed. In 1947, the population distribution in Japanese industry had gone back to a state resembling that of 1920, but by

1950 it had very nearly reached that of 1930. By 1955, the proportion of employment in the primary industries showed an unprecedented low, while the proportion in the tertiary industries was the highest ever (Table 9). From these figures, one may

Table 9. Changes in Population Distribution in Industry (1920-1955)

Year	Total	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
(A) Actual Number (in million)				
1920	27.0	14.4	5.6	6.9
1930	29.3	14.5	6.0	8.9
1940	32.2	14.2	8.4	9.6
1947	33.3	17.8	7.4	8.1
1950	35.6	17.2	7.8	10.6
*1955	39.2	16.2	9.3	13.8
(B) Proportion				
1920	100	54	21	26
1930	100	49	20	30
1940	100	44	26	30
1947	100	53	22	24
1950	100	48	22	30
*1955	100	41	24	35

Data on persons of 14 years and over obtained from the Bureau of Statistics' Comparison of Numbers Employed in Various Industries as revealed in Population Censuses for 1920-1950, 1952.

* Data from 1% sample tabulation of 1955 population census.

get the impression that, in spite of the great increase in the productive population, the distribution of population in industry shows a very high level of development, and that there has been a parallel increase in employment.

One of the most important characteristics in the make-up of Japanese industry is that while, on the one hand, huge modern enterprises are developing, there are still many old-fashioned small enterprises run on a family basis. Statistics for 1955 show that, of all employees over the age of fifteen, 37.5% were employed in such small-scale private enterprises, 31% being unpaid family workers. It is well known that Japanese agriculture is based on petty farming, but it should also be realized that about 95% of all establishments in the manufacturing industries are small firms with less than 30 workers, and that such workers account for about 44% of the total. In the tertiary industries, the proportion of extremely small firms and of their em-

ployes is still greater than in the case of the manufacturing industries.

Among the people employed in these small enterprises, the proportion of workers who are not receiving adequate pay, who are not working regular long hours and whose productivity is very low is extremely large. According to the figures, unemployment would seem to be very low and full employment to have been almost realized, but it should be noted that under-employment, in the sense just explained, is actually very high. It is difficult to make surveys of the real state of affairs where such employment is concerned, but when estimates made by various scholars are compared it can probably be said that the number of under-employed is seven to ten times larger than that of the completely unemployed. From what has been said earlier, it will be clear that, during the next few years, the number of people of productive age will increase at a great rate, and that the number of employed persons will increase at about the same speed. It is

assumed that this increase in the employed population will be mainly in the small enterprises and that there will be a growing tendency to under-employment. One of the gravest and most fundamental problems

in handling the population, employment and economic planning will be how to switch the ever-increasing numbers of under-employed to full-time employment, and how to create more jobs.

Unemployment

Characteristics and present status of unemployment

The root of the unemployment problem in Japan spreads deep. The following points may be counted as the specific features of it.

a) The rapid increase in population must be mentioned in the first place. During the past 20 years Japan has gained population of approximately 20,000,000: in detail, the number of persons lived in Japan in 1935, 68,662,000, swelled into 72,200,000 in 1945, and the combination of demobilization, repatriation, increase in birth rate and decrease in death rate since the cessation of hostilities inevitably resulted in an enormous population of 1955, 89,260,000 (estimation). To make matters worse the Japanese territory has been reduced as the result of the defeat so that the tendency of overpopulation already emerged in pre-war days has become ever so much remarkable. The population density of Japan was 239.7 persons to 1 square kilometer in 1954, one of the biggest, if not the biggest, figures of the world. This excessive overpopulation has been none other than the most fundamental of the causes of unemployment in Japan.

b) In spite of the great strides of recovery of the industrial production since the end of the war, the annual national income per person was only 190 dollars in 1953 consequent on the above-mentioned increase in population, a considerably small figure comparing with those of European and American countries. The problem of low national income should not escape being noticed in considering the problem of unemployment, especially of the potential unemployment.

c) In the industrial structure of Japan the agriculture has been playing an important role, and, in consequence, those employed in agriculture and forestry account for considerably high percentage. Of 39,580,000 industrial employees in 1954 the number of those employed in agriculture and forestry reached as many as 16,670,000, mostly composed of the self-employed and their unpaid family workers who by far exceeded 560,000 paid employees in number. In Japan the concentration of population in cities as the result of the change of farmers into factory workers during the days of enhancement of modern factory production was observed on not so a large scale as in European and American countries. Moreover, in the pre-war depression days, even the backward drift of population to farm areas often took place partly because of the then government's adoption of "return-to-the-soil" policy as a measure against unemployment. At present the arable land is so limited and the agricultural income is accordingly so small that many of the farmers are to be employed in some job other than agriculture in slack seasons. That the condition of such employment is in many cases defective has not an inconsiderable connection with the potential unemployment problem of Japan.

Japan abounds in minor enterprises. The number of working are engaged and the number of the employees of these minor enterprises respectively account for approximately 98% and 61% of the total. As the foundation and management of these minor enterprises are lacking in economic stability, so in case dullness has begun to hang over the market, many of them will be forced to either reduce the business or close down it entirely. Such instability is thus at the bottom of the birth of jobless per-

sons, and not only the employees of these minor enterprises but the employers themselves and their family workers have to join in the labor market as the unemployed.

d) The classification of the employees in Japan showed, in 1954, following percentages: the employed workers—c. 38%, the self-employed—c. 26%, the unpaid family workers—c. 35%. The high percentage of the last 2 is attributable to the above-mentioned fact that agriculture and minor enterprises play an important part in Japanese industries. The exceedingly low percentage of the employed workers comparing with those of European and American countries is one of the specific features of the employment problem of Japan. In our country, not only the employed workers but the self-employed and the unpaid family workers of minor enterprises, who are either always open to the menace of or on the verge of losing their jobs, come under the matters to be considered in relation to the unemployment problem. And that these so-called potential unemployment cases, of which the actual condition is hard to grasp from the nature, must be simultaneously taken up produces particular difficulties of the unemployment problem of Japan.

In the next place we would like to show the outline of recent unemployment conditions. According to the Report on the Labor Force Survey monthly average of the number of the totally unemployed developed an increasing tendency: 580,000 persons in 1954, 700,000 in 1955 (monthly average from January to September.) Comparing these with 470,000 in 1952 and 450,000 in 1953 a considerable increase is recognized, and the deflation policy carried out since the end of 1953 has stood in a causal relation to this increase in the number of the unemployed. The figure reached as high as 850,000 in March, 1955, marking the peak since the termination of the last war. It must be pointed out, however, that the percentage of unemployment in 1954 is about 1.4% in case calculated using the above-mentioned figures, a considerably smaller percentage than those of European and American countries which has the possibility of giving an impression as if a full employment program

has been under way in Japan. This is a misinterpretation as a matter of course, due to the fact that the problem of potential unemployment is not taken into consideration. The number of those considered to be in unsatisfactory employment conditions such as the persons needing additional works or the persons wanting to change their occupations is, according to the Report on the Labor Force Survey, estimated at 3,000,000, while the Unemployment Measures Commission under the Cabinet estimates the number of the potentially unemployed at 6,000,000 persons.

Another unemployment statistics available is the one compiled from the data amassed by the Public Employment Security Offices. The Offices have been paying the unemployment insurance money to the unemployed, and an increasing tendency is observed between the number of monthly average recipients of the unemployed insurance money in 1954, 396,000 persons, and in 1955, 506,000 persons (average from January to September), both figures are considerably big in comparison with 286,000 and 319,600 of 1952 and 1953. Similar conditions are observed concerning the number of job applicants to the Public Employment Security Offices: there was a marked increase between the number of 1954, 1,166,000 (monthly average), and of 1955, 1,340,000 (monthly average from January to September), both figures are considerably big in comparison with 1,003,000 and 992,000 of 1952 and 1953. Aside from these regular laborers the Public Employment Security Offices have been helping day laborers find employment, and, concerning these day laborers, the number of the job applicants of 1954, 372,000 (monthly average) increased to 432,000 in 1955 (monthly average from January to September). In this way the unemployment conditions observed in labor market of our country are showing worsening tendency recently.

Measures

In pre-war days the measures against unemployment were in a poor way. For in-

stance, the only measure taken by the government against the unemployed created as the result of the economic crisis of 1920 was the encouragement of "return-to-the-soil" movement, although, in the same year, the Employment Exchange Law was promulgated with the object of furthering the establishment of employment exchange offices by prefectures and cities, as well as supervising their activities. Furthermore, Japan could not help being involved in the worldwide sudden increase of jobless persons as the result of the international severe panic around the year 1930, and, by that time, much effectiveness could not be expected from the "return-to-the-soil" policy. The government consequently put forth efforts to absorb as many jobless persons as possible into governmental and public undertakings on the one hand, while, on the other, it launched unemployment relief works in cities where the concentration of those unemployed had been particularly remarkable, giving financial support to such works.

It is since the termination of the war that the measure of adjusting demand and supply of man power and the measures against unemployment have shown a marked development and improvement, for which Japan is much indebted to the direct and able guidance of the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers.

The Employment Security Law was promulgated in 1947, based upon which the democratic employment exchange service made a start. At present the Public Employment Security Offices are established in 422 cities throughout the country under the State control. In parallel with this the Unemployment Insurance Law was promulgated in the same year (1947), which is applicable to nearly every working places of 5 employees or over. The employees are, when thrown out of employment, able to receive unemployment insurance money for 180 days. This unemployment insurance system has been doing a good work as one of the links in the chain of the measures against unemployment.

During the years following on the termination of the last war the opportunities to

be employed were substantially insufficient in Japan consequent on the sudden increase in population; to cope with such situation the General Headquarters of SCAP, indicated in 1946 the "Principles of Public Works Projects in Japan" to the then Japanese Government, suggesting that, by undertaking public works, approximately 1,000,000 persons a year would be able to get jobs. However, the absorption of the unemployed by means of such public works failed to obtain desired result, and, when unemployment was created for not a few workers by the adoption of deflation policy in 1949, the government started, aside from the said public works already under way, the Unemployment Relief Projects with the object of extending a helping hand to jobless persons. The Emergency Unemployment Measures Law was accordingly promulgated prescribing the matters pertaining to the unemployment relief projects, under which the Minister of Labor has mapped out the plan on a nation-wide scale, as well as directed local public entities to endeavor to employ jobless persons through the Public Employment Security Offices concerned. The State expenses of unemployment relief projects reached as much as ¥16,800,000,000 for the fiscal year 1955, by which 220,000 jobless persons a day were able to be employed in some work or other.

Sudden increase of the unemployed was an unavoidable accompanist of the deflation policy carried out for the second time since 1953, which made the number of jobs furnished by the said unemployment relief projects an insufficient one. The government, in consequence, again took up the Public Works Projects in August, 1954, so as to promote the absorption of the unemployed, and the Cabinet determination was made to that effect. As for the Unemployment Relief Projects, on the other hand, the betterment of project affairs have been contemplated in response to the public demand of heightening the economic effect of the Projects.

However, inasmuch as that the unemployment problem of Japan has its roots in such various difficult factors as the overpopulation, low national income, potential unem-

ployment, etc., as mentioned previously, a satisfactory solution of the problem cannot be expected only by means of measures to extend a helping hand to those jobless persons appeared on the surface.

The Hatoyama Cabinet, formed at the end of 1954, intended to lay a long-range plan of composite economy, and its blueprint was completed in December, 1955, in cooperation with non-government authorities. This five-year plan from 1956 to 1960, aiming at the independence of Japanese economy and realization of full employment, places particular emphasis upon the measures to secure enough jobs for steadily increasing working population. According to the plan, though the working population will reach as many as 45,310,000 in the fiscal year 1960, the increase of opportunities of employment as the result of industrial development is expected to allow the existence of not more than 450,000 jobless persons (1% of working population). In addition, the problem of potential unemployment come from indigence is expected to be gradually solved through the increase in national income and the rise of the standard of living, even if the entire extinguishment

of those potentially unemployed is of utmost difficulty.

As mentioned before, the employment problem of Japan is closely related to the specific features of the structures of industries and their workers, it may be easily understood that the measures adopted in European and American countries, of which the structures of industries and their workers are different from those of ours, are hardly applicable to our country. Be the matter what it may, it is of deep significance that in the five-year plan of composite economy the government has aimed at the realization of full employment. Japan has to continue for the time being the Unemployment Relief Projects in order to absorb jobless persons, but, in essence, efforts to solve unemployment problem will be made in view of not the passive measure of relieving the unemployed but the positive plan to increase jobs by means of economic expansion and development. In this way Japan is beginning to see the silver lining in the dark cloud of unemployment problem, under the slogan of "from the measures against unemployment to the measures for employment."

Labor Problem

History of labor movement

The development of capitalism in Japan dates from the latter part of the nineteenth century, in accompany with the labor problem which came to the force in forms of laborers' spontaneous resistance or primitive strikes on small scale. In concert with the great strides of development of Japanese capitalism since 1894, systematic labor movement and modern labor organization made their debut in the labor history of Japan. The Association for the Realization of Labor Organization established in 1897 was the first modern labor union in this country, and, as there were among the originators many who had returned from U.S.A. after investigating her labor movement, the Association was set up after

the pattern of AFL, and its members aggregated 5,700 in 1899. The Association's placing particular emphasis upon the permeation of the idea of labor organization and carrying out fervently the educational and enlightening activities resulted in successive births of labor organizations of iron-workers, locomotive engineers, printers, etc.

However, such labor movement, thus set foot upon the road to prosperity, suddenly forced to recede to a low ebb before attaining expected flourishing days, by the promulgation of the Police Public Security Law in 1900 which prescribed the restriction of association and meeting, and the punishment of such act as inducing and instigating others to participate in labor strikes.

The rapid progress of capitalistic economy in Japan as the result of the World War

I (1914-1918), impeded from the Russian Revolution of 1917, permeation of thoughts of liberalism and socialism, etc, brought about favorable mature of surrounding conditions for development of labor movement, which succeeded in regaining its strength with the organization of the *Yûai-kai* (lit. Friendship Society) in 1912 as a momentum.

The *Yûai-kai* was organized by exertion of Suzuki Bunji (1885-1946) with progressive intellectuals as its nucleus, aiming at establishing cooperation between labor and capital as well as mutual cooperation among laborers; the organization was so precisely in accord with the demand of the laborers who had keenly felt the necessity of their organization, that its rapid growth succeeded in reckoning the number of 30,000 members and 120 branches in 1918. With this great strides of development the character of the organization, which had been rather moderate, gradually changed into a combative one, and the labor movement at that time extended their power centering around the organization, which was renamed the Japan Federation of Labor "*Yûai-kai*" in 1919.

However, the economic depression period in the train of the panic of 1920 drove labor unions not to the endeavor of bringing about a gradual improvement of laborers' economic spheres of life, but to conflicts between ideas, superficial theoretical disputes, or political strifes; the changing alignment of labor organizations was an inevitable result which stood in the way of establishing foundation and structure of labor movement. The growth of labor organization was also arrested as a matter of course, and, even in 1936 when the organization attained its peak, the respective number of unions and members was only 977 and 420,589, and the estimated organization rate (members of labor unions total employees) showed a surprisingly low rate of 6.8%.

Furthermore the switchover to war footing since 1937 gave coup de grace to those days' feeble labor movement in such way as perfectly prohibiting the laborers' spontaneous systematic movements, and, in

consequence, the then existed labor unions were without exception absorbed into the so-called Movement for Service to the State through Industry.

Since the termination of the World War II on August 15, 1945, Japan was placed under the occupation of the Allied Powers, and the protection and promotion of labor movement were carried out as one of the fundamental principles of the occupation policy. Consequently, in parallel with the abrogation of laws oppressed the labor movement up to that time, the Labor Union Law was promulgated with the object of positively improving laborers' status as well as promoting, desirable development of labor movement. These measures resulted in a remarkable growth of labor organization and in June, 1946, the unions and their organizing members numbered as many as 17,266 and 4,925,598 respectively (a survey by the Ministry of Labor). As national organizations the Japan Federation of Labor Unions (member—c. 1,000,000) and the Congress of Industrial Unions of Japan (member—c. 1,500,000) were established in August, 1946, which for several years thenceforth played first violin of labor movement in Japan.

Though labor movement in Japan was in this way restored and took a bold leap with backing of the promoting policy of the Allied Powers, the lenient attitude taken up in the occupation policy toward the Communists stood, on the other hand, in the causal relation to the Communist Party's advancing into assuming control of labor movement. The above-mentioned Congress of Industrial Unions of Japan was swayed by those extreme left, and it was often apprehended that labor movement might be changed into a fighting unit of power conflict of the Communists.

However, criticism on such control of Communist Party arose spontaneously from within the labor organization itself, and so-to-say "labor unions democratization movement" came into being as a new current in labor movement. The extension of the power of this democratization movement resulted in July, 1950, in the formation of the General Council of Trade Unions

of Japan (member—c. 3,000,000), a national organization of democratic labor unions. On the contrary the Congress of Industrial Unions of Japan declined to a small organization composed of only 46,000 members in 1951, and labor movement since 1950 has been naturally carried out centering around the newly-born General Council of Trade Unions of Japan.

From the very nature of things that it was nothing else but a fruition of democratization movement, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan established at starting two fundamental principles, namely, the anticommunist standpoint as the center of internal policy, while, as the external, the cooperation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. However, with the determination of policy of all-out peace and adherence to neutrality declared in 1951 to clarify its attitude toward conditions of peace which became an issue at that time, the General Council gradually inclined to the left in parallel with heightening of its political tinge. Criticism on such propensity again arose from within it, and those critical members seceded in 1953 and organized the Congress of Labor Unions of Japan (member—c. 595,000) in April, 1954. Thus the laborers of Japan nearly unified under the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan have been divided into 2 since then, but, in the number of organizing members and in the number and kind of affiliated trades, the General Council has surpassed by far the Congress.

Present status

According to the survey carried out by the Ministry of Labor, statistics showed following figures at the end of June, 1955: number of labor unions—32,010; number of members of labor unions—6,184,561; estimated organization rate (members of labor unions total employees)—39.5%; and the increasing tendency was observed in these years in the number of both labor unions and members. Of these the number of the members of the labor unions organized by the public service personnel and other personnel of governmental organs reached

2,300,000 in the aggregate, and that not only those public service personnel have occupied a large part in number but their right to speak has been firmly and widely established is one of the specific features of labor movement of this country.

Classification of industrial unions and their members showed that the manufacturing industry headed the list (9,620 unions, 1,940,000 members), followed by the public enterprises as transportation and postal services (37,541 unions, 1,480,000 members), the service industry (34,890 unions, 930,000 members), etc.

According to the same survey, the respective number of the members of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan and of the Congress of Labor Unions of Japan was 3,090,000 and 620,000. The following is the characteristics of struggle policies of these two organizations during 1955.

The General Council of Trade Unions of Japan analyzed the labor conditions that the pecuniary embarrassment of laborers was deepened consequent on the fact that the monopolistic capital of Japan had oppressed, catering to the American militaristic dominion over the Far East, the fundamental rights of laborers as well as checked the betterment of labor conditions on the one hand, while, on the other, it had put forth efforts in establishing the network of militaristic economy throughout the country; and it determined a policy of strong political color proclaiming in the first place the perfect independence of Japan from U.S.A. and the switchover or rearmament policy and militaristic economy to the policy and economy rooted in peace, putting, at the same time, special emphasis upon the so-called peace movement. Notwithstanding such political movement the actions of the affiliated labor unions gave priority to the economic problems as a matter of course.

On the other hand the policy of the Congress of Labor Unions of Japan concentrated, from the nature of the organization that it had been formed by those critical toward the political propensity of the General Council, upon economic prob-

lems, establishing practicable policies in view of the national economy.

All the affiliated labor unions of the Congress join the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, while of those of the General Council only six national unions (member—c. 1,000,000) join it.

What became the issue of greatest importance in the labor world in 1955 was the problem of promoting productivity and of unification of the labor front.

The productivity promotion movement took on a concrete form availing of the offer by F.O.A. of U.S.A. in 1954 of technical and economic assistance concerning matters of productivity promotion in Japan. The Japan Productivity Center was accordingly established in March, 1955, and its subsequent invitation extended to labor unions making request for their participation in the productivity promotion movement produced arguments pro and con among labor organization. Though the Congress of Labor Unions of Japan finally clarified its attitude to cooperate with the movement and the affiliated Japanese Federation of Labor also determined the

policy of positively participating in it, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan was set against the movement on the ground that it was nothing but a exploitation means of monopolistic capital.

On the other hand the problem of unification of labor front has been discussed between the General Council and the Congress since around the reunion of the right and left factions of the Socialist Party in October, 1955, but the fundamental policy of these 2 labor organizations is so different from each other that there is no possibility of unification of labor front.

Labor problem adhering, to minor enterprises also have become an issue for the Japanese labor unions, but, owing to their specific and difficult features peculiar to our country, the unions are at present still taxing their ingenuity to find some measures effective to solve the problem.

As for labor disputes and strikes, the number of strikes took place during 1954 was 647, the number of those participated in these strikes was 927,821, with 2,659,129 man-day of idleness (Survey by the Ministry of Labor).

Housing Problem

Housing condition of Japan

The World War II has brought about a record-breaking housing shortage in Japan. In addition to the loss of numberless houses by war damage including compulsory removal during the war, the overpopulation consequent on repatriation, demobilization, and marked increase in marriage and birth inevitably resulted in an extreme unbalance of demand and supply of housing.

In or around 1947, 2 years after the end of the war, the housing shortage was estimated to be 4,000,000. Since then gradual recovery of Japanese industry as well as people's incessant labor for 10 years had been crowned with the construction of about 3,860,000 houses (vid. attached table), but still a serious shortage in quantity of houses was felt in 1955. In detail, the

number of houses necessary for those living in other than usual houses, those sharing a house with others, those living in too small or over-crowded houses or those living in superannuated houses was more than 2,840,000 in April, 1955, according to a survey carried out by the Ministry of Construction.

To make matters worse Japanese houses are mostly built of wood. Amidst extraordinary economic confusion during the era and its aftermath the repair works could not help being left behind, and, as a natural consequence, more than one fourth of total houses are needing repair in some part or other, of which those in danger of breakdown or those incapable of repair account for a considerably high percentage.

Aside from these, annually about 170,000 houses are necessary to meet the demands of new households constantly formed as the

result of increase in population. Furthermore, the number of the houses broken down by damage from storm or flood or by superannuation, reaches annually as many as 80,000, and, in consequence, the supply of houses must not only over the above-mentioned fundamental shortage but also meet these new demands.

In short, the housing shortage of present Japan is brought about by the combination of such causes as (1) the war, (2) the increase in population, (3) the abundance of wooden houses, and (4) special economic conditions which will be explained below.

As for the ownership of houses, the housing survey in city areas carried out in 1941 showed that of the houses situated in city areas "own houses" accounted for 22.3%, "rented houses" 75.9%, and "allowed houses" 1.8%; the "rented houses" occupied a considerably large portion in pre-war days. However, according to the survey of 1953, the percentage of "own houses," "rented houses," and "allowed houses" was respectively 58%, 35%, and 7%; the post-war order of "own houses" and "rented houses" has been inverted in comparison with that of pre-war days.

This fact shows nothing else but the marked decrease of rental housing. Prior to the war houses were supplied chiefly by non-governmental owners of houses to let, but, since the termination of the war, such unfavorable conditions as rise of building cost, rise of the rate of interest, insufficiency of long-term funds, difficulty in purchasing residence lots resulted from the rise of land prices, decrease in income of tenants-to-be, etc., almost put a period to such non-governmental renting housing. Thus the housing situation was completely changed with the war's end as a momentum, and, since then, such public organs as local public entities, the Housing Loan Bank (governmental agency), the Japan Construction Corporation (ditto), have been playing an important part, of which the details are given as under.

Measures

The housing conditions since the termination of the war are given as above; then how and by whom the construction and supply of houses have been made?

In Autumn of 1945, a few months after the cessation of hostilities, temporary, simple frame houses were planned to be rizzed up in war-devastated cities as emergency housing measures. These houses, built by local public bodies with the aid of national subsidy, were the pioneer of the present houses under public management. The construction of public houses under this system has been carried out without a break as a link in the chain of public undertakings, and the promulgation of the public Housing Law in 1951 gave the legal basis in regard to construction of renting houses with the aid of the national subsidy. The first and the second stages of the public houses construction program was accomplished respectively in 1952 and 1955 with the approval of the Diet, and the houses under public management has been supplied in accordance with the program as low-rent houses for persons of small income. This housing program has been played a big role in post-war Japan, side by side with the program through the loan by the Housing Loan Bank and the one carried out by the Japan Housing Corporation which will be mentioned below.

In order to stabilize people's living in the post-war years of severe housing shortage and economic confusion the control of land and house rent during the war was uninterruptedly prolonged. This control aimed at stabilizing living in the phase of housing by deferring land and house rent at a certain established level. The partial amendment of the Ordinance concerning Control of Land and House Rent made in 1950 excluded buildings other than usual houses such as offices, shops, schools, hospitals, etc., and houses built in or after 1950 and residential lands thereof, from the control, and at present the control is being exercised

over houses build prior to 1950 and residential lands thereof.

Aside from the above-mentioned control the Emergency Building Restriction Ordinance was carried out for several years since the war's end, restricting the construction of houses and other buildings chiefly with the object of effectively utilizing scanty construction materials. In 1946 the Housing Emergency Measure Ordinance was enacted for the purpose of promoting the opening of spare-roomed houses for the public, and from the same year to 1948 funds were advanced from the Reconversion Finance Bank for the promotion of construction of dwelling houses for the coal workers and other workers engaged in important industries. Aside from these the houses for repatriates and settlers have been also constructed since 1945.

In 1950 the Housing Loan Corporation was established with the capital of ¥10,000,000, Counterpart Fund of U.S. Aid to Japan and ¥5,000,000 from the national treasury, aiming at supplying wholesome and modern dwelling-houses for the people, and low-interest loans for construction were accordingly made possible which had been difficult for general banking facilities.

To those needing houses for themselves and to companies of corporations undertaking the business of house renting, the Housing Loan Corporation furnishes funds within the limits of 80 to 85% of the amount necessary for constructing such houses and for purchasing or renting residential lots. Interest rate is 5.5% per annum; while the

term of redemption differs with the kind of houses, that is, 18 years in case of wooden houses and 50 years in case of ones of fire-proof structure.

Of the affairs under the Corporation, receipt and investigation of application of housing fund loaning, fund loaning, withdrawal of principal and interest of loan, are entrusted to about 500 banking facilities, while local public entities are left in charge of investigation of construction work of houses by such loan.

In 1953, the Law concerning Industrial Workers Dwelling House Construction Fund Loan was promulgated. This law aimed at promoting construction of houses through accommodating industrial workers with ampler construction funds, with the cooperation of the State and general employers, that is, of governmental and non-governmental funds. In order to achieve the promotion of construction of houses so as to contribute toward enhancement of labor efficiency and development of industries, the law provided for the long-term, low-interest funds to be furnished from the Housing Loan Corporation, within the limits of 60% of the necessary expenses of construction, to the employers (those who carry on such business as manufacturing, selling, transportation, always employing more than five employees) who intended to build houses for the employees troubled with severe housing shortage.

The following table shows the condition of construction of houses through the above-mentioned measures.

Number of Houses Constructed since the War's End (Construction White Paper, by Ministry of Construction, 1955)

Kind of Houses	Fiscal Year					
	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
Total	235,800	459,300	626,100	740,900	370,100	373,300
Public Houses	81,130	48,805	42,066	42,852	26,562	32,083
Housing Loan Corporation Houses	—	—	—	—	—	62,400
Others (Settlers' Houses, etc.)	23,937	106,346	72,523	43,739	24,509	25,998
Houses Constructed at Private Expense	130,733	304,149	511,481	654,309	319,029	216,819

Kind of Houses	Fiscal Year				Total
	1951	1952	1953	1954	
Total	246,300	272,800	301,700	278,400	3,868,700
Public Houses	27,436	33,377	57,940	53,006	445,287
Housing Loan Corporation Houses	46,640	55,350	55,248	41,600	263,238
Others (Settlers' Houses, etc.)	21,023	22,609	22,502	17,342	380,528
Houses Constructed at Private Expense	149,201	161,464	166,015	166,452	2,779,652

N.B. 1) Number of houses includes those under construction.

2) Number of houses constructed at private expense excludes extension of houses (c. 17,000 annually) and houses constructed without construction notification in case of disaster (c. 7,000 annually).

Notwithstanding the fact that the construction of houses had been strenuously carried out in post-war years through various measures as mentioned above, the severe housing shortage still remains unchanged, and to solve housing problem is as of most importance as ever for half-reconstructed Japan.

No sooner had the Japan Democrats organized the Cabinet at the end of 1954 than the new government took up housing measures as one of the most important policies, making a blueprint of housing program to the effect that the deficiency in houses is to be solved in 10 years from 1955. In compliance with this program approximately 420,000 houses were decided to be constructed in the first fiscal year of the program.

With these objects in view the Japan Housing Corporation was established in July, 1955. The Article 1 of the Japan Housing Corporation Law prescribed that the Corporation was established for the purpose of contributing to stabilization of people's living and promotion of social welfare, by providing on a large scale the groups of houses of fire-proof structure and residential lands to workers in need of houses, in parallel with carrying out land re-adjustment and city planning in order to accomplish wholesome new residential districts, in areas of severe housing shortage. The importance of the missions of the Corporation are (1) to construct groups of renting houses in and surrounding area of big cities, (2) to construct houses for workers

and sell them to companies, etc., in lots, and (3) to carry out land readjustment and city planning. Expenses necessary for executing business of the Corporation are covered by the capital from the government and local public entities and loan from non-governmental banking facilities.

As mentioned above it is of course necessary for the increase in the construction of houses to put emphasis on the housing program based chiefly upon financial funds and governmental low-interest funds, but it goes without saying that there is a limit to such funds. The Democrats Cabinet accordingly launched following 2 measures in order to promote the construction of houses by non-governmental efforts: insurance system concerning housing loans and tax reduction concerning housing matters.

The insurance system concerning housing loans was based upon the Housing Loan Insurance Law passed by the Diet in 1955. The Law aimed at promoting construction of such houses as a wholesome and cultured living is able to be maintained, by establishing a system of insuring necessary loans for constructing houses, etc., to be furnished by banking facilities, so as to smooth matters in relation to such loans.

Tax reduction measures concerning housing matters were taken with the object of promoting construction of general houses, rental houses, and allowed houses by non-governmental funds and efforts, and reduction was made on such national taxes as income tax, corporation tax, and registration

tax, and such local tax as municipal property tax.

The chief housing measures in post-war Japan can be outlined as above, and it is expected that the measures made a fresh start in 1955 will be positively carried out in conformity with economic reconstruction and financial expansion.

However, housing measures must henceforth be carried out making away with various difficulties and stumbling blocks, amidst a heap of problems as difficulty in purchasing residential lots, problems attendant upon city planning, qualitative betterment of houses, rationalization of defrayment of housing expenses, etc.

Women Problem

It can be said that, among the various changes taken place in post-war Japan, that of the women's social status is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable. Women's position in the days prior to the war was arrested in its surprisingly low conditions despite of the progress and furtherance of modernization in every other spheres of the country, and, in consequence, the emancipation of women from various bonds and restrictions was one of the first things taken up in the post-war social policies as an official responsibility of the State. Side by side with consequent revisions of laws made in various fields as well as enforcement of policies aiming at the betterment of women's position in actual life, the women for themselves have continued their efforts as individuals or through organization activities. As the result, Japanese women are now enjoying comprehensive freedom in various fields, beyond all comparison with that of pre-war days, and contributing toward the development of the country by giving full play to their genius which had been oppressed in days gone by. It is, however, a fact that there remains, on the other hand, many unsolved problems brought forward by poor national economy, relics of traditional customs, etc.

Legal status of women

Though in olden days a rigid discrimination was maintained between two sexes, the Japanese women are enjoying at present utterly the same legal rights as men. The new Constitution of Japan (1946) provided for the equality under the law and the respectability of individuals, and every law

abolished discrimination between sexes in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution.

The franchise is extended to all the women of 20 years of age or over, and every official position is opened for women upon the same condition as men. (In regard to this, Japan has joined the "International Treaty concerning Political Rights of Women" since 1955.) As for education, absolutely the same opportunity is guaranteed as men in education of each level of primary, lower and upper secondary schools, college, and university, in parallel with the enforcement of co-educational system. As for occupation, there is no kind of occupation in which women is prohibited to be engaged except the ones of dangerous and detrimental nature, and the "same labor, same pay" principle is established regardless of sex. In regard to family relations the former family system of exceedingly patriarchal character is abolished, and the principle of equality of the sexes is also established legally in relation to freedom of marriage and divorce, inheritance rights, parental prerogatives, etc.

Aside from these there is no discrimination between the sexes in such matters guaranteed for the civilian as freedom of assembly, association, and speech, right concerning private property, right of access to the courts, etc.

Women in politics

In the general election of members of the House of Representatives taken place on April 10, 1946, the Japanese women ex-



← Diet building

→ House of Representatives



← Grand Court Room of the
Supreme Court



↑ Liberal Democratic Party



↑ Government buildings



↑ Tokyo Metropolitan Police Board: control division for patrolling cars



↑ Imperial Family (Photo—Kyodo Press)



↑ Social Democratic Party



↑ Flash board of ballot counting of general election for House of Representatives



← Celebration in Tokyo of Japan's entry into the United Nations (Photo—United Nations Association in Japan)



↑ Francisco Xavier (Photo—KBS)



↑ Chart of a Dutch house on Deshima Island, Nagasaki Prefecture



↑ Text of first Anglo-Japanese Alliance



↑ First United States Consulate in Japan, Gokusenji Temple, Shizuoka Prefecture

May Day Celebration by workers



Unemployment relief work



Women's meeting (Photo—Ministry of Labour)



Dormitory of factory girls (Photo—Prof. Yamauchi, Tokyo Institute of Technology)





↑ Chigusa-dai Municipal Dwelling Quarters, Nagoya City (Photo—Ministry of Construction)

Tokyo Welfare Pension Hospital →



← Shufu-Kaikan (Centre of Housewives), Tokyo



← Institute of Public Health, Tokyo



← Preventive injection for babies



← Clinic car (Photo—Health Bureau, Tokyo Metropolitan Government)



← Entrance of public bath-house



← Small retail shops at Asakusa, Tokyo



↑ Retail shop



↑ Traditional abacus is more often used in Japan than a modern calculating machine



↑ Department store



↑ Silk

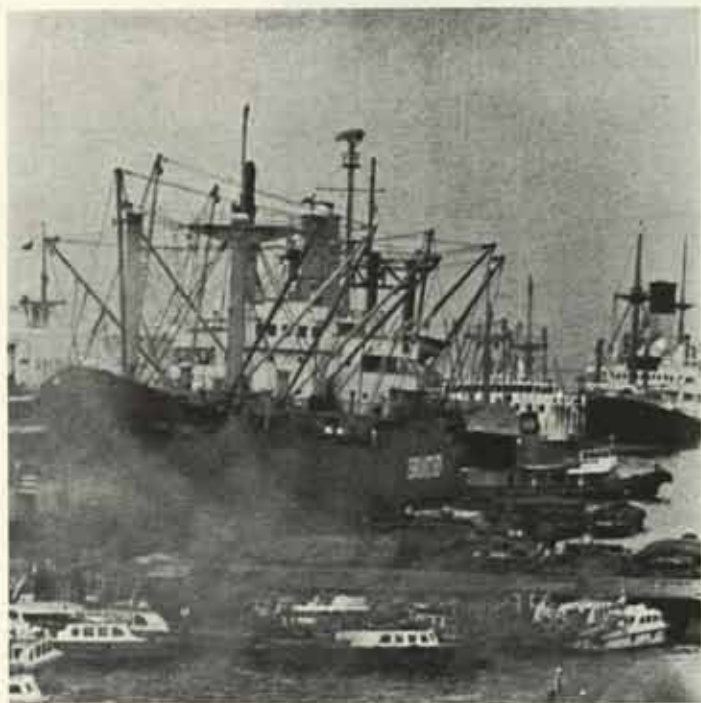


↑ Canned goods



↑ Medicine stand

→ Yokohama Harbour



↓ Clocks



↓ Bicycles





← Gas heaters and electric stands



← Chinaware



← Chemical fibers



← Electric washing machines

→
Sewing machines



→
Traditional "kimono" for women



→
Toys



→
Western style suits for women





← Cameras and cinematographs



← Jewelry and pearls



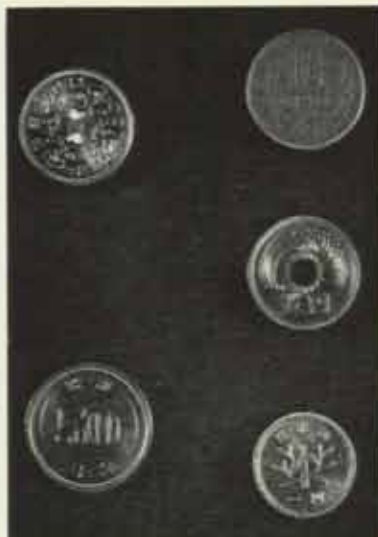
← Radio and television sets



← Handcraft objects (dolls)



↑ Paper moneys now in circulation



↑ Coins now in circulation



← Banking quarters. Left: The Bank of Japan



→ Tokyo Stockexchange



↑ Rice-planting



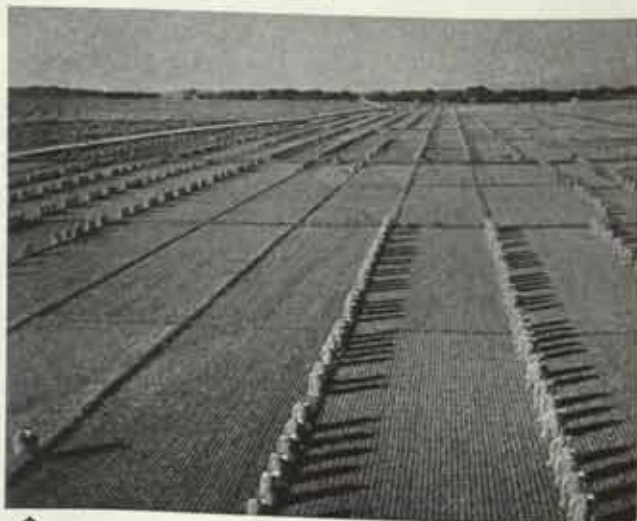
↑ Harvest



← Ear of rice-plant



↑ Thrashing



↑ The Shōnai Plain after the harvest (Photo—Japan Tourist Association)

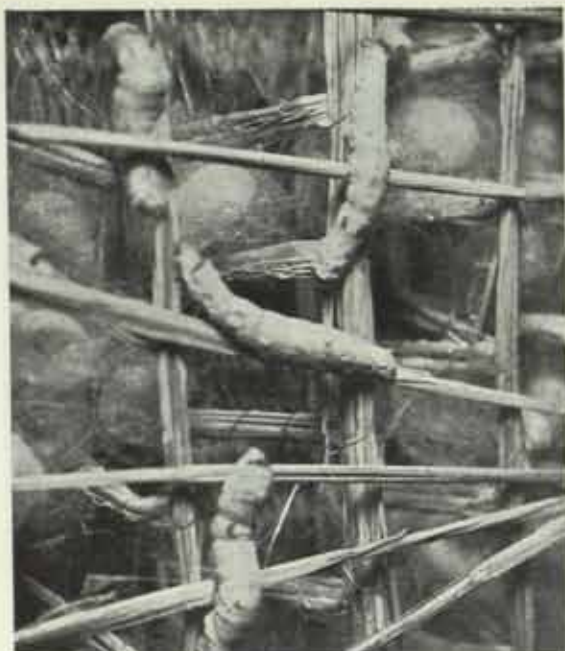
Mandarin orange →



↑ Picking tea-leaves

Vinyl cultivation of vegetables →





↑ Silkworms which begin to spin cocoons



↑ Selection of cocoons



← Nursery field of Japan cedar



← Drag road in the Kiso forest

Whaling mother-ship (Photo—Nippon Suisan Kaisha Ltd.)



Bonito fishing



Cultivation of pearl

Pearls grown in a mother of pearl



↑ Milk cows



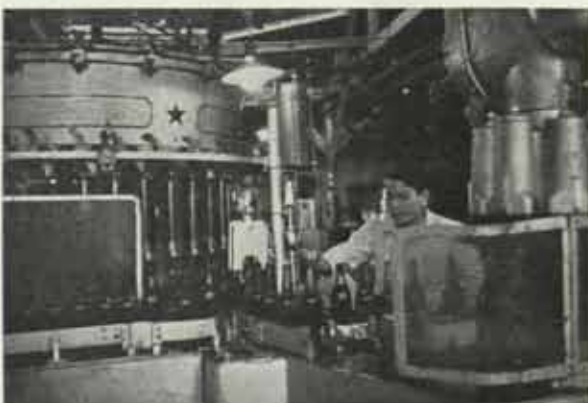
↑ Horse fair



↑ Soy factory



↑ Brewing tanks of "snake"



← Brewery of beer

Coal shipped from Port Wakamatsu



Oil refinery



Sulfur factory



1,000 ton melting furnace of Yawata Iron Mill Co., Ltd.

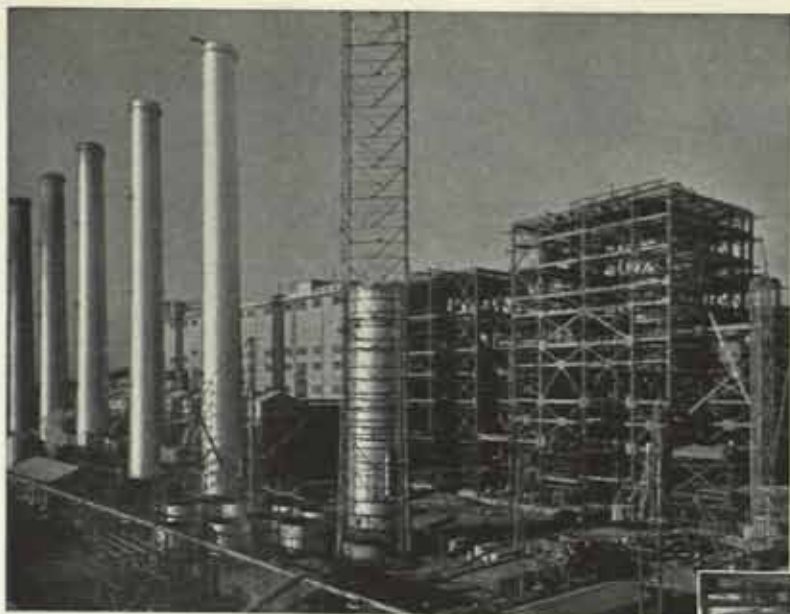


Home industry—Gifu lantern



Rolling machine (Photo—Yawata Iron Mill Co., Ltd.)





← Chiba Thermal Power Station

→ Generators (93,000KVA) of Sakuma Power Plant
(Photo—Electric Power Development Co., Ltd.)



→ Chiba Thermal Power Station. Capacity of one generator: 125,000 KW.



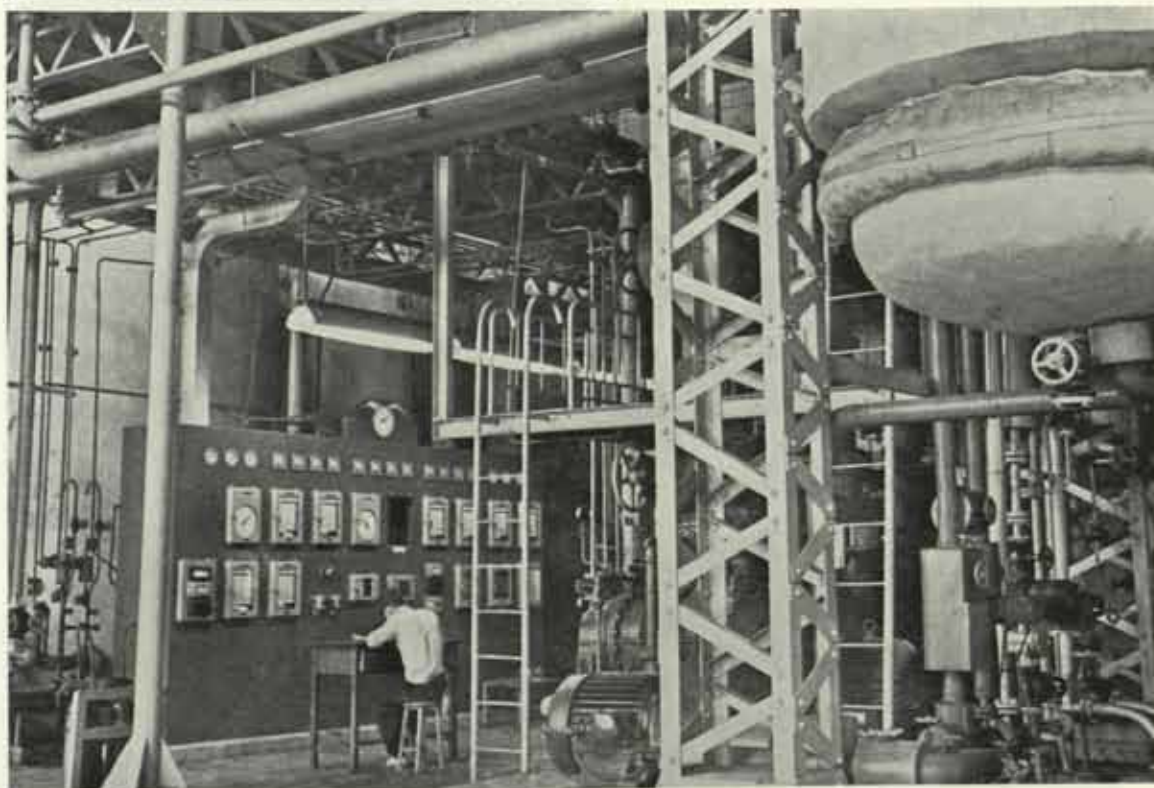
→ Cotton automatic weaving (Photo—Toyo Spinning Co., Ltd.)



← Cotton spinning (Photo—Toyo Spinning Co., Ltd.)



↓ Poly-vinyl alcohol factory (Photo—Kurashiki Rayon Co., Ltd.)





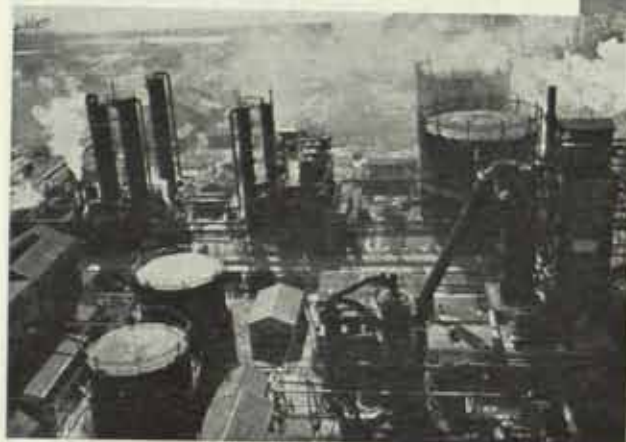
↑ Grinding and polishing of rough glass plates (Photo—Asahi Glass Co., Ltd.)



↑ Ceramic factory (Photo—Nippon Toki Co., Ltd.)



→ Cement factory



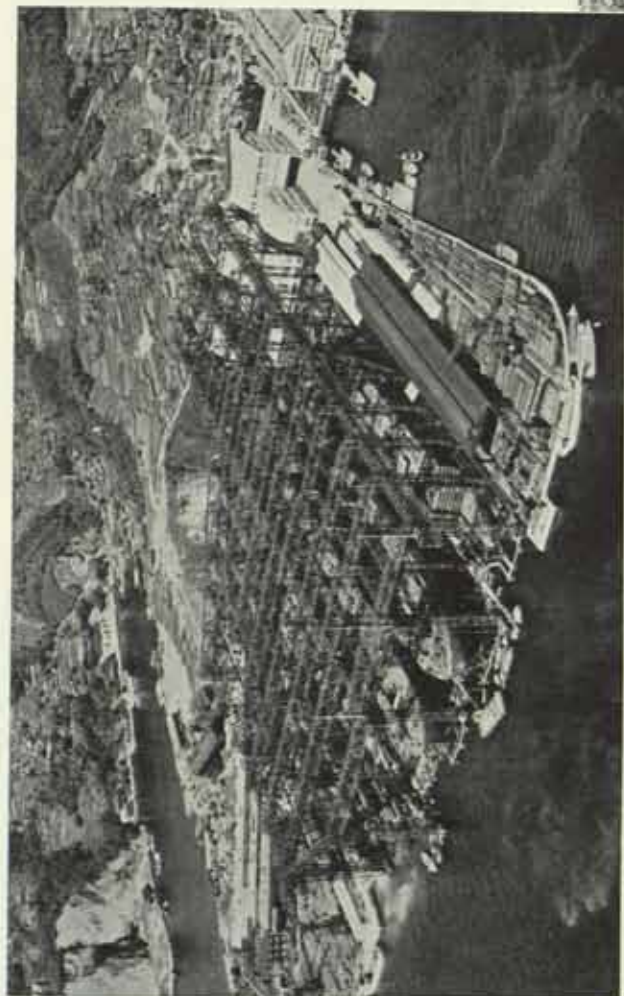
← Fertilizer factory (Photo—Mitsubishi Chemical Industries Limited)



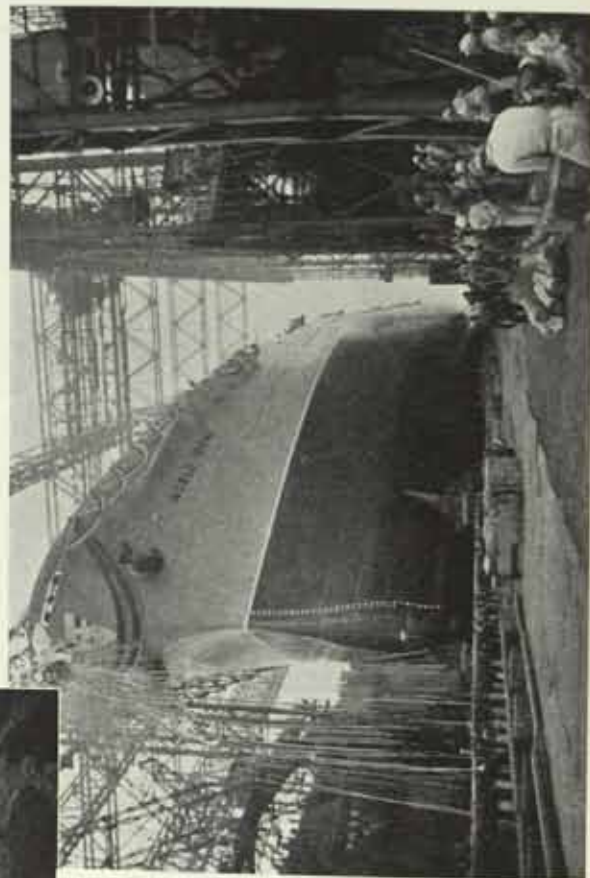
↑
Sakai Bridge (Length: 316 m.) (Photo—Japan Traffic Corporation)

Kammon Undersea Drive Way. Length: undersea 780 m. underground 2,681 m. total 3,461 m. (Photo—Japan Traffic Corporation)

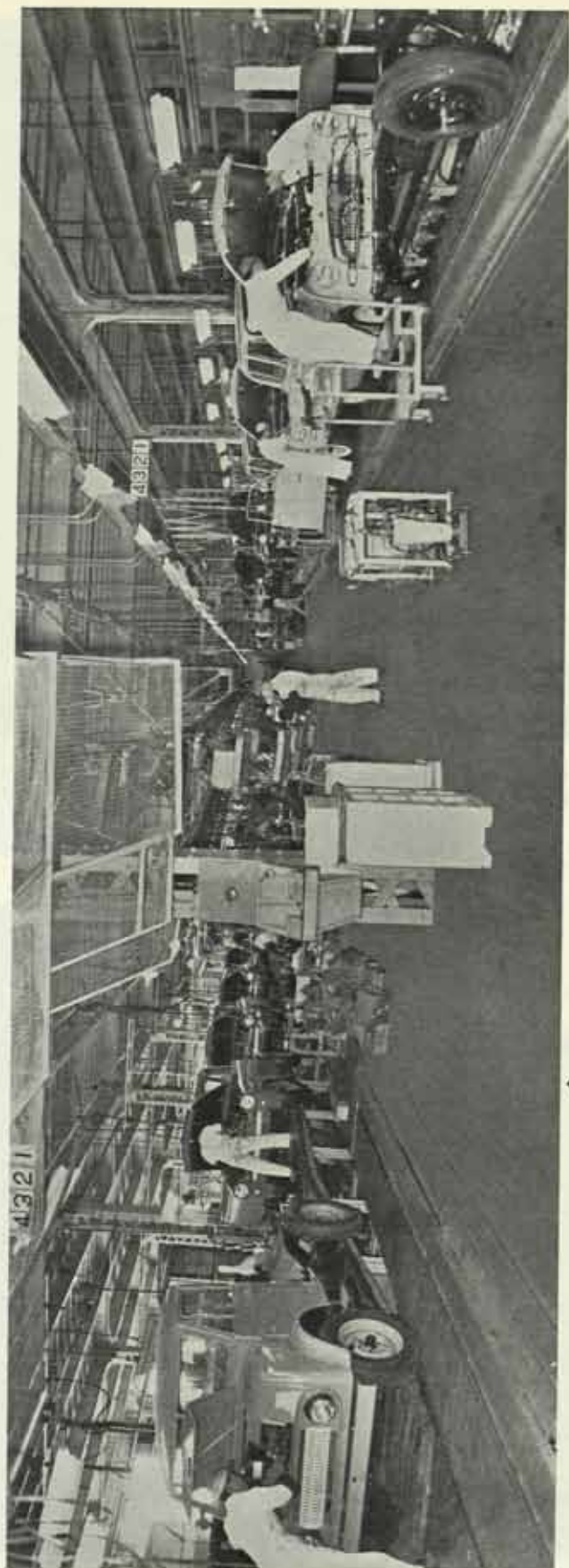




Shipyard (Photo—Mitsubishi Shipbuilding and Engineering Ltd.)



Launching of a ship (Photo—Mitsubishi Shipbuilding and Engineering Ltd.)



Manufacturing of motor-car (Photo—Automotive Industrial Association)



↑ Sakuma Dam for water power generation. Capacity: 350,000KW Height of dam: 150 m. Length: 291 m. (Photo—Electric Power Development Co., Ltd.)



→ High pressure gas purification facilities
(Photo—Tokyo Gas Co., Ltd.)



← Sewage disposal. Capacity: 19,000 cubic m. per day

↓ Cleaning bed. Capacity: 480,000 tons per day (Photo—Ministry of Construction)





↑
Kitchen



← ↑
Small size cleaning bed and simple water supply pipe for rural area (Photo—Ministry of Welfare)

exercised their suffrage for the first time in the political history of the country. Approximately 67% of the woman electorate cast the ballot, and 39 Dietwomen were born at a bound. Since then, through the elections of members of the House of Representatives, of the House of Councillors, and of the local assemblies, the voting rate of women has been always over 60%. More than twenty Dietwomen have been playing all the time an active part in both Houses, and the number of general assembly women has reached almost 1,000 in the aggregate. Aside from these, approximately 50,000 women have been engaged, through election or appointment, in such official positions as members of the Board of Education, Civil Liberties Commissioners, Welfare Visitors, etc.

Though women's departments of political parties have been also active, it seems still difficult for women to occupy the position of political party leader. Up to 1955 no woman received a portfolio, but several Dietwomen were appointed as parliamentary Vice Ministers.

Women in employment

The entry of women into various kinds of occupations was started during the World War II, in place of the workingmen summoned to the colors. Since the cessation of hostilities workingwomen have increased year after year spurred on by the combination of pecuniary embarrassment of household economy and strong tendency toward emancipation of women, and it is rather difficult at present to find an occupation in which no woman is engaged. At the same time occupational status of workingwomen has been elevated, and the increase is also observed in the number of women who have been engaged in management works or works requiring specialized knowledge or technique.

Total number of workingwomen is 16,000,000 at present, which accounts for approximately 40% of the national labor force. However, of the workingwomen those gainfully employed occupy only about 30%; 60% is what is called family workers

and remaining 10% is those self-employed. These percentages are nothing else but the precise reflection of characteristics of the Japanese industrial structure, and the majority of workingwomen is found in the status of family workers in agriculture and forestry (the primary industries), who completely outstripped the number of the workingwomen in modern industrial field.

As for the gainfully employed, the workingwomen engaged in manufacturing industries account for approximately 40% (chiefly textile industry), which are followed by those of personal service (c. 20%) and those of wholesale and retail trade (c. 20%).

For the purpose of protecting these woman employees considerate principles have been legally stipulated especially in regard to maternity protection, aside from various labor standards on the whole. Working-women have been making their efforts also for themselves so as to bring about the betterment of labor conditions, which, in consequence, have been improved beyond all comparison with those of pre-war days.

Notwithstanding such advancement in favor of working-women, their pay in average failed to exceed 50% of that of working-men up to 1955, consequent on the fact that they were generally young (averaged age was 25.4 in 1954) and accordingly inexperienced in their techniques. In addition the dullness that has hung over the market cannot help affecting adversely the employment of women, and the prospects are also discouraging. And, with the increase of working-women who continue their work after marriage, the shortage of such facilities as day-nurseries will raise complicated issues.

Women in education

By the reformation of educational system carried out after the war, the term of the compulsory education was extended from 6 years in pre-war days to 9 years (6 years for primary school and 3 years for lower secondary school). As the compulsory educational system has been established in

been accordingly changed, that is, they have become esteemed as individuals with constitutional provision of guaranteeing their fundamental human rights, and pre-war philosophy of considering youths as the private properties of the State or of families was abandoned. Such radical change in thoughts has been confirmed by legislations in relation to the youths' social position, welfare, education, labor, protection, correction, cultivation, etc., that is, the Civil Code, the Child Welfare Law, the Labor Standards Law, the Juvenile Law, and laws concerning juvenile education. The scope of the subject of control concerning harmful acts of adults performed against youths has been also broadened. Furthermore, the Children's Charter was adopted on May 5, 1951, with the object of establishing fundamental principles on general matters pertaining to youths, taking up the fundamental human rights of youths, social responsibility, and cleanup of environment, as well as expressing in the form of proclamation such problems as livelihood protection, guaranteeing education and labor, coordination of social and family environment, etc. With such successive formulation of new systems concerning the guarantee of juvenile human rights and the orientation of juvenile protection and guidance, the youth problem has become re-examined from a completely different angle.

On the other hand a radical change has been also observed since the war's end in the social and family environment surrounding juveniles. A great many juveniles lost their families, which had been the home-ground of their everyday life, in which their souls had always remained, in which a warm and wholesome bringing-up had been guaranteed. A great many juveniles lost their parents, brothers, sisters, relatives by the war, and were turned adrift as the waifs thrown upon their own resources amidst the extremely confused aftermath of the war. Even in cases of those whose parents or other guardians were alive and well, the endeavor to meet and understand the physical, mental, and emotional needs of youths could not help being neglected. The moral cultivation for them was also left

behind, consequent on the gradual destitution of family life brought about by the combination of shortage of commodities, aggravation of inflation, housing shortage, sudden lowering of living standard, etc. In addition considerable gap of the sense of the times between the youths and their parents made the mental relation a weak and estranged one. It might be said that almost all the youths have thus lost their families as the primary mental and physical prop and stay.

To make matters worse, various social conditions have been completed in post-war Japan which are of no use for the wholesome cultivation of youths but of great use for the degradation of them. Black-market dealings, lax moral of adults, flood of obscene magazines, awakening drug addiction, rampancy of good-for-nothing fellows, craze for Japanese pinball, mahjong, mambo, etc., naturally swayed the juvenile mind from rectitude in relation to the social systems, customs, public morals, etc., as well as created youths' distrust of adults. Furthermore youths themselves had been subject to kinds of baneful influences during the war-time drafting, student mobilization, evacuation, etc., and not a few of demobilizees have abandoned themselves to despair not rewarded for their efforts in battlefield at the risk of their lives. Upon those youths post-war social conditions and family life could not but produce a bad effect, and they have begun to justify their unjustifiable acts confining themselves to a mentally insular world. For them liberty meant liberty without responsibility, liberty degenerated into lawlessness.

These confused aftermath has inevitably resulted in the degradation of youths on the whole, and juvenile crimes have become exceedingly shocking both in kind and number. The annual number of criminal cases by juveniles (under 20 years of age) was: 1945 (54,787), 1946 (111,790), 1947 (104,829), 1948 (124,836), 1949 (131,916), 1950 (158,426), 1951 (166,433), 1952 (143,247), 1953 (126,097), 1954 (120,513). The statistics showed that the year 1951 was the peak of juvenile crimes, and the number of cases in the same year was three times as many as

that of 1936 (46,550) and simultaneously accounted for approximately 25% of the total number of crimes committed in 1951. Of these juvenile crimes the increase in such atrocious ones as murder, incendiarism, burglary with violence, and assault, and the number of such crimes in 1954, 4,625, reached 5 times as many as that of pre-war years. Aside from those actually committed indictable offences, 430,459 cases were reported in 1954 in which juveniles were admonished of having lethal weapons, loafing on the jobs, playing truant, embezzling household goods, smoking, etc. These figures show how the conditions of the post-war juvenile delinquency and crimes have been serious, seeing from either the kind or the number. And it can be said that upon the fact that such phenomenon has been not limited to the juveniles belonging to a certain exceptional position, circumstance, social class, or vocational class, but common to those of almost all classes or environments, lies the importance and specific features of post-war juvenile problem.

With gradual stabilization of the State and social conditions getting out of the perfect chaos immediately after the war, the importance of juvenile problem has begun to arrest attention of the Diet, administrative organization, and non-governmental organizations, and measures have been gradually taken so as to prevent juvenile crimes and delinquency in parallel with regenerating delinquent juveniles and juveniles committed crimes. The setup to coordinate each of such organizations in charge of protection and care of delinquent youths has been also established step by step. Newly formed or reconstructed non-governmental organizations concerned about juvenile problem have launched their activities. Though the improvement of environmental conditions such as the reconstruction of State structure, recovery of economic situations, and stabilization of people's living, cannot as yet be described as satisfactory, it is noteworthy that, consequent on the increase in paying attention to the youths who are the support and driving force of future Japan, the State and people have

begun to cooperate to actively cope with such confronting problems as harmful movies and publications, awakening drug addiction, long-pending absentees from school, non-attendants, human traffic, etc., with the object of protecting youths from disagreeable environment as well as preventing degradation of them.

In place of such preventive and protective measures, a more positive attitude has begun to be taken up quite recently in dealing with juvenile problem, for the purpose of bringing about an internal revolution in youths themselves in such a way that they can have correct and healthy critical power on the harmful, can be absorbed in wholesome entertainment, recreation, and culture, and can grow up to be robust members of society with distinct self-consciousness and originality. In other words, though it is needless to say that the State, community and family ought to continue to take up juvenile problem of present Japan as the problem to which they are responsible, the importance of self-consciousness of the youths themselves is being more and more emphasized as a vital factor to the solution of such problems.

Organs, facilities, organizations dealing with juvenile problem

Coordinating Organs

Central Juvenile Problem Committee. Established in the Cabinet with the object of securing appropriate coordination of administrative actions of governmental organs concerned as well as establishing all-over State measures, in enforcing laws concerning juvenile problem such as the Child Welfare Law, the Juvenile Law, the Labor Standard Law, the Employment Security Law, the School Education Law, the Social Education Law, etc. By the establishment of this committee, the setup to devise coordinated State measures against juvenile problem was nearing completion.

Local Juvenile Problem Committee. Established in concert with the Central Juvenile Problem Committee with the object

of securing appropriate coordination of action of local administrative organ in prefectures, cities, towns and villages.

Administrative Organs

Ministry of Health and Welfare. The responsible Ministry for the enforcement of the Child Welfare Law, in charge of matters concerning security of living of juveniles, prevention of juvenile delinquency, protection and guidance of mentally and physically handicapped juveniles, of delinquent juveniles, of orphans, and of foundlings, health guidance of juveniles, assistance and guidance on betterment of living and culture of juveniles, supervision and guidance of child welfare institutions, etc. As local organs carrying out these functions, Child Welfare Centers, Welfare Offices, Child Welfare Officials, Social Welfare Secretaries, and Child Welfare Workers are established to take charge of casework concerning juveniles needing protection, family guidance, protection by accommodating juveniles in child welfare institutions, consultation for betterment of everyday life of juveniles, groupwork, etc. Aside from these, Child Welfare Councils are established in the Ministry of Health and Welfare and in every prefecture, taking charge of investigation of and deliberation on over-all problems concerning child welfare, in parallel with giving necessary advice to makers and sellers of harmful movies and publications as well as recommending wholesome and cultural assets for youths.

Ministry of Education. The responsible Ministry for the enforcement of laws concerning juvenile education such as the School Education Law, the Social Education Law, etc., in charge of supervising and guiding matters concerning compulsory education, special education of those mentally or physically handicapped, planning, promotion, and encouragement of social education, school feeding, health and physical education at schools, vocational education, etc. As for local organs prefectural and municipal Boards of Education are established, which take charge of operation of compulsory education, education of work-

ing juveniles, operation of special education, encouragement of activities of Civil Halls, guidance on educational activities outside the school, school management, etc.

Ministry of Justice. The responsible Ministry for the enforcement of the Juvenile Law and the Offenders Prevention and Rehabilitation Law, in charge of matters pertaining to protection and correction of juveniles committed crimes or of criminal nature, prevention of crimes, rehabilitation guidance of offenders. As local organs taking charge of correctional education of juvenile offenders, probation work, etc., Reformatories, Juvenile Prisons, Juvenile Diagnostic Centers, Probation Offices, Probation Officers, Rehabilitation Workers, Local Offenders Prevention and Rehabilitation Boards, etc., are established.

Ministry of Labor. The responsible Ministry for the enforcement of the Labor Standards Law, and the Employment Security Law, in charge of supervision and guidance of matters pertaining to employment of juveniles, security and stability of labor conditions. As local organs taking charge of employment exchange, vocational guidance, labor education, working hours, labor contract, stabilization and supervision of other labor conditions, etc., Public Employment Security Offices, Labor Standards Inspection Offices, Local Offices of Women and Minors, and Public Vocational Training Centers are established.

National Police Agency. The central governmental office responsible for the police actions pertaining to control of juvenile crimes, guidance of juveniles liable of committing crimes, control of crimes or environments harmful to the welfare of juveniles, etc.

Measures and Organizations to prevent Juvenile Delinquency and Crimes

In order to prevent juvenile delinquency and crimes it is necessary on the one hand that mental and physical bad conditions of each juvenile are to be conquered, while, on the other, efforts must be exerted to create wholesome and cul-

tured environment both in communities and in families. As for the coordination of family environment, such organs as Child Welfare Centers, Child Welfare Officials, Social Welfare Secretaries, are giving advice and guidance on the maintenance of normal family life, through family consultation service, livelihood guidance, and arousing the self-consciousness as a guardian. The coordination of individual conditions of each juvenile is, in case there are personal causes such as mental or physical handicaps, delinquency, abnormality in character, etc., being rendered by casework, or by accommodating him in Homes for Mentally Handicapped Children, Homes for Physically Handicapped Children, or Homes for Juvenile Training and Education. As for the coordination of social environment, independent and voluntary activities are being carried out by those concerned in school education and child welfare work, through Children's Centers, Play-Grounds, club activities with Civic Halls as their centers, spare hours guidance, wholesome entertainment, recreation activities, etc. In addition, the enlightenment activities carried out by the efforts and cooperation of various juvenile and women's organizations have begun to play a big role in coordination of family and social environment. Regional setup with the object of juvenile protection and cultivation have been also consolidated, accompanied by the positive activities of rapidly increasing local organizations spontaneously formed by youths themselves. Chief organizations carrying out such activities are: YMCA, YWCA, Japan Boy Scouts Association, Japan Girl Scouts Association, Japan Big Brothers and Sisters Association, 4-H Clubs, Japan Sea Scouts Association, Japan Youth Hostel Association, Japan UNESCO Students' Association, etc. Aside from these a great many children's groups and children's clubs are organized in local communities, and other non-governmental organizations such as PTA's, mothers' clubs, mothers' groups, crimes prevention organizations, etc., are cooperating in the activities concerning juvenile affairs.

Protective Measures against Juvenile Delinquents and Juvenile Offenders

The juveniles liable of committing crimes or committed crimes are notified to the Child Welfare Center or the Family Court. Of those notified to the Child Welfare Center, if it has been decided from the viewpoint of welfare policy that to give protective guidance should be the best way, measures are taken in accordance with the Child Welfare Law. However, of those juveniles, if it has been decided that the corrective rehabilitation is necessary from the viewpoint of criminal policy, they are sent to the Family Court, if it has been decided from the viewpoint of welfare policy that to give protective guidance should be the best way, they are sent to the Child Welfare Centers so as to let them receive measures in accordance with the Child Welfare Law. As for the juveniles being notified and sent to the Family Court, investigation and diagnosis are made in conformity with the Juvenile Law. In case it has come to the conclusion that the protective disposition should be most reasonable the decision to that effect is reached by adjudgment, while in case the criminal punishment is necessary the juveniles are accordingly sent to public procurators.

Measures in accordance with the Child Welfare Law. The Child Welfare Centers investigate and make psychological, medical, mental hygienic, and social diagnosis of the juveniles and their families. And, in accordance with the results of such investigation and diagnosis, the protective guidance of juveniles are carried out by any one measure of (1) giving admonition to the juveniles and their guardians, (2) giving continuous guidance of Child Welfare Officials, Social Welfare Secretaries, or Child Welfare Workers, to the juveniles and their guardians, or (3) accommodating in such child welfare institutions as Homes for Juvenile Training and Education, Children's Homes, Homes for Mentally Handicapped Children, etc.

Measures in accordance with the Juvenile Law. Those adjudged by the Family Court are subjected to protective disposition by any one measure of (1) referring to the probation by Protection and Surveillance Stations, (2) referring to Homes for Juvenile Training and Education or Children's Homes, and (3) referring to Reformatories. In detail, (1) necessary supervision, training and rehabilitation work are carried out by Probation Officers or Junior Probation Officials attached to Protection and Surveillance Stations with the object of helping the cultivation and rehabilitation of juvenile offenders as well as preventing them from repetition of crimes; (2) necessary livelihood, vocational and educational guidances are given at Homes for Juvenile Training and Education or at Children's Homes so as to correct de-

linquent character of the juveniles referred to as well as to pave the way for making a comeback to the community; and (3) necessary corrective trainings such as disciplined living, vocational guidance, education, and medical treatment are carried out for juveniles sent to Reformatories, with the object of enabling them to rehabilitate as a member of society.

Criminal punishment. When juveniles commit crimes deserving of death, penal servitude, or imprisonment, they are sent to public procurators and subsequently adjudged by similar processes to general criminal cases. However, strong educational coloring is observed in regard to juveniles, in such expedients as mitigation of capital punishment and life imprisonment, sentence of indeterminate penalty, serving the sentence in Juvenile Prisons, etc.

Family System

It is sometimes said that there is a characteristic family system in Japan. Some even think that the family system of Japan can be traced as far back as the Japanese history itself. However, they are making a mistake in thinking so, for the family system, or the patriarchal family, is a product of Japanese society which has undergone similar historical development to every other country of the world; and, at the same time, this patriarchalism or the patriarchal system of family life existed at least once in the history of all the nations, and by no means the one peculiar only to Japan. Fustel de Coulanges gave an account of families of ancient Rome and Greece in his notable work "*La cité antique*" (1864), and if a Japanese read it now he would think that de Coulanges wrote about the family life in Japan. As such Roman and Greek family system, based upon the ancestor worship, was nothing else but the forebears of European one, it is no wonder that the European countries once had the family system identical with that of our country. However, in Europe and in America, which had inherited European mode of living, the ancient and medieval family sys-

tem became on the ebb since the modern age opened attended by the permeation of individualistic thought, and was gradually taken the place of by the modern mode of family life. That is to say, the older family life in which a so-to-say *ie* (household) was ideologically established to be infinitely succeeded from ancestors to descendants, to be maintained and devoted to, has changed into the one in which the "household" is considered to be the fruit of matrimony and upbringing of infants, and husband, wife, children and other members of the family make their living by the income individually obtained by one or more of the composing members of the "household". Identity or social position of one's ancestors is no longer cared at all, nor lineage and family honor. The ability of an individual is the only thing worth considering. In preceding passages the writer explained that the individualistic thoughts played no small part in putting a period to the patriarchalism in European countries; the expression may be changed in another way that, because such individualism was a form of thoughts inevitably brought forth by the change of social structure, the family system as well as the an-

cestor worship had to decay consequent on their inappropriateness and unessentiality to the modern mode of living.

Be the matter what it may it is an obvious fact that, contrary to the lapse of 50 to 100 years since the collapse of the patriarchal system of family life in European and American countries, the system still outlines in Japan—even legally existed up to 1947—and at least this fact can be said the specific feature of Japan. And, when one comes to think of the world historical fact that what put a period to the family system was the economic development, it is nothing one should feel proud of that the family system still outlines in Japan.

Those who want to see the family system of Japan must visit a farm village, the more remote from a city the better. Farm areas east or north of Tokyo may be most suitable for this purpose.

Suppose you visit a farm house. When you open the *koshidaka-shōji* (tall-skirted screen) and enter the house, you will usually find a wide hall, the unfloored half is the place for agricultural handworks and the remaining half is in most cases covered with *tatami* (mat) or board. A fireplace is made in this matted or board floor. Visitors are greeted and talk on business at the fireside, but which seat are you to take? May be you will sit down at random only according to convenience.

In fact, however, the seats at fireside are established respectively for the patriarch, his wife, visitor, etc. The front seat, *yokoza*, is for the patriarch, and the right or left side seat of *yokoza* is for the wife, which is called *kakaza*. The seat facing *kakaza* is *kyakuza*, the visitor's seat. The seat facing *yokoza* is *kijiri*, the lowest seat for those in charge of the fireplace, and, as servants or *yome* (wife) of the patriarch's son usually take this seat, it is also called *yomeza*. If you have visited a farm house and accidentally seated yourself, for instance, at *yokoza* (patriarch's seat), the patriarch will become confused without taking any other seat at fireside. In such case we naturally think that he might temporarily seat himself at *kakaza* or *kyakuza*, but it seems that the patriarch, who has lived only

in farm house, think it impossible to take a seat other than *yokoza*. It is rather ridiculous for us to see upset and confused patriarch. At any rate, such firmly established seating order at fireplace is nothing else but the visible aspect of patriarchalism, and that the order is so firmly established that the patriarch cannot even temporarily take a seat other than *yokoza* tells how firmly the patriarchal authority is maintained.

Like any other country the farmers are the guards of the last fortress of patriarchalism in Japan. Though it cannot but give an out-of-date impression in cities in case we say the family system outlines in Japan even at present, the truth of these words can be easily proved in rural areas.

The fact that the patriarchal authority is firmly established has a close relation to primogenital thoughts as a matter of course, and the superiority of status of the eldest son is surprisingly remarkable. The Japanese language has no precise equivalent of "brother," "Bruder", or "frère," and between the elder brother (sister) and the younger brother (sister) a verbal distinction is always established; even in case the word *kyōdai* (brothers or sisters; lit. elder brother, or sister, and younger brother, or sister) is used the idea implied in it is a so-to-say addition of them (elder brother, or sister, plus younger brother, or sister), and not the one implied in such words as "brother", "Bruder", or "frère", which means the children of same parents without taking their order of age into consideration. The age distinction is made because the possibility to become patriarch in future is strongest in the eldest. Therefore, when passing the time in small talk about, for instance, the relationships of others, the Japanese is usually not satisfied only with the explanation that A is the brother of B; it is necessary to explain that A is the elder (or younger) brother of B. Such relics of premogenital thoughts are clearly observed even in cities, to say nothing of the farming areas.

As for the problem of matrimony the consanguinean superiority or patria potestas adhering to the family system is distinctly

observed. The Japanese woman becomes, by marriage, not so much a wife as "*yome*"—daughter-in-law of husband's "household," or, in reality, of husband's parents. Though the Japanese word *yome* is derived from obsolete Japanese word meaning "a beautiful woman", the Chinese ideograph applied to *yome* stands for "a woman leaning against a house (or household)", realistically showing the woman's destiny under the feudalistic family system.

Prior to the establishment of the family system the matrimony was called *yobai* or *tsumatoi* in Japan. Which roughly meant that a man called upon his fiancée and called her name. These words were afterwards took the place of by *engumi* (lit. formation of a relationship) or *yometori* (lit. joining of the daughter (or son)-in-law by marriage in a new household), or, in the more colloquial expressions, *yome-iri* (lit. joining of the daughter-in-law by marriage in a new household) or *yome-tori* (lit. bringing the daughter-in-law by marriage to a new household), and the color of forming a new relationship between a "household" and another "household" has been so heightened that the original meaning of marriage has had to fade away at least phraseologically. The marriage is often expressed even at present as if it were the presentation and receipt of a young girl, such as "one gets a daughter-in-law by marriage" or "one gives his daughter to another".

As *yome* is the daughter-in-law of the "household" as well as the wife of patriarch's son, the most important duty called upon her has been to give birth to an heir. Similar fact can be found in the history of European countries, and the ancient Romans and Greeks even thought that wives without issue could be divorced. However, consequent on the protection of women and prohibition of divorce by the Christian religion, the divorce on the ground of barrenness was exterminated since. On the other hand there has been established no such restriction on divorce in Japan, and, in consequence, man has been able to divorce wife without issue; furthermore, with strengthening of patriarchal authority in the era, especially in the latter era, under the Tokugawa

Shogunate—the years of established feudalism—man became able to divorce his wife on any ground, that is, on no ground.

To make matters worse for women, divorce could not be claimed from wife's side unless the husband wanted the dissolution of marriage. However cruelly she might be treated, it was not allowed to leave the husband's household unless the letter of divorce was handed over by him. Even if the wife demanded the letter of divorce, if refused by husband, that was the end of it. The husband could hand over or refuse the letter of divorce as he pleased, without special reasons in either case. There was a thing which had played for several centuries the role of so-to-say asylum for those unfortunate and helpless women under the patriarchal system, contending with husbands' tyranny as well as protecting weak wives. It was the Tōkei-ji Temple at Matsugaoka, founded about 650 years ago by Kakusan-ni after the death of her husband, Hōjō Tokimune (1251–1284, the eighth regent of the Kamakura Shogunate). The Temple has situated facing the famous Enkaku-ji Temple across the Kamakura Highway, and, while the latter has been closed to women, the Tōkei-ji Temple has never allowed admittance to men. Down-trodden wives often ran into the Temple for safety and shook off husbands' pursuit. It was decided afterwards by the temple canon that one who had spent 3 years in the Temple as *ama* (nun) could break off herself from mundane life as well as escape from the tyranny of husband. This Tōkei-ji Temple still exists at present near Kitakamakura Station of Yokosuka line, and grand 650th anniversary service of founder Kakusan-ni was held in 1955. The main building, burnt down by the Great Earthquake of 1923, was reconstructed afterwards, and the Temple is in full flourish now. However it is no longer a Buddhist nunnery.

A book of "don'ts" for women ruled the time during the latter part of the Tokugawa Era: *Onna-daigaku* (lit. Women's University.) Though this book is of unknown authorship the contents exactly express the thoughts of the then noted Japanese classi-

cal scholar Kaibara-Ekiken, who was at the same time a follower of Confucianism. The book preaches that a woman's duty is in obeying others, or that a woman should obey father when at home, obey husband when married, and obey children when aged; this is called the virtue of 3 obediences. It is beyond the bounds of our imagination that how the women of those days were forced to submit tamely to slavery, and how fervently the then men-scholar and even bluestockings taught that to put up with such slavery is the very virtue of the women.

All these ethical codes were the products of the time in which a family itself was a productive organ, and the people produced through "household" as well as made their living by it. Consequently, with the change of productive family into the one with only consumptive function, the thoughts that a person is to be respected as an individual have appeared in the limelight as a matter of course.

Formerly it was thought that the "household" was the very foundation of society, and an individual was placed in the secondary position. A rule has been established that the "household" must be succeeded to by the patriarchal lineage, and the family labor must be supervised by the patriarch. These stood in a causal relation to such cruel treatment as the divorce of barren wife, or such unfairness as the primogeniture. In order to maintain the power of patriarch the patriarchal authority was more firmly established with advancing years, which, together with the consequent strengthening of man's husband's and paternal rights, inevitably resulted in accelerating the weakening of woman's social position. It was in 1873, 5 years after the Restoration of Meiji, that the claim of divorce from wife's side was at long last recognized in Japan.

In 1898 the so-called Meiji Civil Code was promulgated. Though newspapers at that time wrote up in a high-flown style that with the promulgation of the Civil Code the outlined family system was exterminated, neither the dignity of individual nor the equality of sexes could be virtually realized.

The headship system was not abolished, the primogeniture was still legally provided for, and it was also prescribed that the wife was incapable of disposing of her own property without husband's approval.

After the termination of the World War II a sweeping revision of the Civil Code was carried out in 1947, and the idea of "household" and patriarch, succession to the headship of a house, primogeniture, wife's incapability in disposing of her own property, went out of existence. The new Constitution provided that, with regard to matters pertaining to marriage and the family, laws must be enacted from the standpoint of individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes. However, it seems that the general public, especially those of 40 years of age or over—who were mostly born prior to the World War I—, cannot shake themselves free from the cherished thought of maintaining the "household." There is naturally a gap between such thought or sentiment and the actual phases of human life, to say nothing of the divergence from provisions of the Civil Code. This fact is one of the great difficulties we are now confronting with.

The Hoshis were a semi-commercial, semi-agricultural middle-class family of a small rural city. About 30 years ago the householder left a wife and 2 boys to mourn his death. By mother's (widow's) endeavor the elder son became by that time an assistant agricultural engineer, and the second son was working in the prefectural office. The mother looked for a bride for the elder son, and eventually such for the hand of a mild-mannered daughter, Mitsue, of a family of neighboring village for her son. Though Mitsue did not feel inclined to marry an unfamiliar man, she found it hard to refuse the earnest request of her mother-in-law-to-be.

The life of the newly weds was a happy one and a boy was born in time; however, as it is said that lights are usually followed by shadows, Mitsue's husband fell into a rivulet by accident on his way home from a merry-making and his body was found next morning. No time of grieving over his sudden death was allowed for Mitsue, as

she had to start laboring hard for the sake of subsistence of aged mother-in-law, baby and herself. She eventually succeeded in managing to keep body and soul together by knitwork and teaching the technique of it, after taking a short course in a knitting school of nearby city. However, since around the days of Mitsue's attending the city school, mother-in-law's sentiments began to be estranged from her daughter-in-law. It seems that the mother thought it better to transfer the patriarchal rights to the younger son, for, she thought, Mitsue, who was after all a stranger to the Hoshis, had probably no intention of maintaining the "household" and might even plan to remove the property. At every chance the mother fell out with Mitsue, and, when the harsh treatment became more than Mitsue could bear, she ran away from home with her child. The mother and her younger son subsequently tried to dispossess her of her property on the plea of maintaining the "Hoshi household." However, with a sick child to feed, Mitsue was no longer a yielding, helpless woman. She made up her mind to secure even a strip of land or a squalid hut for her child who had been suffering from spinal complaint. The matter was thus resorted to mediation of the Family Court, with Mitsue's mother-in-law as the declarant.

One of the mediators was the attorney engaged by the mother-in-law. He persuaded Mitsue to go back to her parents' home, settling a small portion of property on her. Over against this Mitsue, who had knowledge of new Civil Code, stood firm, as-

serting her rights that the small portion of property the attorney suggested was to be given to her mother-in-law and the remainder was due to Mitsue and her child. Legally speaking, Mitsue's deceased husband had inherit all the property from his father as the only heir under the old Civil Code, and, when he died, his property was to be succeeded to by his wife (Mitsue) and child, the only direct lineal descendant, in compliance with the new Civil Code. Mitsue maintained her opinion that this was the fundamental idea of the new Civil Code; while her mother-in-law did not recede an inch standing by her opinion that if the matter was settled in favor of Mitsue the "Hoshi household" should collapse. Had the case happened in former years, it is as clear as noonday that Mitsue had to go back to her parents' home with a small alimony and pocket the insult. The Civil Code now in effect has, on the contrary, protected such people as Mitsue and her son, even at the cost of the "Hoshi household".

In fact, this complicated case has not brought to a conclusion as yet. However, it can be said that the radical change of general social condition of Japan is symbolically condensed into this case.

Tide rises. The waves dash against the shore reef and splash. The reef withstands coolly. However, as the tide rises higher the combat between waves and reef subsides, and the reef is submerged before long. By this time one cannot find out the position the reef situated. Such scene reminds us of the heightening of the tide of a new age.

VIII HEALTH PROBLEMS

Diseases in Japan and Medical Expenses of its People

Quantity and quality of people's diseases

It is extremely difficult to grasp correctly the quantity and quality of diseases in Japan.

It is not long since the study of this nature was started even in foreign countries, and it was not until 1948 that a survey was conducted on diseases involving the whole Japanese people.

Such a survey has been conducted once a year since 1948 by investigating families for a one-month period by means of a sample survey method.

The survey deals with occurrence of diseases by considering as patients those who have received medical treatment due to abnormal conditions, both physical and mental, those who have been confined to bed without receiving medical treatment and those who have stayed out of routine business for more than 1 day.

The basic investigation for welfare administration conducted on April 1 of each year investigates percentages of sick people on the same definition.

The result of the people's health survey conducted in October, 1954 revealed that the disease incidence rate per 100 persons per annum was 188, the duration of sick-

ness per person per year was 23.7 days and the average duration of a sickness was 12.6 days.

Compared with the result of investigation in 1949 the incidence rate increased three times and the duration of sickness per person increased also 1.8 times, showing an appreciable increases in the five-year period.

According to the investigation conducted on May 12, 1954, the number of people who received medical treatment at hospitals (including dental clinics) totaled 2,620,000 including 390,000 who were hospitalized and 2,240,000 out-patients. This shows that 446 out of every 100,000 persons were hospitalized and 2,569 others received treatment as out-patients, or one out of every 33 persons was sick in one way or another.

The above figure shows an increase of about 1.5 times as compared with the result of investigation conducted in 1949.

Apart from the above survey, estimated figures of patients obtained from monthly reports of hospitals showed that the rates of in-patients and out-patients per day in 1955 were 452 and 557, totaling 1,009. This figure is about 1.8 times as many as that of 563 recorded for 1949.

The result of a survey conducted on people's health in 1954 showed that the in-

cidence of respiratory diseases accounted for the greatest percentage of 38 per cent (including 32 per cent of simple cold, followed by diseases of digestive organs with 16 per cent (including diarrhoea, enteritis, diseases of teeth), and senility and others with 13 per cent.

The average duration of diseases declined to 12.6 days in 1954 from 21.4 days in 1949, showing a tendency toward an increase of mild cases and a quick healing.

The survey also showed that 94.4 per cent of those who suffered from diseases received some kind of medical treatment, while 5.6 per cent did not have any treatment at all.

Of those who received treatment, 50 per cent consulted doctors and dentists and 47 per cent took patent medicines.

Of those who did not receive treatment, 29.2 per cent was accounted for by psychotics and 15 per cent by decrepits and others.

Of those suffering from other diseases, more than 90 per cent received some kind of treatment.

Those afflicted with diseases mentioned below had a high rate of consulting physicians: Tuberculosis; venereal diseases; malignant neoplasm; diseases of the hearing organ; pneumonia; bronchitis; diseases of nose and nostrils; diseases of larynx and tonsils; pregnancy; parturition and puerperal diseases; major diseases of newly-born babies (excluding diarrhoea and inflammation of intestines).

Those afflicted with diseases caused by intestinal worms (round worm, duodenal worm, etc.), acute inflammation of the nose and throat (cold), etc. depend on patent medicines in a high percentage.

Those suffering from neuralgia, inflammation of the nerve, arthritis and rheumatism received treatments by masseurs, acupuncturists, moxa-cauterists and judo-orthopaedists.

Treatment of Diseases (Percentage against total cases of diseases)

Year	Total No. of Cases						Total No. of Cured Cases							
				Doctor						Patent Medicine				Others
	Total	Cured	Not cured	Total	Out patient	In patient	Dentist	Massage, acupuncture, judo-cautery, etc.	Prescribed medicine	Total	Drug on consignment	Drug from pharmacy	Other drugs	
Sept. 1949	100.0	97.1	2.9	63.4	—	—	4.9	5.3	—	33.9	—	—	—	1.9
June. 1950	100.0	90.2	9.8	61.5	—	—	3.8	5.1	4.8	24.6	—	—	—	1.2
May 1951- Apr. 1952	100.0	96.1	3.9	45.6	44.1	1.5	4.0	5.1	0.8	48.0	—	—	—	1.3
Nov. 1953	100.0	89.1	10.9	38.6	36.4	2.2	4.8	3.6	1.7	45.5	25.0	20.0	0.5	1.0
Oct. 1954	100.0	94.4	5.6	45.3	43.0	2.3	4.7	4.0	0.8	46.6	18.6	23.8	4.2	1.8

Medical expenses of the people

The amount of medical expenditures of the Japanese people has been increasing steadily due to the increase in the number of patients as mentioned earlier and an increase in the amount of medical expenses per each case.

The estimated amount of medical expenditures showed a steady increase from 117,200 million yen in 1951 (¥1,386 per capita) to 154,500 million yen in 1952

(¥1,798 per capita), and further to 208,300 million yen in 1953 (¥2,394 per capita).

The ratio of medical expenses of the people against their incomes increased from 2.6 per cent in 1951 to 2.9 per cent in 1952 and 3.5 per cent in 1953.

It is difficult to make a correct comparison of Japan's medical expenditures with those of other countries in view of the varying conditions in each country.

However, it is an established theory that the amount of national medical expenses should be limited to less than 3-4 per cent

of the national income, and the percentage in Japan is approaching this limit.

Therefore, the position occupied by the medical expenditures in the national economy cannot be ignored and their effect is important.

As for the method of payment for receiving medical treatment, the ratio of payment with public funds including those of social security and livelihood protection increased appreciably the number of cases

in which medical expenses were borne by individuals gradually decreased.

In September, 1949 the number of cases in which the expenses were borne by individuals accounted for 46.5 per cent, payment with social security funds 50.9 per cent, and that with funds covered by the livelihood protection law 1.5 per cent.

However, in November 1953, the percentages were 35.4, 60.4 and 3.1 in the above order.

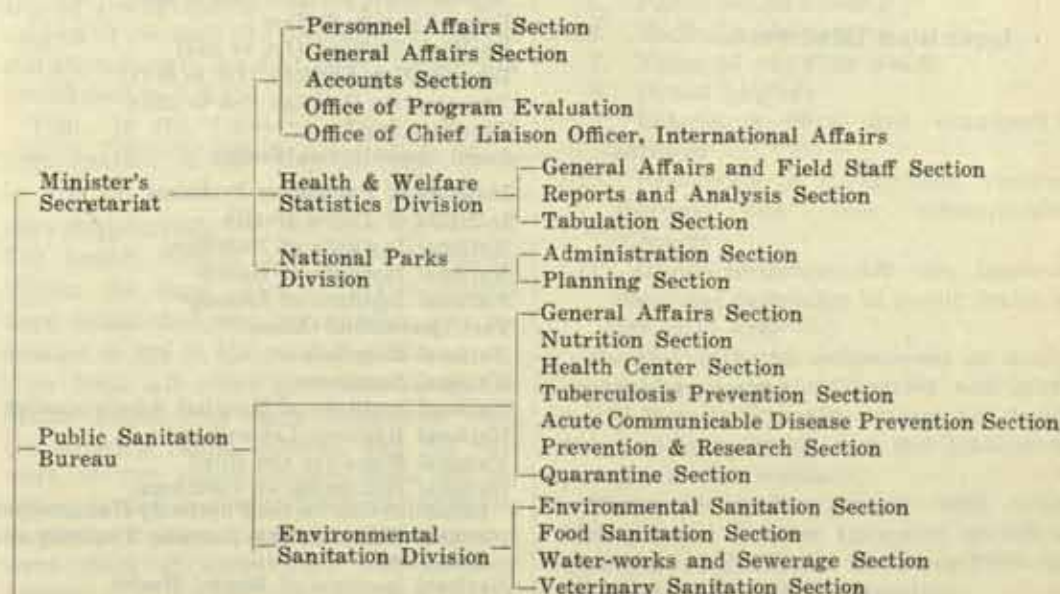
Organization of Public Health Administration

Organization of national health administration

The Fig. 1 below shows the organizational structure of the national health and welfare administration in Japan. The idea of close cooperation among the fields of preventive medicine, medical care, social welfare and social insurance being maintained, the Public Sanitation Bureau, Medical Affairs Bureau, and Pharmaceutical and Sup-

ply Bureau, together with the children's Bureau share responsibilities on health administration in the field of preventive medicine, medical care, pharmaceutical supplies, and maternal and child hygiene, respectively. With the assistance of statistical services rendered by the Health and Welfare Statistic Division of the Ministry, these Bureaus direct the health programs by giving orders to the local Prefectural governments(46). The following is the organizational chart as of 1955.

Organization of the Ministry of Health & Welfare in 1954



—Medical Affairs Bureau	Medical Affairs Section
	Dental Hygiene Section
	Nursing Section
	Liquidation Guidance Section
	Management Section
	National Hospital Section
	National Sanatorium Section
—Pharmaceutical and Supply Bureau	Arrangement Section
	Enterprise Section
	Pharmaceutical Affairs Section
	Drug Manufacturing Section
	Inspection Section
—Social Affairs Bureau	Biologicals Section
	Narcotic Section
	General Affairs Section
	Protection Section
—Children's Bureau	Rehabilitation Section
	Life Improvement Section
	Institution Section
	Planning Section
—Insurance Bureau	Child Protection Section
	Child Care Section
	Maternal & Child Health Section
	General Affairs Section
	Health Insurance Section
	National Health Insurance Section
—Repatriation Relief Bureau	Welfare Pension Insurance Section
	Seamen's Insurance Section
	Medical Care Section
	Actuarial & Statistical Section
—Affiliated Institutions—	General Affairs Section
	Repatriation Section
	Relief Section
	Arrangement Sections (1st to 2nd)
	Demobilization Section
	Business Sections (1st to 2nd)
	Investigation Sections (1st to 3rd)
	Examination Sections (1st to 2nd)
	Accounts Section
	Legal Investigation Section
	Institute of Population Problems
—Affiliated Institutions—	Institute of Public Health
	National Institute of Nutrition
	National Institute of Health
	National Institute of Leprosy
	Port Quarantine Offices
	National Hospitals
	National Sanatoria
	National Institute of Hospital Administration
	National Hygienic Laboratory
	National Home for the Blind
	National Institution of Vocational
—Affiliated Institutions—	Rehabilitation for the Physically Handicapped
	National Home for the Juvenile Training and Education
	National Institute of Mental Health

Local Branch Offices —

Kyushu Regional C.D. Prevention Official's Office
 Regional Branches of Medical Affairs Bureau
 Regional Narcotic Investigators' Offices
 Local Repatriation Offices

Organization of local health administration

In response to the afore-mentioned national health administrative organization, the health departments are established in each prefectural government and larger municipal governments, in order to carry out their health programs in compliance with the national policies and programs directed by the Ministry of Health & Welfare.

These prefectural and municipal governments divide their political boundaries into several "health center districts", and the local health center is established in each one of those districts. At present there are 772 health centers in this country.

For the reason of geographical conditions, most of the health centers have their branch health units within their health center districts.

Health Center

In 1935, the Government felt the necessity of strengthening the program of prevention of diseases and promotion of health, and consequently the first health center was established in Tokyo.

Then, in the following year, with the promulgation of the Health Center Law by the Diet, the Government laid down ten-year-program for the construction of 570 health centers and 1,140 branches. Within the same year, 49 health centers were established and the number was increased to 306 in the year of 1943.

In 1944, all other governmental public health institutions were integrated with the existing health centers, and the network of 770 health centers were set up, although they were poorly staffed with the limited professional staff and their services were those of consultative and advisory nature.

However, the World War II devastated practically all of these facilities and the program was at a standstill. But after the war, 675 health centers were reorganized and reconstructed. Since then, the health centers have been working as the "first front" organizations for public health program, in collecting and distributing information on public health, improving the environmental sanitation, and thus serving for the protection of people to get rid of health risks after the war.

Under such circumstances, the Health Center Law was revised in 1947, giving them more responsibilities with authorities for local health program. The functions of health centers prescribed in the law at present are as follows:

1. Health education
2. Vital statistics
3. Improvement of nutrition and food sanitation
4. Environmental sanitation, including housing condition, water supply, sewage disposal, drainage, etc.
5. Public health nursing
6. Medical social service
7. Maternal and child health
8. Dental hygiene
9. Laboratory tests and examination services
10. Prevention of tuberculosis, venereal diseases and other communicable diseases
11. Other programs for the improvement and promotion of public health at the local level

Parallel with the enforcement of health center functions, consideration was given to the location of health centers, the facilities and equipments, and the number of personnel was increased.

Thus the health centers with much strengthened services amounted to 783 in all Japan as of the end of March 1955 and their activities became extensive.

VIII HEALTH PROBLEMS

Number of Health Centers and their Staff

Year	No. of Health Center	Number of Health Center Personnel			
		Number of Physicians	No. of Public Health Nurses	Others	Total
1938 (Mar.)	49	98	147	343	588
1939 (")	78	156	234	546	936
1940 (")	108	216	324	756	1,296
1941 (")	134	268	402	938	1,608
1942 (")	187	374	561	1,309	2,244
1943 (")	239	478	717	1,673	2,888
1944 (")	306	612	918	2,142	3,672
1945 (")	770	1,340	3,692	4,590	9,622
1946 (")	770	1,340	3,692	4,590	9,622
1947 (")	675	1,211	3,215	4,169	8,595
1948 (")	675	2,558	4,258	10,160	16,976
1949 (")	675	2,558	4,973	12,138	19,669
1950 (")	689	3,043	5,208	12,951	21,202
1951 (")	704	4,226	6,682	22,824	33,732
1952 (")	724	4,606	7,352	25,992	37,950
1953 (")	752	4,846	7,576	26,549	38,971
1954 (")	772	5,066	7,806	27,623	40,485
1955 (")	783	5,174	7,969	28,053	41,196

Some examples of the activities during the year 1954 are as follows; Cases reported to the health centers; T.B. 523,105; V.D. 183,725; C.D. 406,491; Food Poisoning 22,530.

In addition to the above, all cases of pregnancy and birth were reported. They also performed 2,372,142 cases of home visits, 27,297 cases of V.D. contact tracing, and 6,351,759 cases of medical social services.

The health centers supervised health examination for T.B. and preventive inoculation for communicable disease which are usually performed by the community authorities, schools and factories, with technical assistance on X-ray photography and laboratory testing of sputum. They also performed the health examination of people in the communities where the T.B. were prevalent. They took 17,072,449 indirect and 1,271,646 direct X-ray photographs.

Medical System

People engaged in medical profession

In order to secure proper medical treatment for the people, it is necessary to improve the quality of not only doctors and dentists but also health nurses, maternity nurses, dental hygienists and X-ray technicians who play auxiliary roles in giving medical treatment.

In looking back over the development of the medical system of this country, major

efforts have been made for achieving the above-mentioned goal.

Lately, the quality of those engaged in medical profession has improved appreciably. Improvement of the quality of such people is one of the basic principles of the present medical system.

Doctors and Dentists

To be a doctor one must graduate from a medical college, take actual training in hospitals or clinics for a minimum of one year, pass a national examination for phy-

sicians and obtain a license from the Welfare Minister, although there are a few exceptions.

As for a dentist, the same steps should be taken with the exception of the actual training after graduation from a medical college.

Moreover, 6-year study is required in medical colleges which is 2 years more than in ordinary colleges.

There is a group of doctors called doctors of Chinese medicine. They require the same qualifications as ordinary doctors, but they treat patients on theories of oriental school of medicine.

They seldom use chemical drugs, but instead, use medicines that are made from medical herbs.

Intern system and national examination system. The system requiring a medical college graduate to have an internship of minimum one year to qualify him for a national examination for physicians has been contributing to the improvement of their quality since it was adopted in 1946.

Training on consultation and treatment must be taken either at hospitals attached to medical colleges or hospitals designated by the Welfare Minister while training on hygiene should be taken at clinics designated by the Welfare Minister.

These are the standard formula for the training:

Period: Period of actual training will be 12 months.

Training in various departments of medicine should be done according to the following principles:

Internal medicine—5 months minimum, of which 50 per cent should be devoted to training in internal medicine in the narrow sense of the word. The remaining 50 per cent of the period should be devoted to training in other departments.

Field of surgery: 6 months minimum, of which one month will be devoted to training in obstetrics. Fifty per cent of the remaining 5 months should be devoted to training in surgery and another 50 per cent to that in other departments.

Hygiene: 2 weeks

Institutes for actual training. Standard requirements of a hospital for training:

Hospitals must have at least internal, surgical, obstetric, gynecological, otorhinolaryngological and ophthalmological departments (it is desirable to have pediatrics, psychotherapeutic, neurological, dermatological and urinological departments in addition).

They also must have a considerable number of beds and enough in- and out-patients required for actual training.

Each department should have an instructor having ample experience, extensive knowledge and noble character, and a proper number of assistants.

The hospitals must be equipped with pathological, and bacteriological laboratories, dissecting room for pathological research, library, etc. in addition to the equipments specified by the National Medical Treatment Law.

License. In order to obtain a doctor's license in Japan, one must pass a national examination for physicians given by the Welfare Ministry.

Due to a lack of agreement between Japan and other countries regarding reciprocity of license, even those who have obtained a doctor's license in foreign countries must take and pass the national examination in Japan in order to practice medicine here.

The national examination is held twice every year, in April and October. Both written and oral examinations are given. Written examination is given in internal medicine, surgery, obstetrics and hygiene plus four of the following eight subjects:

Pediatrics, psychotherapeutics, neurology, dermatology, otorhinolaryngology, ophthalmology, plastic surgery and urinology.

The four subjects will be selected by lots in advance.

A national examination is also held for dentists in April and September every year. The examination is given in writing and practical exercises.

Subjects of the written examination are three of the following five subjects: Anatomy, physiology, pathology, pharmacology and bacteriology. The three subjects will be selected by lots in advance. In addition, written examination will also be

given in the following five subjects: Dental surgery, preservation of teeth (including filling), supplementation and dental hygiene.

Examination in practical exercises will cover diagnosis, filling and supplementation of teeth.

Number of doctors. The number of doctors in Japan totaled 89,885 as of the end of 1953, which was equivalent to 103.3 per every 100,000 persons.

The figure is smaller than the 132.4 of New Zealand, 131.8 of West Germany, 131.1 of the United States and 122.2 of Italy.

However, it compares favorably with 106.9 of Canada, 103.8 of Denmark, 87.9 of France and 87.1 of England and Wales.

Number of dentists. The total number of dentists at the end of 1953 was 30,086, which was equivalent to 34.6 per every 100,000 persons.

The figure is smaller than 54 of West Germany 52.0 of the U.S., etc., but compares favorably with 35.2 of Canada, 28.9 of France, 28.4 of Denmark, 28.1 of England and Wales and 19.7 of Italy.

Pharmacists

Qualification: To become a pharmacist, one is required, as a rule, to graduate from a college of pharmacology, pass the national examination for pharmacists and obtain a license from the Welfare Minister.

However, those who have obtained a pharmacist license in foreign countries specified by the Welfare Minister can obtain the same license in Japan without taking the national examination.

At present, such countries are limited to the United States alone, therefore, those who have obtained a pharmacist license in any other foreign countries are required to pass the Japanese national examination in order to obtain the license here.

Number of pharmacists. The number of pharmacists as of the end of 1953 totaled 51,138 and their percentage per 100,000 population was 58.8.

This rate is higher than 44.0 of Italy, 31.8 of France, 27.0 of England and Wales,

and 24.0 of West Germany, and is on the world's highest level together with that of New Zealand, Ireland and Scotland where the figure is 62.7, 60.8 and 58.7.

The number of pharmacists as of the end of 1955 and the kinds of work they were engaged in follow:

Number of pharmacists (end of 1955)	
Total	52,418
Male	35,504
Female	16,914
Number of foreign pharmacists	85
Male	52
Female	33
Number of those who operate pharmacies	13,551
Number of those who are employed in pharmacies	6,910
Number of those who are employed in hospitals and clinics	8,000
Number of those who are engaged in instruction and/or research in colleges	800
Number of those who are engaged in public health administration or sanitation work	2,759
Number of those who are engaged in drug business (manufacture, import and sales)	9,285
Number of those who are engaged in business of toxic and drastic drugs (manufacture, import and sales)	699
Number of those who are engaged in other industries	1,223
Others	9,191

System of division of role between doctors and pharmacists

Division of role between doctors and pharmacists is one of the basic principles of the Japanese medical system.

The rationalization and efficient operation of the medical system can be expected when the profession of doctors and dentists is clearly separated from that of pharmacists under close cooperation of both parties.

Under the circumstances, the system of dividing the two professions has been adopted in many countries either under an applicable law or as a matter of common practice.

In this country this problem has been argued between doctors and dentists on the one hand and pharmacists on the other for 70 years since 1868.

Up to the present moment, the system in Japan allows doctors to prepare medicines for their own prescriptions and they are required to issue prescriptions only when patients request for prescriptions instead of medicines.

This may be called a voluntary division of labor system, but actually division of profession has been done only in large hospitals.

This means that there are points at issue in the way remunerations are paid for medical treatment, therefore, the Government has made a thorough study on fees for medical treatment and announced the following plan called the new medical system.

Doctors' and dentists' fees, which should be paid for their knowledge and technique, have so far been included in the prices of medicines and other materials, and they have had difficulties in obtaining fair remunerations for their diagnosis when they do not give medicines or injections to the patients.

Since the division of profession in the medical system is primarily aimed at dividing the functions of doctors and dentists on the one hand and of pharmacists on the other, remunerations should be paid in such a way that a fair evaluation may be given to their respective knowledge and technique.

Based on the above idea, a law was enacted to prohibit in principle preparations of medicines by doctors and dentists and to obligate them to issue prescriptions while providing that pharmacists should prepare medicines according to the prescriptions of doctors and dentists.

Health Nurse, Maternity Nurse and Nurse

The status of health nurse, maternity nurse and nurse as assistants to doctors and dentists is provided for under the medical treatment law.

Strenuous efforts have been made by the Government to improve their quality since a new system was established in 1948.

Qualifications. To become a nurse one is required to complete a specified course of minimum 3 years at a Government-authorized training institute (authorized either by the Welfare Minister or the Education Minister) after graduating from a senior high school. Then she will be qualified to take a national examination.

To become a health or a maternity nurse, one is required to take additional half-year training before being qualified to take a national examination.

If they pass the national examination a license will be granted by the Welfare Minister.

In order to cope with the shortage of nurses caused by those high qualifications, the nurse system was partially revised in 1951 and a system of assistant-nurse was established.

Even to become a assistant-nurse one is required to take 2-year training at an authorized training institute after graduating from a junior high school.

After completing the above training she has to pass an examination given by prefectural government authorities in order to obtain a license.

The three kinds of nurses are to take an auxiliary or supplementary role in the business of doctors and dentists, therefore, they come under the guidance of the latter, and their work is subjected to considerable limitations.

(1) A health nurse should act according to the instructions of a doctor in charge of a patient and/or the chief of a public health agency.

(2) A maternity nurse must engage a doctor when she opens her own maternity home and let her patients or their family members ask for the doctor in case of abnormal delivery.

(3) Health, maternity and ordinary nurses are not allowed to use medical instruments, give medicines or instructions regarding medicines, or take any action which may cause harm to health unless it is

done by a doctor or a dentist except when they are instructed by a doctor in charge.

The Numbers of health, maternity and ordinary nurses. Since all these nurses are mostly female (there is a system of a male nurse as far as the nursing work is concerned), there is a considerable gap between the number of those who have obtained licenses and that of those who are actually engaged in nursing.

The number of health nurses as of the end of 1953 is as follows:

	Rate per 100,000 population
License holders	29,824 34.3
Of which working	12,339 14.2

The number of maternity nurses as of the end of 1953 is as follows:

	Rate per 100,000 population
License holders	89,669 103.1
Of which working	56,419 64.8

The rate is lower than 415.6 of Ireland and 147.5 of Australia, but much higher than 39.9 of Italy, 23.8 of West Germany, 23.5 of England and Wales and 23.3 of France.

The number of ordinary nurses (including assistant-nurse and male-nurse) as of the end of 1953 is as follows:

	Rate per 100,000 population
License holders	219,871 219.8
Of which working	112,002 128.7

The rate is considerably lower than in Canada (414.4), England and Wales (242.2), the United States (215.0), West Germany (211.8) and France (188.0).

Dental Hygienists, Dental Technicians and X-ray Technicians

Dental hygienists. It was in 1948 that a system of dental hygienists patterned after its European and American prototype was adopted in Japan.

They are permitted to do work involving protective measures against dental and oral diseases under direct guidance of dentists.

Furthermore, they have been allowed to do auxiliary work concerning dental treatment, namely, work as dental nurse, since 1955.

A license of a dental hygienist can be obtained by passing an examination given by prefectural authorities after finishing a senior high school course plus a minimum of one year training at an authorized training institute.

The number of dental hygienists as of April, 1954 was only 462.

However, considering that the system is new and a new work as a dental nurse has been added to their services, their number is expected to increase in the future.

Dental technicians. A review of the actual situation of dental treatment in recent years shows that there is a considerable shortage of dentists in this country.

The ratio of practicing dentists against the total population is 1 against 3,000 and prospects for their increase in the future are not very bright.

On the other hand, majority of the people are suffering from some kind of dental diseases and the number of patients requiring such treatments as artificial teeth, filling and reformation amounts to an enormous figure.

Under the circumstances, dentists have no time to make artificial teeth, filling and correction equipments for their patients.

In order to facilitate treatment by dentists, a group of persons specializing in manufacturing artificial teeth, filling and reformation equipments, etc. have come into being and their role in dental treatment has been assuming an increasing importance.

Therefore, a system of dental technicians who carry on the above-mentioned jobs was established in 1955 in order to improve the quality of these workers and secure proper dental treatment for the people.

At present the number of persons who are engaged in this type of work is estimated to total about 7,000.

Under the new system established in 1955, in order to become a dental technician, one must pass an examination given by prefectural authorities after completing a 3-year course at a training institute authorized

by the Welfare Minister. A junior high school education is a minimum requirement for being admitted to such a training institute.

X-ray technicians. A system was established in 1951 governing the qualifications of those who handle X-ray equipments in medical treatment.

In order to become a X-ray technician, one must take minimum 2 years' course at an authorized training institute after graduating from a senior high school, pass an examination given by the Welfare Minister and obtain a license from prefectural authorities.

The X-ray technician is not allowed to handle X-ray equipments in medical treatment except under instructions of doctors and dentists.

Masseurs, Acupuncturists, Moxa-cauterists, Jūdō-orthopaedists and Other Quasi-medical Practitioners

There are a group of people who are permitted to do a limited medical treatment to supplement functions of doctors in Japan.

These people, called quasi-medical practitioners, are masseurs, acupuncturists, moxa-cauterists and jūdō-orthopaedists.

Massage, acupuncture and moxa-cautery are traditional treatments which have developed among the Japanese people over a long period of time.

They originate from oriental medicine and are based on experiences.

As for massage, it was considered a monopolistic occupation for the blind in the Tokugawa Era because of the blind protection policy of that time. However, in recent years the number of masseurs who are not blind has increased considerably.

Massage is to give stimulations to the body by hands, and recently massage based on European medicine has been introduced and the advantages of both the Japanese and European methods of massage are being combined.

Acupuncturists use metallic needles to give stimulations to the body while moxa-

cauterists apply burning moxa to give indirect stimulations.

The spots where the stimulations are given are common in both cases.

Jūdō-orthopaedists treat those whose bones are broken. They are supposed to operate under instructions of doctors.

These 4 kinds of quasi-medical practitioners are required to pass examinations given by prefectural authorities upon finishing minimum 2 years' training at authorized training institutes after graduating from a senior high school. (In the case of a graduate from a junior high school, the training period shall be 2 years for masseurs and 4 years for acupuncturists, moxa-cauterists and jūdō-orthopaedists).

The numbers of these quasi-medical practitioners as of the end of 1955 are as follows:

Masseurs	22,858
Acupuncturists	3,548
Moxa-cauterists	3,982
Jūdō-orthopaedists	5,183
Masseur-acupuncturists	3,882
Masseur-moxa-cauterists	1,823
Acupuncturist-moxa-cauterists	9,863
Masseur-acupuncturist-moxa-cauterists	20,424
Other quasi-medical practitioners	12,915

Medical facilities

In order to provide the people with proper medical treatment, it is not only necessary to improve the quality of those engaged in medical profession, but also to see to it that medical institutes where they work be equipped and managed in a satisfactory manner.

Medical institutes in Japan, in particular, hospitals, are subject to government control with emphasis placed on the above points.

A law governing these points was enacted in 1948 under the name of the National Medical Treatment Law.

This law gives regulations concerning hospitals, clinics and maternity clinics. It sets a clear line of demarcation between hospitals and clinics as having different characters.

According to the law, hospitals must have facilities to accommodate more than 20 patients whereas clinics are defined as having no such facilities or facilities to accommodate not more than 19 patients.

However, the above difference is rather formal and superficial.

The more important difference lies in this point—hospitals are organized for the primary purpose of offering scientific and proper medical treatment to the sick and injured, whereas in clinics this purpose cannot be achieved in a satisfactory manner.

Standard Qualifications of Hospital

As mentioned in the foregoing, a hospital must be so equipped as to offer scientific and proper medical treatment for both in- and out-patients.

Therefore, it must be equipped with medical examination and treatment rooms for various departments, operation rooms, equipments for clinical examination, X-ray equipments, dispensaries, sterilization facilities and feeding facilities.

It also must keep more than specified numbers of doctors, dentists, nurses and other assistants.

Sick rooms and medical examination and treatment facilities must also conform to the minimum requirements specified by the law.

The system of an "integrated hospital" was also adopted. This kind of hospital, equipped with versatile facilities, is intended to serve as a so-called medical center, hospital for training interns, or an organ for training and reeducation of nurses and other medical assistants.

It is also intended to improve other hospitals as a model hospital.

Clinics

As for clinics, they are not subject to such strict regulations regarding their substance as hospitals.

However, regarding those having accommodation facilities of more than 10 beds, they are subject to the same regulations as hospitals as to the quality of those facilities.

There is a fundamental difference between clinics and hospitals, the former are not primarily aimed at accommodating patients but are designed for just giving treatment to out-patients.

Actual Conditions of Medical Facilities

The number of hospitals and clinics in Japan has been increasing steadily year after year. It is especially notable that the number of beds for tuberculosis patients and psychotics has been increasing appreciably in recent years in accordance with the Government policy to give efficient treatment to them.

The number of hospitals and clinics at the end of 1955 is as follows:

T.B. Sanatorium	676
Mental hospital	260
Leprosy asylum	14
Isolation hospital	73
Ordinary and other hospitals	4,096
Total	5,119
As of the end of 1954	
Clinics	49,816
with beds	15,768
without beds	34,048
Dental clinics	24,200
with beds	14
without beds	24,186

The increase in the number of beds in hospitals has been remarkable. It is estimated that the number increased by about 40,000 to 50,000 every year.

The number of beds, which stood at 480,000 including 390,000 at hospitals and 90,000 in clinics as of the end of 1953, was an increase of 80,000 as compared with the total number of beds at the end of 1951.

The ratio of the number of hospital beds against every 100,000 persons as of the end of 1953 was 554.6, which was about twice as many as the 230.2 recorded for 1935.

However, this figure is still far behind that of other countries. Canada—1,200.5; England and Wales—1,155.4; Australia—1,116.8; West Germany—1,036.6; the United States—990.2; France—885.2; Italy—791.7.

In spite of this tremendous increase in the number of hospitals and beds, their co-

efficient of utilization has been very high, and a further increase in their number is considered necessary, especially with re-

gard to beds for T.B. patients and psychotics.

Parallel with this rapid increase in the

Number of hospitals and beds

	Year	Ordinary hospital	Mental hospital	T. B. sanatorium	Leper house	Isolation hospital	Ordinary hospital	Total
Hospital	1951	3,796	148	467	13	100	3,068	7,592
	1952	4,148	173	586	13	100	3,270	8,590
	1953	4,456	200	561	13	83	3,599	8,912
	1954	4,779	224	610	14	87	3,858	9,582
	1955	5,119	260	676	14	73	4,096	10,238
Bed	1951	313,545	21,899	12,276	10,000	13,369	145,514	516,603
	1952	358,478	22,979	102,215	11,021	8,240	214,027	717,960
	1953	408,471	27,617	104,076	12,047	7,127	257,604	816,942
	1954	461,027	30,447	113,640	6,288	297,507	909,809
	1955	512,688	35,841	122,967	14,095	5,994	333,791	1,025,376

Number of clinics as of the end of 1955

Ordinary clinics	51,349
with beds	17,517
without beds	33,832
Dental clinics	24,773

number of hospitals and other medical facilities, the number of doctorless and dentistless villages throughout the country decreased from 1,148 and 4,824 as of the end of 1950 to 827 and 3,693, respectively, in May, 1954.

The fact that there is still so many doctorless and dentistless villages in Japan

despite the above decrease poses a great problem to the country's medical administration, and the Government is studying measures in earnest to cope with the situation.

The actual conditions of doctorless and dentistless villages in recent years are as follows:

	Year	A	B	C	Total
Doctorless	End of 1950	583	298	267	1,148
	Sept., 1952	575	237	225	1,038
	May, 1954	438	276	113	827
	May, 1955	118	53	20	197
	May, 1956	84	61	20	165
Dentistless	End of 1950	2,499	1,271	1,054	4,824
	May, 1954	1,800	1,144	749	3,693
	May, 1955	698	264	243	1,205

- Remarks: (A) Villages of small population which has easy access to nearby towns and villages where medical facilities are available.
 (B) Villages in mountainous or remote areas where it is difficult to establish clinics, etc.
 (C) Villages where it is possible to establish clinics in view of their population, geographical position, and other factors.

Pharmacies and sale of pharmaceuticals

Pharmacies are required to register their business with local governments, and the registration must be renewed by December 31 of each year, otherwise it will lose its validity.

Regarding their construction and equipment, they are called on to satisfy the following requirements: (1) They must be well lighted and ventilated; (2) They must be equipped with a cold and dark storage room and also with preservation shelf; (3) Various equipments required for preparing medicines such as weighing beams and scales must be available.

As for dealers in pharmaceuticals, those who have stores where they sell drugs are required to register their business activities

with local governments.

In the case of those which send their salesmen to individual households to distribute their drugs on a consignment basis and collect their price later for what has been used, they are required to make registration with local governments according to the areas where they carry on business and obtain sales licenses.

In both cases, the registration must be renewed each year by the end of December as in the case of pharmacies.

The number of pharmacies in Japan, which totaled 17,491 as of the end of 1953, showed an increase of about 920 during the year.

The number of towns and villages having no pharmacies decreased from 6,779 at the end of 1952 to 6,330 at the end of 1953.

The shift in the number of pharmacies and pharmaceutical dealers is as follows:

Year	No. of pharmacies	No. of towns & villages without pharmacies	Dealers in pharmaceuticals		
			Total	Those selling to households on consignment basis	Others
1935	12,303	---	30,237	---	---
1952	16,571	6,779	67,035	1,094	65,941
1953	17,491	6,330	75,845	1,662	73,183
1954	17,945	4,816	82,932	1,716	---

The marvellous effects of such new anti-biotic drugs as penicillin and streptomycin have helped to renew people's recognition of drugs with the result that the demand for drugs as a whole has increased appreciably and their production made a corresponding advance.

The total amount of drugs in 1953 reached 90,200 million yen.

With the production index of drugs set at 100 for 1948, the figure increased to 140 for 1949, to 160 for 1950, to 260 for 1951, to 360 for 1952 and to 490 for 1953, recording a remarkable increase each year.

Details of drug production in 1953 are as follows:

	(Unit: 1,000 yen)	
	Final Product	Semi-material
Total	75,646,788	14,680,735
Antibiotics & biological drugs	14,309,959	2,963,142
Drugs for nerves	10,229,259	2,322,176
Drugs for circulating & respiratory organs	4,901,748	36,062
Drugs for digestive organs	9,013,747	2,665,229
Hormone drugs	2,294,556	272,182
Vitamine drugs	7,991,594	1,390,682
Nourishing & invigorating drugs	4,019,551	231,632
Chemotherapeutic drugs	5,984,420	2,885,766
Drugs for external application	11,514,446	695,978
Others	5,387,508	892,886

Public Health

Nutrition of the people

The results of a national survey on nutrition offer the best data to show a correct picture of the nutritive conditions of the people.

This survey has been conducted every year in February, May, August and November since 1946.

The investigation, conducted on about 80,000 persons throughout the country, is intended to obtain a correct picture of the caloric intake of the people, the amount of nourishment taken by them according to various types of foodstuffs and their physical conditions.

The surveys so far conducted have shown that the nutritive conditions of the Japanese people has improved appreciably in recent years due to improvement in the nation's food situation and the dissemination of nutritive thought among the people, but they are still below standard.

According to the surveys conducted in 1953, the caloric intake of the people was 2,002 calories on the average in cities and 2,112 calories in farming villages, or 2,068 calories on the national average. These figures were all below the standard of 2,180 calories.

The protein intake was 69 grams in cities, 68 grams in rural areas and 69 grams on the national average, which were lower than the standard intake of 73 grams.

Regarding the fat intake, it was 22 grams in urban areas, 19 grams in rural areas and 20 grams on the national average. These figures were far below the standard intake of 30 grams.

As for the intake of inorganic substances, there was a general shortage of calcium, whereas phosphorus was taken in excess. The iron intake was just about right, but there was a considerable shortage in vitamins A, B₁, B₂ and C.

Various measures are being considered to improve the nutritive conditions of the people by reforming the dietary life of the people.

In this connection, it is especially notable that with the unprecedented bad crop of rice in 1953 as a turning point, radical improvement in the people's dietary life has been strongly urged to switch from the rice to flour diet.

Incidentally, the number of nutritionists, whose task is to improve the nutritive conditions of the people, totaled 9,202 as of June, 1953.

Mental health

After the war, the mental health problem has increasingly attracted attention of the public in this country. The Mental Hygiene Law (1950) and several other laws which are related to mental health problems were enacted. Child guidance clinics, mental hygiene clinics and various other institutions were created. National Institute of Mental Health was established in 1952. All these will, we hope, serve to fill the demand and necessity in the field of mental health, which in the past have unfortunately been neglected.

In July, 1954, a nation-wide survey with the statistical reliability on psychiatric cases was carried out. The psychiatric cases in this survey meant those persons who were so recognized by other persons, the negligibly slight cases being excluded.

Rate of the psychiatric cases for the whole population was 1.48% for both sexes (1.55% in male, 1.41% in female). Estimated number of the psychiatric cases was 1,300,000 (660,000 males and 640,000 females).

Of these cases, 15.5% was schizophrenia, 1.1% manic-depressive illness, 9.6% convulsive psychosis, 1.4% syphilitic psychosis, 7.3% other psychosis, 44.5% mental deficiency, 7.1% toxic psychosis, and 13.5% other mental disturbance.

The survey also revealed that 3.9% of these cases was under the care of psychiatrists, while 91.3% was not receiving any professional care, and that 430,000 more patients (excluding those who were under institutional care at the time of the survey) needed institutional care, 46.2% of them

being psychosis, 31.6% mental defective, 22.2% other mental disturbance.

The latest figures of hospital beds for mental cases are shown in the following table. This table implies that number of mental case beds is 4.4 per 10,000 population.

Number of Hospital Capacities and In-patients by the Category of Administration.

(Jan. 1955)

		No. of Hospital	No. of Capacity	No. of Actual In-patients	Ratio of Occupancy
Mental Hospitals	National	3	1,700	1,322	77.8
	Prefectural and local government	28	5,775	5,791	100.2
	Juridical person	29	6,061	6,447	106.4
	Private	167	17,237	19,451	112.8
	Total	225	30,773	33,011	107.3
Mental ward of general and other hospitals	National		2,455	2,263	92.1
	Prefectural and local government		826	811	98.1
	Juridical person		822	946	115.1
	Private		3,516	3,943	112.1
	Total		7,619	7,963	104.5
Grand Total			38,392	40,974	106.7

Communicable Diseases

The death from tuberculosis continues to decrease. In 1954, there were 55,001 cases of death, the ratio of 62.3 per 100,000 population, and the 4th in the leading causes of death. As were in the previous years, the decrease was apparent among younger age group compared to the older and productive age group.

In order to ascertain the actual condition of the tuberculosis prevalence in the country, the government conducted the nationwide survey in 1953. For this purpose, 211 areas with 51,011 population were selected and were sampled by the method of the stratified random sampling for the information of number of tuberculosis patients, type of tuberculosis, kind of treatment required, and the consequent requirement of the medical facilities. According to the survey, it was estimated that there were 2,920,000 patients, ratio of 3.4% to the total population, who needed medical

care. The percentage breakdown of this group of patients were, 1.0% of infants and children, 1.4% of school children, 3.9% of adolescent age, 5.3% of adults, and 4.6% of old age. In addition to this group, it was also estimated that there was another group of people who were determined as readily liable to need medical care, numbering 2,610,000.

Based on the result of the survey mentioned above, the Tuberculosis Prevention Law (Law No. 926, 1951) was amended on July 1955, which now requires health examination for all population above 6 years of age.

2nd tuberculosis survey

In order to follow up the patients who were found a year ago and to investigate new occurrence in the areas where the first

survey was done, the 2nd tuberculosis survey was conducted in 1954. The sampling design was to choose 70 areas, the 1/3 of the total 211 areas of the previous survey with the method of stratified random sampling and to use same method of investigation and evaluation. The result is as follows:

1. Ratio of new tuberculosis cases during one year.
 - a. Those who were healthy a year ago 0.4%
 - b. Those who were diagnosed readily liable to need medical care 14.0%
2. Follow up of the tuberculosis patients.

T.B. patient in 1953	Those who were cured	Those who still need care			Those who died of T.B.
		Improved	No change	Worsened	
100%	18.8%	14.5%	48.4%	16.9%	1.3%

Tuberculosis prevention program

The tuberculosis prevention program as provided for in the Tuberculosis Prevention Law has been carried on throughout the country as the years passed. The brief summary thereof is stated below.

Budget

The budget for the tuberculosis prevention program amounts to 13.1 billion yen in 1955 fiscal year. This, however, is only

the national expenses and does not include the expenses by the prefectures, cities, towns and villages. 500 million yen for health examination and vaccination, 11 billion yen for management of public sanatoria, and 1.6 billion yen for grants to T.B. patients are provided in the national budget.

Health Examination and Preventive Vaccination

According to the Tuberculosis Prevention Law, the students and personnel in schools,

Tuberculosis Health Examination and Preventive Vaccination (1951-1954).

Classification Year	No. of Persons Examined	Tuberculin Test		Examined with Fluoropho- tography	Examined with X-ray Photo- graphy	Persons diagnosed as TB case	Persons received BCG vac- cination
		Examined Persons	Positive Reactors				
1951 (Apr. ~ Dec.)	17,421,804	15,441,656	6,644,742	7,691,946	450,628	132,400	14,214,785
1952 (Jan. ~ Dec.)	22,426,290	19,754,843	10,696,729	12,419,467	606,695	143,520	10,387,504
1953 ()	21,921,842	18,546,913	11,322,059	14,295,449	638,630	142,073	8,126,176
1954 ()	25,369,339	20,732,591	20,732,591	16,449,951	914,939	151,141	6,607,008

Number of Persons Vaccinated with BCG by Calendar Year.

Year	Number
1944	5,025,794
1945	3,098,444
1946	6,166,903
1947	7,417,374
1948	7,105,000 (estimated)
1949 1/	724,991
1950	13,941,855
1951 2/	14,214,785
1952	10,387,504
1953	8,126,176
1954	6,607,008

Note 1/ It was in this year, 1949, when the application of the freeze-fried BCG vaccine was begun under the provision of the Preventive Vaccination Law.

2/ It was in this year, 1951, when the Tuberculosis Control Law was promulgated and the categories of people who would receive the BCG vaccination were determined as mentioned above.

workers of working places, inmates of certain institutions, and residents under 30 years of age in those cities, towns and villages which are designated by the Ministry of Health and Welfare Ordinance receive the health examination.

Reporting and Registration

The reported cases by the practicing medical doctors to health authorities are shown in Table 16.

Medical Care

The present provisions for the medical care of T.B. patients, besides by the private expenses, are by various types of social insurance, medical aid under public assistance program, and also by the governmental grants under the Tuberculosis Prevention

Number of reported Tuberculosis Cases.

Years	Number	Years	Number
1947	317,397	1952	586,651
1948	382,810	1953	507,244
1949	464,903	1954	523,556
1950	528,829	—	—
1951	590,662	—	—

Law. It is estimated care by all kind of sources, both private and public, in 1954 are 237.6 billion *yen*, and, among them, 59.6 billion *yen* is for tuberculosis cases. The cases who have chemotherapy and palliative treatments are granted a half amount of their charges, under the Tuberculosis Prevention Law, and there were 692,891 during 1954.

Number of Tuberculosis Beds by Year.

Years	Total	National	Public and Juridical Persons	Private
1951	125,205	68,335	37,074	19,795
1952	153,743	71,896	54,964	26,883
1953	178,421	77,339	73,446	27,636
1954	210,102	81,565	86,418	42,119

Tuberculosis Bed

The tuberculosis beds continue to be increasing in number as shown in Table 17.

The average days of patients' stay in the national sanatoria and hospital mortality are shown in Table below.

Average Days of Stay in National Tuberculosis Sanatoria.

Years	Average Days of Stay	Hospital Mortality (%)
1949	487	18.0
1950	608	9.4
1951	675	6.0
1952	753	4.1
1953	757	3.73
1954	—	3.22

Communicable disease prevention program

In Japan, 11 communicable diseases are designated by the Infectious Disease Prevention Law. They are: Cholera, Dysentery, Typhoid Fever, Paratyphoid Fever, Smallpox, Epidemic Typhus, Scarlet Fever, Diphtheria, Epidemic Meningitis, Japanese "B" Encephalitis, and Plague.

The Law requires that when any of these diseases are reported, the local health authorities are expected to do the disinfection of the place and the isolation of patients immediately.

Beside the above-mentioned diseases, the provisions are also provided to the effect that the physician is required to report any one of 19 diseases, that is, Malaria, Dengue Fever, Measles, Yellow Fever, Whooping

Cough, Influenza, Acute Poliomyelitis, Tetanus, Puerperal Infection, Rabies, Anthrax, Glanders, Leprosy, Trachoma, Infectious Diarrhea, Schistosomiasis Japonica, Tsutsugamushi Disease, and Filariasis. In addition to these, four Venereal Diseases, i.e., Syphilis, Gonorrhea, Chancroid and Lymphogranulomatosis Inguinale are reportable.

Preventive Vaccination Law was put into effect in 1948 and the programs are being carried out for the following diseases:

1. Smallpox—3 times; 2–12 months after birth, during 6 months before entering

primary school, and during 6 months before graduating from primary school.

2. Diphtheria—3 times; during 6–12 months after birth, during 6 months before entering primary school, and during 6 months before graduating from primary school.
3. Typhoid Fever and Paratyphoid Fever—during 36–48 months after birth, and thereafter, once a year up to 60 years of age.
4. Whooping Cough—Twice; during 3–6 months after birth, and during 12–18 months after the first immunization.

Number of Persons received Immunization.

(Unit: in thousand)

	Apr. 1948~ Mar. 1949	Apr. 1949~ Mar. 1950	Apr. 1950~ Dec. 1950	1951	1952
Smallpox	3,226	52,913	26,867	13,654	4,471
Typhoid & Paratyphoid Fever	21,704	24,724	43,676	35,498	30,975
Diphtheria	3,365	162	3,646	3,770	3,789
Whooping Cough	501	20	266	1,656	1,615
Epidemic Typhus	1,775	403	1,155	541	270

Beside the periodic immunization, the law provides immunization for Epidemic Typhus, Cholera, Scarlet Fever, Influenza, and Weil's diseases at the time of their epidemics.

The total immunization given to the people during the year of 1952 were approximately 41 millions, and among them typhoid and paratyphoid immunizations were more than 30 millions, which means that approximately a half of the total population received the immunizations.

Prevalence of important communicable diseases

1. Cholera

In 1946, Cholera was brought into Japan by the repatriates, and 1,245 cases and 560 deaths were recorded, but since then not a single case of cholera has occurred in this country.

2. Dysentery

Accompanied by the confusion after the termination of war in 1945, the cases of Dysentery were 96,462 and case rate was 133.2 per 100,000 population. But after

1945, the cases and deaths from this disease gradually decreased until they became the lowest in 1948 since 1920, showing 18.3 case rate and 6.4 death rate. From 1949 they started to increase again, and in 1952, there were 111,709 cases (case rate 130.0) and 13,579 deaths (death rate 15.8). In 1953, there were 108,009 (case rate 124.1) and 10,821 deaths (death rate 12.4).

3. Typhoid Fever

The case rate of Typhoid Fever in 1924 was 100.1 and death rate was 24.1, which were the highest ever recorded, but gradually declined since then. During and after the war, in 1944 and 1945, the case rate went up to 77.8 and 80.0 respectively, but again declined down in 1953, when there were only 2,521 cases (case rate 2.9) and 163 deaths (death rate 0.2), showing the lowest figures ever recorded.

4. Paratyphoid Fever

The annual changes of case and death rates from this disease is approximately in parallel with those for Typhoid Fever. In 1953, there were 1,098 cases (case rate 1.3) and 16 deaths (death rate 0.0).

5. Smallpox

Smallpox was brought into Japan together with the repatriates in 1946, and there occurred 17,954 cases (case rate 23.6) and 3,029 deaths (death rate 4.0), but this was also a temporary phenomenon after the war, for they decreased rapidly, and in 1953, there occurred only 6 cases (case rate 0.0) and no deaths.

6. Epidemic Typhus

There was a great epidemic before and after the termination of war, and especially in 1946, there were 32,366 cases (case rate 42.5), but the situation has been gradually improved since then, and no case has been reported in 1953.

7. Scarlet Fever

The increase of Scarlet Fever cases started from about 1930, but began falling after the peak in 1939, showing the case rate of 28.1 and death rate of 0.7. But after 1946, they again started to rise, and there were 12,619 cases (case rate 14.5) and 56 deaths (death rate 0.1) in 1953.

8. Diphtheria

The incidences of diphtheria started to increase gradually from about 1924, and there were 94,274 cases (case rate 127.6) in 1944, but turning rapidly to decrease lately, and there were 9,589 cases (case rate 11.0) and 771 deaths (death rate 0.9) in 1953.

9. Epidemic Meningitis

In 1945 and 1947, unusually many cases and deaths occurred (case rate 6.1 and 4.3 respectively, and death rate 1.5 in both years), but it has decreasing thenceforth, and there were 859 cases (case rate 1.0) and 196 deaths (death rate 0.2) in 1953.

10. Japanese "B" Encephalitis

In 1950, there was a serious epidemic of this disease, and the cases were 5,196 (case rate 6.2), but in 1953, decreased to 1,729 cases (case rate 2.0) and 719 deaths (death rate 0.8).

11. Plague

There were some cases of Plague in almost every year up to 1926, but since then no case has been reported in this country.

Environment Sanitation

Sanitation at places where many people gather

In theaters, hotels, public bath houses, etc., where many people gather, utmost care should be taken in maintaining a high degree of sanitation from the viewpoint of public health.

For this purpose, laws governing operation of hotels, theaters and public bath houses have been enacted and enforced.

For operating hotels, theaters, public bath houses, athletic stadiums, etc., permissions should be obtained from local governments of the places where they will be situated.

These establishments should be properly lighted, ventilated, protected against moisture and dirt under regulations stipulated by the laws.

Regarding beauty shops and barber shops, they are subjected to necessary re-

gulations in their operation from the viewpoint of public health.

The numbers of theaters, hotels, public bath houses, etc. as of the end of December, 1956 are as follows:

Movie theaters—6,739; theaters—343; public bath houses—20,694; barber shops—90,355; beauty parlors—51,031; laundry shops (shops employing more than five persons)—3,346, (shops employing less than four persons)—21,181; hotels—115; Japanese style hotels—57,154; boarding houses—3,694, totalling 60,963.

The number of qualified barbers was 170,393, while that of qualified beauticians totaled 94,054.

Food sanitation

The Food Sanitation Law has been enforced in order to prevent sanitary dangers from eating and drinking.

Annual Change of Cases, Deaths, Case Rates and Death Rates for Communicable Diseases

(Rate per 100,000 population)

(1920~1954)

Year	Cholera				Dysentery				Typhoid Fever				Paratyphoid Fever				Smallpox			
	Cases	Case Rate	Deaths	Death Rate	Cases	Case Rate	Deaths	Death Rate	Cases	Case Rate	Deaths	Death Rate	Cases	Case Rate	Deaths	Death Rate	Cases	Case Rate	Deaths	Death Rate
1920	4,969	9.0	3,417	6.2	12,723	23.0	8,148	14.7	53,756	97.0	12,073	21.8	7,097	13.9	783	1.4	3,166	5.7	729	1.3
1921	29	0.1	35	0.1	12,443	22.2	7,872	14.0	49,916	88.9	11,048	21.3	6,286	11.2	702	1.3	889	1.6	203	0.4
1922	743	1.3	542	1.0	15,101	26.6	9,110	16.0	52,287	92.0	12,351	21.7	7,108	12.5	767	1.3	679	1.2	120	0.2
1923	4	0.0	31	0.1	20,296	35.2	9,397	16.3	52,588	91.4	12,933	22.5	5,288	9.2	676	1.2	1,921	3.3	399	0.7
1924	—	—	—	—	18,726	32.1	8,652	14.8	58,356	100.1	14,059	24.1	5,330	9.1	597	1.0	1,703	2.9	294	0.5
1925	624	1.1	363	0.7	14,720	24.9	7,514	12.7	45,798	77.3	10,468	17.7	5,052	8.5	442	0.7	430	0.7	69	0.1
1926	25	0.0	13	0.0	17,135	28.5	8,528	14.2	43,938	73.0	9,774	16.2	4,451	7.4	431	0.7	1,256	2.1	158	0.3
1927	2	0.0	3	0.0	21,396	35.0	10,211	16.7	37,503	61.4	7,834	12.8	4,736	7.7	490	0.8	352	0.6	90	0.1
1928	1	0.0	1	0.0	25,196	40.6	12,033	19.4	41,966	67.7	8,767	14.1	4,887	7.9	451	0.7	723	1.2	100	0.2
1929	205	0.3	114	0.2	30,230	48.0	13,421	21.3	37,262	59.2	8,015	12.7	4,189	6.7	349	0.6	114	0.2	11	0.0
1930	—	—	2	0.0	29,672	46.5	13,014	20.4	41,367	64.8	8,340	13.1	4,467	7.0	372	0.6	7	0.0	4	0.0
1931	—	—	—	—	29,655	45.7	13,002	20.1	38,202	58.9	8,163	12.6	4,042	6.2	308	0.5	23	0.0	8	0.0
1932	4	0.0	1	0.0	32,249	49.0	13,547	20.6	35,437	53.9	6,936	10.5	4,934	7.1	368	0.6	305	0.5	44	0.1
1933	—	—	—	—	38,040	57.0	14,874	22.3	38,408	57.5	7,632	11.4	5,279	7.9	333	0.5	375	0.6	55	0.1
1934	—	—	—	—	42,939	63.4	15,484	22.9	42,420	62.7	8,129	12.0	4,462	6.6	319	0.5	320	0.5	35	0.1
1935	—	—	—	—	48,964	71.3	15,915	23.2	37,980	55.3	7,192	10.5	4,173	6.1	279	0.4	113	0.2	16	0.0
1936	—	—	—	—	52,053	74.8	16,710	24.0	36,799	52.9	6,847	9.8	4,747	6.8	276	0.4	178	0.3	20	0.0
1937	57	0.1	11	0.0	78,283	111.3	19,712	28.0	38,124	54.2	7,062	10.0	4,439	6.3	283	0.4	90	0.1	8	0.0
1938	18	0.0	10	0.0	80,221	113.6	21,955	31.1	42,074	59.6	7,803	11.1	6,100	8.6	295	0.4	60	0.1	6	0.0
1939	—	—	1	0.0	97,249	137.1	24,890	35.1	37,837	53.3	6,954	9.8	5,227	7.4	293	0.4	287	0.4	33	0.0
1940	—	—	5	—	83,689	117.0	22,025	30.8	40,705	56.9	7,106	9.9	6,251	8.7	312	0.4	575	0.8	60	0.1
1941	—	—	—	—	58,803	80.8	16,295	22.4	40,595	55.8	6,904	9.5	6,233	8.6	308	0.4	654	0.9	92	0.1
1942	—	—	—	—	55,785	75.9	14,268	19.4	35,589	48.5	6,428	8.8	6,218	8.5	281	0.4	381	0.5	61	0.1
1943	—	—	—	—	50,188	67.8	10,208	13.8	52,519	71.0	6,025	9.4	12,382	16.7	508	0.7	546	0.7	73	0.1
1944	—	—	—	—	55,196	74.7	11,208	15.2	57,448	77.8	7,844	10.6	14,819	20.1	564	0.8	311	0.4	44	0.1
1945	—	—	—	—	96,462	133.2	20,107	27.8	57,933	80.0	7,999	11.0	10,059	13.9	526	0.7	1,614	2.2	319	0.4
1946	1,245	1.6	560	0.7	88,214	115.8	13,409	17.6	44,658	58.6	5,446	7.2	9,154	12.0	466	0.6	17,954	23.6	3,029	4.0
1947	—	—	—	—	39,219	50.2	9,573	12.3	17,809	22.8	2,926	3.7	4,728	6.1	316	0.4	386	0.5	85	0.1
1948	—	—	—	—	14,665	18.3	5,157	6.4	9,486	11.9	1,433	1.8	2,917	3.6	170	0.2	29	0.0	3	0.0
1949	—	—	—	—	23,961	29.3	7,765	9.5	6,391	7.8	936	1.1	2,180	2.7	116	0.1	124	0.2	14	0.0
1950	—	—	1	0.0	49,780	59.8	11,968	14.4	4,883	5.9	630	0.8	1,711	2.1	80	0.1	5	0.0	2	0.0
1951	—	—	—	—	93,039	110.0	14,814	17.5	3,878	4.0	351	0.4	1,302	1.5	49	0.1	86	0.1	12	0.0
1952	—	—	—	—	111,709	130.0	13,579	15.8	2,898	3.4	190	0.2	885	1.0	32	0.0	2	0.0	—	—
1953	—	—	—	—	108,009	124.1	10,821	12.4	2,521	2.9	163	0.2	1,098	1.3	16	0.0	6	0.0	—	—
1954	—	—	—	—	98,810	111.9	9,311	10.5	2,567	2.9	124	0.1	700	0.9	24	0.0	2	0.0	—	—

Year	Epidemic Typhus				Scarlet Fever				Diphtheria				Epidemic Meningitis				Japanese "B" Encephalitis			
	Cases	Rate	Deaths	Death Rate	Cases	Rate	Deaths	Death Rate	Cases	Rate	Deaths	Death Rate	Cases	Rate	Deaths	Death Rate	Cases	Rate	Deaths	Death Rate
1920	66	0.1	3	0.0	1,368	2.5	102	0.2	15,113	27.3	3,801	6.9	949	1.7	530	1.0	—	—	—	—
1921	171	0.3	24	0.0	1,589	2.8	93	0.2	14,449	25.7	3,851	6.9	772	1.4	464	0.8	—	—	—	—
1922	23	0.0	4	0.0	1,656	2.9	107	0.2	13,696	24.1	3,530	6.2	930	1.7	502	1.0	—	—	—	—
1923	14	0.0	3	0.0	1,562	2.7	104	0.2	12,729	22.1	3,378	5.9	708	1.2	394	0.7	—	—	—	—
1924	14	0.0	3	0.0	1,843	3.2	128	0.2	13,081	22.4	3,546	6.1	1,348	2.3	1,333	2.3	—	—	—	—
1925	28	0.0	—	—	2,573	4.3	284	0.5	13,775	23.3	3,595	6.1	445	0.8	275	0.7	—	—	—	—
1926	36	0.1	4	0.0	3,319	5.5	300	0.5	13,621	22.6	3,625	6.0	408	0.7	226	0.4	—	—	—	—
1927	7	0.0	1	0.0	4,148	6.8	219	0.4	15,172	24.8	3,913	6.4	330	0.5	212	0.3	—	—	—	—
1928	23	0.0	3	0.0	5,727	9.2	220	0.4	17,526	28.2	4,401	7.1	294	0.5	171	0.3	—	—	—	—
1929	15	0.0	3	0.0	5,663	9.0	248	0.4	19,674	31.3	4,703	7.5	352	0.6	208	0.3	—	—	—	—
1930	1	0.0	1	0.0	6,025	9.4	303	0.5	18,522	29.0	4,069	6.4	275	0.4	168	0.3	—	—	—	—
1931	3	0.0	3	0.0	6,480	10.0	327	0.5	21,048	32.5	4,582	7.1	280	0.4	165	0.3	—	—	—	—
1932	3	0.0	1	0.0	8,257	12.5	336	0.5	21,811	33.1	4,509	6.9	238	0.4	165	0.3	—	—	—	—
1933	4	0.0	1	0.0	12,631	18.9	401	0.6	28,500	42.7	5,418	8.1	359	0.5	239	0.4	—	—	—	—
1934	26	0.0	5	0.0	16,688	24.7	505	0.7	29,992	44.3	5,215	7.7	1,186	1.8	599	0.9	—	—	—	—
1935	18	0.0	1	0.0	16,506	24.0	488	0.7	28,054	40.9	4,432	6.5	1,304	1.9	699	1.0	—	—	—	—
1936	1	0.0	3	0.0	16,707	24.0	467	0.7	28,117	40.4	4,321	6.2	1,003	1.4	601	0.9	—	—	—	—
1937	17	0.0	1	0.0	17,002	25.0	454	0.6	28,003	39.8	4,236	6.0	839	1.2	479	0.7	—	—	—	—
1938	—	—	—	—	19,002	26.9	398	0.6	28,323	40.1	4,118	5.8	905	1.4	580	0.8	—	—	—	—
1939	5	0.0	2	0.0	19,907	28.1	475	0.7	35,803	50.5	5,255	7.4	1,632	2.3	886	1.2	—	—	—	—
1940	3	0.0	3	0.0	19,325	27.0	388	0.5	38,303	53.5	4,728	6.6	1,350	1.9	707	1.0	—	—	—	—
1941	87	0.1	14	0.0	14,997	20.6	268	0.4	40,442	55.5	4,985	6.9	1,160	1.6	524	0.7	—	—	—	—
1942	100	0.1	23	0.0	12,688	17.3	217	0.3	44,431	60.5	5,134	7.0	823	1.1	443	0.6	—	—	—	—
1943	1,374	1.9	129	0.2	9,891	13.4	165	0.2	63,756	86.2	5,419	7.3	1,113	1.5	398	0.5	—	—	—	—
1944	3,941	5.3	622	0.8	6,354	8.6	114	0.2	94,274	127.6	6,192	8.4	1,468	2.0	396	0.5	—	—	—	—
1945	2,401	3.4	260	0.4	2,405	3.3	82	0.1	85,833	118.5	7,826	10.8	4,384	6.1	1,072	1.5	—	—	—	—
1946	32,396	42.5	3,351	4.4	2,208	2.9	100	0.1	49,864	65.5	3,825	5.0	1,436	1.9	455	0.6	201	0.3	99	0.1
1947	1,106	1.4	135	0.2	2,635	3.4	71	0.1	28,307	38.2	3,390	4.3	3,373	4.3	1,187	1.5	263	0.3	228	0.3
1948	475	0.6	47	0.1	2,982	3.7	42	0.1	16,377	20.5	1,903	2.4	2,052	2.6	650	0.8	4,757	5.9	2,620	3.3
1949	111	0.1	18	0.0	4,602	5.6	58	0.1	14,555	17.8	1,635	2.0	1,446	1.8	497	0.6	1,284	1.6	1,177	1.4
1950	939	1.1	105	0.1	5,149	6.2	33	0.0	12,621	15.2	1,182	1.4	1,193	1.4	336	0.4	5,196	6.2	2,430	2.9
1951	3	0.0	36	0.0	5,096	6.0	34	0.0	10,749	12.7	805	1.1	1,111	1.3	302	0.4	2,188	2.6	966	1.1
1952	16	0.0	31	0.0	6,168	7.2	48	0.1	8,381	9.8	639	0.7	912	1.1	232	0.3	3,545	4.1	1,433	1.7
1953	—	—	25	0.0	12,619	14.5	56	0.1	9,589	11.0	771	0.9	859	1.0	196	0.2	1,729	2.0	719	0.8
1954	—	—	22	0.0	19,861	22.5	87	0.1	10,490	11.9	794	0.9	676	0.8	153	0.2	1,758	2.0	731	0.8

Note: The population used as the basis of computation of these rates is the estimated population excluding Okinawa. The number of deaths for 1920-1942 is only for Japan Proper, exclusive of Okinawa Prefecture, but the number of cases and deaths for 1943-1945 includes Okinawa Prefecture. Consequently, there is some inconsistency in this table. The number of cases were taken from our Morbidity Statistics, and deaths from Cause-of-Death Statistics and Vital Statistics. As for the number of cases of Japanese "B" Encephalitis both the confirmed cases and suspects are shown in this table for 1946 and 1947. In 1948, 4,757 cases were only the confirmed cases. And since 1949, the suspects were excluded. No case of Plague has been reported up to now since 1927. Deaths from smallpox in 1950 includes one death which actually occurred in 1946 and was reported in 1950. One death from cholera in 1950 and 1951 shown in this table actually occurred in 1946 and was reported in 1950 and 1951. All 15 cases of Epidemic Typhus, reported and tabulated in 1952, actually occurred in 1951.

Cases and Case Rates for Reportable Diseases (Other than those in previous Table)

	1948			1949			1950			1951			1952			1953			1954		
	Number	Rate	Rate	Number	Rate	Rate	Number	Rate	Rate	Number	Rate	Rate	Number	Rate	Rate	Number	Rate	Rate	Number	Rate	Rate
Malaria	4,953	6.2	3,716	4.5	1,016	1.2	476	0.5	263	0.3	168	0.2	337	0.4							
Dengue Fever	6	0.0	5	0.0	1	0.0			1	0.0											
Measles	55,234	69.0	164,646	201.4	56,236	67.6	181,861	215.0	57,502	66.9	127,723*	146.8	71,608	81.1							
Whooping Cough	53,508	66.9	126,110	154.3	122,793	147.6	78,605	92.9	56,868	66.2	45,262	52.0	67,028	75.9							
Influenza	2,848	3.6	2,927	3.6	39,324	47.3	5,958	7.0	1,634	1.9	89,942	103.4	4,444	5.0							
Polio	993	1.2	3,127	3.8	3,212	3.9	4,230	5.0	2,317	2.7	2,286	2.6	1,921	2.2							
Tetanus	1,979	2.5	2,168	2.7	1,915	2.3	1,724	2.0	1,438	1.7	1,243	1.4	1,044	1.2							
Pneumonia	112,292	140.4	138,120	169.0	147,954	177.8	164,648	194.6	108,860	126.6	90,269	103.8									
Puerperal Infection	980	1.2	953	1.2	819	1.0	558	0.7	280	0.3	207	0.2									
Rabies	46	0.1	74	0.1	57	0.1	13	0.0	5	0.0	3	0.0	1	0.0							
Anthrax	4	0.0	11	0.0	2	0.0	2	0.0			3	0.0	3	0.0							
Glanders	3	0.0							1	0.0	3	0.0									
Tuberculosis	382,810	478.5	464,903	568.8	528,829	635.6	590,662	698.2	586,651	682.9	507,244	583.0	523,556	593.0							
Leprosy	712	0.9	778	1.0	604	0.7	485	0.6	326	0.4	315	0.4	333	0.4							
Trachoma	151,209	189.0	175,251	214.4	156,248	187.8	165,708	195.9	149,067	173.5	130,223	149.7	123,460	139.8							
Infectious Diarrhea			769	0.9	91	0.1	1,520	1.8	147	0.2	59	0.1	109	0.1							
Tsutsuganushi Disease					116	0.1	100	0.1	97	0.1	104	0.1	74	0.1							
Schistosomiasis Japonica					918	1.1	697	0.8	948	1.1	1,900	1.4	1,537	1.7							
Filariasis					106	0.1	71	0.1	40	0.0	55	0.1	187	0.2							
Syphilis	216,617	270.8	185,785	227.3	121,461	146.0	77,081	91.1	50,528	58.8	38,721	44.5	33,829	38.3							
Gonorrhea	219,745	274.7	178,901	218.9	178,273	214.3	179,116	211.7	158,670	184.7	140,458	161.4	141,416	160.2							
Chancroid	36,753	45.9	21,669	26.5	15,820	19.0	15,953	18.9	14,909	17.4	12,514	14.4	8,745	9.9							
Lymphogranulomatosis Inguinale	707	0.9	635	0.8	490	0.6	303	0.4	208	0.2	163	0.2	125	0.1							

Under this law, all kinds of foodstuffs, their seasonings, equipments for their manufacture, their containers and packages are subjected to necessary regulations from the standpoint of public health.

With respect to the operation of restaurants, local governments set specified standards for their facilities and permissions for their operation are granted on the basis of these standards.

In all prefectures and those cities which have public health agencies, food inspectors are stationed and carry on supervision and guidance regarding food sanitation.

Meanwhile, the Slaughter-House Law has been enforced with the aim of securing sufficient sanitation regarding the slaughter of cows, horses, hogs and others which provide meat.

As of March, 1956, the number of those engaged in processing foodstuffs and their sales totaled 1,826,758, and that of food inspectors 4,017.

A total of 2,502,528 hogs and other meat-providing animals were slaughtered during 1953, of which cattle accounted for 345,246, and hogs 1,927,239.

Prevention of rabies

The problem of rabies is dealt with in this country as part of veterinary sanitation.

The Law of Rabies Prevention has been enforced to prevent this fatal epidemic.

Under this law, registration of dogs, their inoculation, detention of stray dogs, reporting of dogs affected by rabies and their isolation have been stipulated for the purpose of preventing and exterminating rabies.

The incidence of rabies and casualties therefrom between 1944 and 1956 is as follows:

Water supply and drainage

Water Supply

Water supply facilities are said to be a barometer of a cultural nation.

Year	No. of cases of rabies in dogs	No. of persons bitten by rabid dogs	No. of cases of rabies in men
1944	733	1,723	46
1945	94	158	1
1946	24	86	1
1947	37	129	17
1948	141	387	46
1949	614	1,617	74
1950	867	1,866	57
1951	319	677	13
1952	232	389	3
1953	176	316	3
1954	98	178	1
1955	23	41	0
1956	6	10	0

In Japan, the construction of water supply facilities has developed smoothly except during the war years since water pipes were first laid in Yokohama in 1887.

During the World War II, water supply works were at a complete standstill due to restrictions placed on the use of steel materials for peaceful purposes.

After the war, with the recovery in Japan's economic conditions and an advancement in sanitary thought of the people, water supply works have been developing steadily.

However, only 27 per cent of the total population, or about 22,000,000 persons are being benefited by water service. Service water is available at only 1,171 places throughout the country.

In the United States, 78 per cent of the total population are enjoying service water.

However, water supply facilities are being developed even in small cities, towns and villages in recent years, and it is a new postwar development that a simplified small-scale water supply system is being developed in remote farming and fishing villages.

Water supply conditions as reviewed from the standpoint of operators and population receiving its benefit are as follows:

As of April, 1954

Operator	Total	Population					
		Less than 5,000	5,000 -10,000	10,000 -15,000	15,000 -20,000	20,000 -30,000	over 30,000
Municipal gov.	280	1	1	34	19	47	178
Town and village	752	402	154	141	32	14	9
Municipal, town and village assn.	19	1	3	2	3	2	8
Prefectural gov.	5	1	0	0	0	0	4
Specifically licensed	115	97	10	4	1	1	2
Total	1,171	502	168	181	55	64	201

Besides the above, simplified small-scale water supply facilities are available at about 1,800 places throughout the country.

Drainage

The drainage of the country lags far behind the water supply facilities.

As of April, 1954, the number of cities where drain system is available totaled only 108, with the total area of drainage covering 45,622 hectares. The total population enjoying the benefit of the drain system was about 8,485,692.

Only Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, Gifu and Toyohashi have facilities to finally dispose of the night soil. Even in those big cities, only part of their total areas are covered by the drainage.

Tuberculosis

The death rate from tuberculosis in Japan has continued to drop in recent years.

The number of deaths from tuberculosis was 55,001 in 1954, which was 62.3 per every 100,000 persons. This rate ranked fourth in the major causes of death.

The decrease was especially appreciable among the younger generation than among old people as in the case of the preceding year.

Survey on actual conditions of tuberculosis. The survey on actual conditions of tuberculosis conducted in August,

September and October of 1953 with the aim of obtaining a correct picture of the actual situation of tuberculosis in Japan in post-war years is worth mentioning.

The survey was conducted in 211 areas throughout the country, which were selected on the basis of a random sampling. A total of 50,000 persons, or 50 households in each area, were investigated by specialists.

The results were used to estimate the conditions of T.B. patients throughout the country. In view of the high rate (99.4%) at which those selected for the investigation accepted a medical checkup, the results obtained were of great importance even from the statistical viewpoint.

Among the important results of this survey were:

The number of those who had clear symptoms of tuberculosis totaled 5,270,000, while those who needed to be in bed (T.B. patients) totaled 2,920,000.

Those who needed rest totaled 320,000 and those who needed to be cautious totaled 2,290,000.

Of the 2,920,000 T.B. patients, 1,760,000 were males and 1,160,000 were females.

When the T.B. patients were broken down by ages, those of 0-5 years of age totaled 130,000, those of 6-30 years of age totaled 1,160,000 and those of 31 years of age and older accounted for 1,630,000.

Reviewing the patients by areas, the percentage of patients in urban areas (4.5%) was much higher than that of 2.7 per cent

in rural areas, while western and southern districts had slightly higher rates than other districts.

Patients by areas:

1. Commercial area	4.5%
2. Ordinary residential area	4.4%
3. Fishing area	3.7%
4. Industrial area	3.5%
5. Official residence, dormitory and hospital area	3.1%

6. Farming area	2.5%
7. Farming-fishing area	2.4%

Reviewing the patients by professions, clerical workers accounted for 7.4 per cent of the total, and those having jobs requiring special and technical training accounted for 6.5 per cent. The percentage was low in woodcutters, hunters, fishermen and the like with 2.7 per cent.

IX NATIONAL AND LOCAL PUBLIC FINANCES

National Public Finance

Outline

Though belatedly, Japan started on its way of capitalistic development with the Meiji Restoration (1868) as its starting point. But this change was not carried out by the internal force which had germinated spontaneously within the country prior to it, but was enforced by the external compulsion by the advanced capitalistic countries with the coming of the black ships under Commodore Perry. Accordingly a compromise had to be made in various ways during the process of the change between the revolutionary force and the feudalistic one. At the same time a careful protection by the Government was needed after the change for the rapid progress of capitalism. Till 1899-1910 Japan had no custom autonomy, and could levy no more than the speci-

fic duty on the basis of 5% ad valorem. (Later the basis fell to 2-3% ad valorem owing to the rise in prices.) This made the necessity of the Government's protection more decisive. The means needed for this protection were financed by loans, Government's paper money and delivery of national bonds.

Following this the tax system was established by carrying out the land-tax reform later referred to in order to readjust the paper currency and national bonds delivered and to establish money and credit system thereby. The reformed land-tax, when the burden was shifted on to the tenancy, became as heavy as the tribute in the feudal ages. Also during the 20 years from the issue of Government paper money and delivery of national bonds till their readjustment drastic inflation and deflation alternated thereby, exposing the prices of agri-

cultural products including rice as the foremost to violent fluctuation and accelerating the disintegration of farmers who had been involved in the money economy covering all sorts of products. Thus the part played by the national public finance at the departure of Japan's capitalism was very great and generally speaking it was orientated in the direction of creating and assisting capitalistic big enterprises at the sacrifice of agricultural villages.

In this way Japan's capitalism had to develop constellating around big businesses from the start at the cost of villages only to find home market too narrow. In order to establish and maintain itself it needed overseas markets by any means and had to depend on them. Viewed from the consequences the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars afforded our country a chance to go a step forward in the solution of this problem. In order to supply war expenditures and those needed for the post-war program, the financial burden borne by the people had to increase still more. This was done chiefly by increasing indirect excise duties including the extended liquor tax and newly created excise on sugar and textiles and commencing the monopoly of salt and tobacco, still narrowing the home market thereby.

The World War I afforded Japanese capitalism an opportunity to develop by leaps and bounds, as she was practically outside the arena, making the financial scale the bigger. But after the war, when the overseas markets enjoyed by her for a while shrank, the productive power created by this development had to be readjusted; hence the panic in 1920. Japan's capitalism feared to let the panic have a thorough-going course under the international tension and the sharply divided domestic condition. During the war the gold standard had been suspended, and leaning it as it was, relief funds were released by the national finance. The relief once given made a second and a third necessary. The disaster of the Great Earthquake in 1923 gave a spur to this ten-

dency. The release of relief funds under the suspended gold standard gave birth to inflation, making Japanese prices too high to be in line with the international ones, and causing the decline in exports and increase in imports. Thus the holding of specie once amounting to over 2 billion *yen* during the war decreased to less than 1 billion *yen* at the end of the 20's the excess of imports amounting to 2 to 400,000,000 *yen* annually.

The removal of embargo on gold (return to gold standard) in January, 1930 was an attempt to meet the discouraging situation and recover from it, and a retrenchment had been made in the national finance in order to prepare for and maintain the gold standard. This attempt to readjust and improve the domestic conditions in competition with foreign countries was surely an orthodox way, but it was beyond the scope of Japan's capitalism. The more so in the vortex of the world panic which had already broken out. This removal of gold embargo gave birth to an outward flow of specie, obstructed finance, fall in price, depression in industry and increase in unemployment only to result in the reembargo of gold in December, 1931.

After the reembargo of gold what is called the "positive financial policy" was launched to escape from the panic. It meant that the central bank, i.e., the Bank of Japan, was compelled to accept national bonds in the condition off gold, and the funds obtained thus were applied to seize a chance for the recovery of prosperity, aiming at a similar target as pump-priming policy practiced abroad almost at the same time. To escape from the depression only the pump-priming was not enough, but a continuous financial expenditure was necessary with the chief object of aggrandizement of armament, which was also true of the countries abroad. In the case of Japan, however, the positive drive on to the Asian Continent was carried into practice side by side with the positive financial policy. This was attempted at first by a part of the military clique, which

was rather opposed by the Government and financial circles who tried to restrain it. The depreciation of yen accompanying the positive financial policy increased the export but only when it was obstructed by such barriers as the raise in custom duties and import quotas, did the Asian markets secured by arms become attractive and indispensable to the bourgeoisie. The armament extended and aggrandised as the object of the positive financial policy was employed as a means to develop and ensure overseas markets.

But this way to prosperity out of depression was also the way of Japan's capitalism to its ruins. The Manchurian Incident gave birth to the China Incident which lingered on to the ultimate catastrophe of the World War II. The armament as the object as well as the means of the positive financial policy came to import in turn the service of the national finance. A vast amount of national bonds were issued for acceptance of the Bank of Japan successively. Every time the financial funds procured thus were thrown into the national economy, inflation progressed, causing the shrinkage of reproduction and decline in the will to work and loss of labor to a great degree. Thus the Japanese capitalism was doomed to break down sooner or later without the devastation due to air-raids and the blockade by submarines.

Such being the case in the process of the birth, development and breakdown of the capitalism in Japan, the role played by the national finance or the financial policy was considerably great. Not only that, but in restoring and reconstructing the Japanese capitalism to what it is today, the national finance and its policy have played a central part. Hereafter the general survey of the Japanese national finance will be made with the post-war finance as its object in view, referring to the ante-war finance where necessary.

National financial system

Let us see what system and devices the national finance was operated on. Even before the World War II it was considered to

be based on the constitutional principle, but in the Meiji Constitution certain expenditures were enumerated as not to be discarded or retrenched by the Diet without the approval of the Government and there was an article specifying that even in case the budget was rejected by the Diet, the Government could execute that of the previous year, so this constitutional principle was muddled in substance to a certain extent.

But in the new Constitution instituted after the defeat of the War, there the fundamental principle that the authority to deal with the national finance must be based on the decision of the Diet (Art. 83). Moreover, other articles of the Constitution along with the national finance act, the accounting act, the national tax collection act and various tax acts specifying more concrete standing rules to operate the National Finance according to these articles in the Constitution are consistent thoroughly in the this spirit.

The Japanese National Finance is operated in the procedure and form approximately as follows.

The authority to deal with the national finance lies with the Cabinet which has the administrative power. For the cabinet to execute this authority, the budget estimate must be made before each fiscal year, presented into the Diet for its deliberation and approval and executed on its basis. The Japanese fiscal year is a calendar year beginning on April 1 and ending on March 31, the following year, the budget is not singular, but plural in its composition. Namely, the Government's accounts are divided into the general account, which is the central one, made up of taxes and other revenues to be applied to the basic or important expenditures and 35 special accounts and 9 government institutions as of 1955. Each of them makes its own budget estimate, the relations between the budgets are complex and not to be comprehended at a glance. The Finance Minister is the chief finance officer actually engaged in the compilation of the budget estimate and negotiation with the Diet as the representative of the Cabinet, with the final respon-

sibility and authority for execution after the approval of the Diet.

The estimate for the budget is first presented to the Diet. The House of Representatives, i.e., the Lower House, has priority in deliberation with such a strong authority to make its decision that of the Diet ultimately. In case the budget should fail to secure the Diet's approval by the beginning of the fiscal year a provisional budget will be made and should the budget once approved be supplemented or corrected, a supplementary budget will be made. The estimate of such a budget will be made and deliberated according to the procedure of the budget proper. The expenditures of the budget determined will be spent by the chief of each Government office under the Finance Minister's supervision and regulation. In this case the administrative business in execution of the budget is separated from the cashier business as along the different alignment as in foreign countries. In Japan the national funds are kept by the Bank of Japan in the form of Government's deposits, receipt and payment in this connection being done by the Bank of Japan, its branches and agents. This revenues of the budget approved by the Diet do not bind the Government offices so strongly as the expenditures, being no more than estimates, because this part of the budget is not governed by the revenue act as in England, but they are collected and received on the basis of various separate tax rules and other regulation. The taxes, the core of the revenues, are collected by the 11 district

national tax offices and 504 local national tax offices under the National Tax Bureau.

After the execution of the budget, the Government must gather and present the results as the settled accounts to the Diet for approval just as in foreign countries. In this case, however, they are presented after the examination by three auditors of the Audit Bureau whose special posts are guaranteed by the Constitution, with their auditing report.

Expenditures

Let us look into expenditures a little more closely. They are shown by the table No. 1. According to this table, the scale of the expenditures in Japan had increased at a considerable speed each year after the establishment of the Diet system in 1890, and became in 1940 about 72 times of what it had been at first, directly before Japan entered on the World War II. But during the interval the national dividend in Japan increased greatly with prices showing more or less rising tendency. Therefore, we cannot conclude that the expenditures have expanded greatly in substance only from the figures. On looking at the ratio between the expenditures and the national dividends, therefore, we understand that prior to the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) it was under 10%, and above 20% after the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident (1931), maintaining the level of 10%-20% on average during the interval.

Table 1. Change of the national expenditures

(Unit: a million yen)

Years	(1) Expenditures	(2) National Dividends	Index number of (1)	Share occupied in (2) by (1)
1890	82	923	100	8.9
1900	293	2,039	358	14.4
1910	569	3,425	695	17.1
1920	1,360	11,239	1,659	12.1
1930	1,558	10,828	1,900	14.4
1940	5,860	23,809	7,146	24.6

(1) The expenditures cover only the general account.

(2) The national dividends are according to Mr. Yamada's Yūzō "Data for Estimation of the Japanese National Dividends."

Table 2. The composition of the national expenditures

(Unit: a million yen)

Years	Military expenditures	Administration expenditures	National debt expenditures	Total
1890	26(31.3%)	36(43.0)	20(24.7)	82
1900	133(45.5)	125(42.6)	35(11.9)	293
1910	185(32.5)	213(37.4)	171(30.1)	569
1920	650(47.8)	615(45.2)	95(7.0)	1,360
1930	443(28.4)	842(54.1)	273(17.5)	1,558
1940	2,226(38.0)	2,731(46.6)	903(15.4)	5,860

- (1) The military expenditures cover those of the war and navy departments.
- (2) The national debt expenditures cover the sums transferred to the consolidated fund, compensation for the principal and interests of China bonds bearing 4% interest and odds and ends of the bonds.
- (3) The administration expenditures are the remainder after (1) and (2) were deducted from the total.

When we look into the contents of the expenditures still more closely, they are as the Table No. 2. According to this table, throughout this period military expenditures and national debts which might be looked on as deferred payments of the former in the main occupy more than a half of the total except in the period of financial policy of Inoue with the removal of gold embargo and retrenchment in the budget. This phenomenon ruled all over the world when capitalism became imperialistic but it was more conspicuous in Japan for the reason already referred to.

This tendency became more and more marked thereafter as Japan entered on the World War II. The expenditures which increased by leaps and bounds every year had to be applied to the military purpose as well as to the payment of the principals and interests of the bonds that had to be issued to cover the military expenses, leaving the minimum for administration or civil affairs.

Through the War resulting in the defeat, Japan's political, economic and social conditions changed a great deal. In the wake of this change, a great change is noticeable in the national finance, especially in the aspect of expenditures.

The table No. 3 and No. 4 show the nature of the changes. The table No. 4 shows the

nominally increased expenditures owing to the depreciation of the currency value with the rise in price reduced to the pre-war level of money value. According to the tables No. 3 and No. 4 among the expenditures after the defeat those connected with military defence including the post-war readjustment and national bonds not only have a smaller specific gravity, but when reduced to the pre-war level of money value, the sums themselves are smaller than the pre-war ones. As for the military expenditure though Japan gave up armament by her Constitution, she had to bear the share of the occupation expenses during the Occupation and after the peace treaty she launched on rearmament in the name of self-defence, so the decrease in the expenditure of armament was not very great. But as to the expenditure of national debt, owing to the depreciation of money value due to the violent inflation during and especially after the War, the balance of the national debts shown in the value of money before and during the War has shrunk in substance that much; hence that much decrease. Contrary to the military and national debt expenditures, the administration expenditures in a wider sense have increased in specific gravity and sum compared with those before the War. According to the table No. 4, what specially increased are

Table 3. The composition of the national expenditures

(Unit: a million yen)

Years	Post-war readjustment and defence	Administration	National debt	Total
1947	641	1,343	74	2,058
1949	997	5,870	127	6,994
1951	1,289	6,436	212	7,937
1953	1,233	8,592	448	10,273
1955	1,328	8,153	434	9,915

Note: Those of 1947 and 49 are settled accounts and those of 1951 onwards are budgets.

Table 4. The change of expenditures reduced to the price-level of 1934-36

(Unit: a million yen)

	1935	1947	1949	1951	1953	1955
Military	1,043	—	—	—	—	—
Post-war readjustment	—	865	518	335	—	—
Defence	—	—	—	78	—	132,765
(small total)	1,043	865	518	413	—	132,765
Operating expenditures of government institutions	311	255	258	238	—	—
Safety and criminal administration	46	45	84	86	—	—
Education and culture	152	103	189	107	—	134,065
Social welfare	22	178	172	238	—	113,435
Prosperity of industry	170	183	424	428	—	18,580
Economic stabilization	13	598	1,319	487	—	—
Land maintenance and development	71	66	130	172	—	146,625
Local finances	—	251	329	428	—	137,403
Reserve, etc.	—	—	—	—	—	—
(small total)	785	1,679	2,905	2,184	—	—
National debt	378	101	77	80	—	43,357
Grand total	2,206	2,645	3,500	2,677	—	—

those of economic stabilization, the promotion of industrial prosperity, land maintenance and development, social welfare, local public finances, etc. In other words, a characteristic of the post-war financial operation of Japan is to help reconstruct the capitalistic economy dealt a heavy blow by the defeat, which is reflected in this change in the composition of expenditures.

The increase in the social welfare expenditures reflects the increased activities of the Government in this respect demanded by what is called "democratization" after the War on one hand, but on the other it was to meet the poverty-stricken state of the people which could not be left as it was. The

cause which brought about the increase in the local finance expenditure will be referred to in the local finances described later. But in the composition of the expenditures mentioned above there has appeared recently another change. According as the Japanese capitalistic economy has been rehabilitated, the economic stabilization expenditures and those of the promotion of industrial prosperity have been decreasing. But the productive power of the reconstructed Japanese economy has exceeded consumption, necessitating on one hand the endeavors of export, and the increase in the domestic consumption in the form of national defence and land development on the

Table 5. The change in the composition of revenue

(Unit: a million yen)

Years	Ordinary revenues	Of which tax and stamp revenue	Revenue from government enterprise and national property	Extra-ordinary revenue	Of which national debts	Total
1890	79(73.8%)	66(62.1)	8(8.3)	28(26.2)	—	106(100)
1900	192(65)	146(47.5)	40(13.5)	104(35)	38(12.9)	296(100)
1910	491(73)	345(51.3)	129(19.1)	182(27)	3(0.4)	673(100)
1920	1,175(58.7)	780(39)	328(16.4)	826(41.3)	54(2.7)	2,001(100)
1930	1,422(89)	905(56.7)	488(30.5)	175(11.0)	38(2.4)	1,597(100)
1935	1,405(62.2)	978(43.3)	281(12.4)	854(37.8)	678(30.1)	2,259(100)
1940	3,780(58.6)	3,052(47.3)	499(7.7)	2,665(41.4)	1,282(19.9)	6,445(100)

(1) Below unit counting fractions of 0.5 and over as a whole number and disregarding the rest.

(2) Source: "Table of National Revenues" by the Tax Administration Bureau of Finance Ministry, 1956.

Table 6. The change in the composition of tax revenue
(including tobacco monopoly profit)

(Unit: a million yen)

	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1935	1940
Direct tax	44 (66.2%)	60 (39.3)	139 (34.3)	379 (40.5)	378 (34.3)	421 (35)	2,696 (63.9)
Land tax	40 (59.6)	47 (30.5)	76 (18.8)	74 (7.9)	68 (6.2)	58 (4.8)	25 (0.6)
Income tax	1 (1.6)	6 (4.1)	32 (7.8)	190 (20.3)	201 (18.2)	227 (18.9)	2,398**** (63.3)
Business tax	—	6 (3.9)	26 (6.3)	62 (6.6)	54*** (4.9)	57*** (4.8)	51 (1.2)
Indirect tax	21 (32.2)	78 (50.7)	232 (57.0)	446 (47.5)	638 (57.8)	687 (57.2)	1,288 (30.5)
Liquor tax	15* (22.9)	50 (32.8)	87 (21.3)	164 (17.5)	219 (19.8)	209 (17.4)	285 (6.8)
Tobacco monopoly profit	2** (2.8)	7 (4.7)	62 (15.3)	124 (13.2)	198 (18)	198 (16.4)	352 (8.4)
Customs duties	4 (6.3)	17 (11.1)	40 (9.3)	69 (7.4)	105 (9.6)	151 (12.6)	144 (3.4)
Others	1 (1.6)	15 (10.00)	36 (8.7)	113 (12)	87 (7.9)	94 (7.8)	235 (5.6)
Total	66 (100)	153 (100)	407 (100)	938 (100)	1,103 (100)	1,202 (100)	4,219 (100)

Counted fractions of 0.5 and over as a whole number and disregarding the rest.

Source: "Table of National Revenue" by the Tax Administration Bureau of Finance Ministry, 1956.

* includes liquor brewery and distillery tax.

** includes tobacco tax.

*** includes business profit tax.

**** includes corporation tax (182) and temporary profit tax (737).

other, thus aggrandizing expenditures in this connection and oppressing those of education and culture, social welfare and local public finances. Nowadays in our country, how to allot the expenditures within the bounds, keeping the incidence nearly as it is, is the greatest question in the compilation of the budget. The two political parties are pitted against each other, the Conservatives insisting on the increase in the expenditures of national defence and land development against the Progressives trying to secure greater share of expenditures for education and culture, social welfare and local finances. Now let us see what sources these expenditures are supplied from, i.e., the survey of the revenues.

Revenues (with customs duties)

The table No. 5 shows what the revenues are made up of. According to this table, among the revenues before the war, the specific weight of the ordinary revenues was comparatively small, and above all that of taxes and stamps. This was because the government owned a vast amount of national property, operating numbers of government enterprises and took recourse to the revenue from national debts. However, the revenue of taxes and stamps, though small in specific gravity, was the greatest item among revenues except in 1920 when there was an increased revenue carry-over owing to the war-time prosperity. If the tobacco monopoly profit is added to this, which, belonging as it is in the category of government enterprise and national property revenues, ought to be looked on as an excise on tobacco from its nature, the total sum of those to be considered tax revenues in essence, amounted to a half or more of the whole revenues. Here a close observation will be made on tax revenues.

National property and bonds will be described in later. The table No. 6 shows the composition of tax and stamp revenues including tobacco monopoly profit before the war. According to this table, the specific weight of direct tax had been greater till 1890, but thereafter by 1900 the specific

weight of indirect tax became greater, especially since the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95).

This condition remained unchanged till 1935, especially till the outbreak of the China Incident (1937), when the specific weight of direct tax became preponderant. If it is admitted that the incidence of direct tax is greater on the rich and that of indirect tax on the poor, very broad way of speaking at it is, it follows that in Japan the burden of tax was lighter on the rich and heavier on the poor from the establishment of capitalism till the outbreak of the World War II. Moreover, with respect to the period prior to 1894-95 and that after 1937, the specific gravity of land tax was greater during the former period, and during the latter that of direct tax was made greater by the lowered income-tax-free point and allowance side by side with the institution of temporary profit tax. Also in the latter period the inflation caused by the national bonds accepted by the Bank of Japan to cover the shortage in the Government funds had already been making a headway, and it must not be overlooked that it was working out the same effect as the increased levy of indirect tax.

Viewed in this way, it may be said that the taxes borne by small earners and peasants forming the greater part of consumers were greater than those borne by big earners and capitalists in Japan before the war, with which more than a half of the expenditures mentioned before were defrayed. This resulted in a vicious circle that it narrowed the home market of Japan's capitalism, forcing it to seek overseas markets, necessitating aggrandizement of armament in correlation therewith, and bringing about the expansion of expenditures polarizing around armament and the increase in the tax burden in this form had to be taken recourse to cover the expenses.

Next let us see what change occurred in the incidence after the War. Refer to the table No. 7. By this we see that the post-war tax burden has increased to two-folds or three-folds of the pre-war. Needless to say this is no more than a general way of putting it. When the post-war taxes are di-

Table 7. The Change in the Incidence before and after the War

	(A) *Tax revenue	(B) National dividend	(A)/(B)	(C) Pop- ulation	(A)/(C)	(D) **Index number	(A)/(C)÷(D)
	million yen	million yen	%	1,000	yen		yen
1935	1,202	14,440	8.3	69,254	17	0.99	17
1947	189,601	968,031	19.6	78,627	2,406	48.1	50
1949	636,406	2,737,253	23.2	82,338	7,729	208.7	37
1951	723,144	4,535,319	15.9	84,573	8,551	342.5	25
1953	942,521	5,877,500	16.0	87,033	10,829	351.5	30
1955	929,819	6,684,000	13.9	88,973	10,451		

Source: "Table of National Revenue" by the Tax Administration Bureau of Finance Ministry, 1956.

* includes stamp revenue and tobacco monopoly profit.

** the wholesale index number (the average 1934-36=100) compiled by the Bank of Japan.

That of 1955 being the final budget, the rest settled accounts.

Table 8. The Change in the Composition of tax revenues (including tobacco monopoly profit)
(Fractions over 0.5 consider as a whole number, disregarding the rest)

Tax item	Year	1935	1947	1949	1951	1953	1955
Direct tax		421 (35%)	99,406 (52.4)	344,374 (54.1)	424,995 (58.8)	507,308 (53.8)	482,606 (51.9)
Income tax (with holding)		—	27,954 (14.7)	141,547 (22.2)	150,230 (20.8)	217,990 (23.1)	211,164 (22.7)
(declared)		227 (18.9)	51,319 (27.1)	137,206 (21.6)	75,441 (10.4)	74,305 (7.9)	67,276 (7.2)
Corporation tax		—	7,170 (3.8)	61,264 (9.6)	183,881 (25.4)	198,882 (21.1)	195,757 (21.1)
Indirect tax		687 (57.2)	82,571 (43.6)	243,783 (38.3)	285,777 (39.5)	412,458 (43.8)	421,917 (45.4)
Liquor tax		209 (17.4)	27,499 (14.5)	83,329 (13.1)	122,830 (17)	140,252 (14.9)	159,863 (17.2)
Tobacco monopoly profit		198 (16.4)	42,139 (22.3)	118,232 (18.6)	119,112 (16.5)	159,703 (17)	116,983 (12.6)
Custom duties		151 (12.6)	86 (0.0)	901 (0.1)	12,441 (1.7)	30,260 (3.2)	24,510 (2.6)
Others		94 (7.8)	7,621 (4)	48,249 (7.6)	12,372 (1.7)	22,755 (2.4)	25,296 (2.7)
Total		1,202 (100)	189,601 (100)	636,406 (100)	723,144 (100)	942,521 (100)	929,819 (100)

Source: "Table of National Revenues" referred to before.

Those of 1955 are the final budget, the rest squared accounts.

vided into the direct and indirect as the pre-war taxes, the results are as the table No. 8. According to this table the specific weight of the direct tax is greater than that of the indirect contrary to the pre-war. As postulated before, if more of the direct tax is borne by the rich and more of the indirect by the poor, it may seem that incidence in Japan after the War is heavier on the rich and lighter on the poor. But it

must be noted that in the post-war Japan income tax, the nucleus of indirect tax, has entirely changed in character and is no longer the tax levied on the rich. As a result of the inflation during and after the War, prices have risen, increasing nominal amounts of earnings, but personal and other allowances have not been raised accordingly, so the minimum taxable amount of income has become very low, and like the table No.

Table 9. The Number and Classes of Income-tax Payers

(Unit: 1,000 people one million yen)

Division	Class	1935				Class	1947			
		Number of people	%	Amount of income	%		Number of people	%	Amount of income	%
I	under ¥1,200	25	37	30	1.3	under ¥120,000	7,076	97.1	261,314	84.3
II	above ¥1,200	350	51.6	532	23.5	above ¥120,000	144	2	21,872	7.1
III	above ¥2,000	257	37.9	875	38.7	above ¥200,000	69	0.9	22,843	7.4
IV	above ¥7,000	20	3	170	7.5	above ¥700,000				
V	above ¥10,000	17	2.5	235	10.4	above ¥1,000,000	2	0.0	3,742	1.2
VI	above ¥200,000	9	1.3	421	18.6	above ¥2,000,000				
Total		679	100	2,263	100		7,290	100	309,770	100

Source: Financial and Monetary Monthly Bulletin No. 49 by Finance Ministry the divisions of class of each year are made nearly to correspond to those of the other years on the basis of price rising rate, the price-level of 1935.....1, that of 1947.....100, those of 1950 and 53.....250.

Table 9. The number and classes of income-tax payers (Continued)

(Unit: 1,000 people one million yen)

Division	Class	1950				Class	1953			
		Number of people	%	Amount of income	%		Number of people	%	Amount of income	%
I	under ¥ 300,000	4,010	93.2	503,128	77.1	under ¥ 300,000	1,599	66.3	295,262	41
II	above ¥ 300,000	206	4.8	79,229	12.1	above ¥ 300,000	419	17.4	138,828	19.3
III	above ¥ 500,000	86	2.0	63,023	9.7	above ¥ 500,000	384	15.9	245,813	34.1
IV	above ¥2,000,000	2	0.0	5,083	0.7	above ¥2,000,000	10	0.4	25,012	3.5
V	above ¥5,000,000	0.3	0.0	2,464	0.4	above ¥5,000,000	2	0.0	14,974	2.1
Total		4,304	100	652,927	100		2,414	100	719,889	100

9 the number of income-tax papers has greatly increased, and the greater part of the tax is borne by the class of small earners free from it before the war. The Shoup Mission who came to Japan in 1949 to advise on the tax reform, commented on this condition of the income tax as "clearly the income tax is still a mass tax," but the advice made by the Mission was not necessarily for the alteration of this condition, their chief object being to ensure the collection of the tax, but on the contrary it

was for lowering the earned income allowance with a more gradual progressive scale.

This minimum taxable amount of income was somewhat raised with less gradual progressive scale in accordance with the progress of the recovery of Japan's economy, but as compared with the pre-war one, the lowest taxable point is much lower with more gradual scale.

Side by side with this we should not overlook the change in the character of the corporation tax. Before the War, when it was

included in the income tax, of late it became separate as it is, it was compatible with the individual's income tax and collected likewise from the Continental view of the corporation, but the Shoup Mission referred to above advised to the Japanese Government according to the so-called Anglo-Saxon view-point that "fundamentally,.... a corporation is but a particular kind of aggregation of individuals, formed for the purpose of carrying on a given business, that the corporation tax should be made no more than "an approximate withholding tax at a flat rate of the shares of the stockholders in the earnings of the corporation." Acting on this advice, the Japanese Government altered the method of corporation taxation, so there exists no corporation tax in the pre-war sense. Besides, after the War various measures were practised to lower greatly the corporation tax now changed in character in order to accelerate the accumulation of capital.

When such a change in character of the income tax and corporation tax is taken into consideration, it may be said that the greater specific weight of direct tax does not show the lightened burden on smaller earners and the poor, but the increased weight shows that in order to provide various direct and indirect expenditures necessary for the reconstruction of the Japanese economy, the Government tried to tax the great masses of the people directly and effectively, fearing the increased indirect tax would decrease the amount of consumption of taxable goods, putting a limit to the increases in the collectable amount of tax. Viewed thus, the orientation of the Japanese taxation policy is little different from that of the pre-war period.

So far domestic taxes have been described, but here some mention will be made of customs duties. In Japan customs were levied chiefly from the standpoint of the economic policy before the War, and did not constitute an import item among the revenues of the national budget as in Great Britain. In this sense the question of custom duty ought to be treated in the section of trade and industry, but here this

much may be said in this connection that before the War the custom duty as in the table No. 6 had shared about 10% of the whole tax revenues at least since the custom autonomy was secured in 1899, but after the War no more than 2-3% as in the table No. 8, and that this was due not only to the decrease in import after the War, but also to the lowered tariff, e.g., the ratio between the value of dutiable imported goods and the amount of customs duties imposed was 18.7% in 1937, while in 1953 it went down to 10.3%.

National bonds and properties

Hitherto a survey has been made of the Japanese national finance in the aspects of expenditures and revenues as its nucleus, but here a reference will be made to the national bonds and properties.

According to the article IV of the National Finance Act instituted newly after the War, the expenditures of the country should be supplied from resources other than bonds or borrowings (except for those of public enterprises, investments and accommodations approved by the Diet). But before the War bonds played an important role in Japan as a means of revenue as well as of the economic policy with the balance of issue continually on the increase as shown in the table No. 10. Especially after Japan went off gold in December, 1931, in the midst of the World panic, a considerable amount of bonds was issued and accepted by the Bank of Japan annually to increase the purchasing power shrunk by the panic and to defray the expenses of the Manchurian Incident begun already in September of the same year. The war expenditures needed by the Incident which later developed to the China Incident and ultimately to the World War II were provided by the bonds issued in this way. It was natural that the bonds issued like this should have given birth to inflation which developed to a considerable extent in spite of the various devices of restraint. When the defeat of the War removed or made such devices powerless, it suddenly went amok. As referred to already, national bonds are

Table 10. The Change in the National Debt
(Unit: ¥ 1,000,000)

Years	Domestic	Foreign	Total	Index number
1890	270	0	270	53
1900	411	98	509	100
1910	1,225	1,447	2,672	525
1920	2,352	1,424	3,776	742
1930	4,477	1,479	5,956	1,170
1935	8,522	1,332	9,854	1,936
1940	28,611	1,237	29,848	5,864
1945	139,924	887	140,811	27,664

Made on the basis of Outline History of National Bonds; Annual Report of National Bond Statistics; Annual Report of Financial and Economic Statistics; the former two by Finance Ministry; the last by Finance Ministry and Bank of Japan jointly.

not only forbidden in principle to be a source of revenue, but according to the article V of the National Finance Act it is strictly prohibited to compel the Bank of Japan to accept them even in case they are exceptionally approved to be issued. This is the lesson taught by the bitter experience during and after the War. The proscription of bonds does not mean that the issue has ceased to exist for good. Nay, this prohibition is confined to the general account only, and as to the special accounts of government enterprises and investment, a considerable amount of bonds has been issued in substance for the acceptance of the Bank of Japan, causing inflation in various periods. It must not be overlooked either that during the period after the War the aggregate sum of bonds amounting to over

240 billion *yen* were issued to invest in the recovery financial institutions established for the post-war reconstruction, for the land documents and fishery right documents in connection with land and fishery right reforms and for the relief of war-bereaved families. Thus the national bonds in Japan have been continually on the wax even after the War as in the table No. 11.

Table 11. The Change in the Balance of Bond Issue
(Unit: ¥ 1,000,000)

Years	Domestic national bonds	Foreign national bonds	Total	Index number
1945	139,924	887	140,811	100
1947	208,581	881	209,462	149
1949	290,758	100,656	391,414	278
1951	260,608	102,259	362,867	258
1953	445,018	100,580	545,598	388

Made on the basis of the Manual of Financial and Economic Statistics by Finance Ministry

Owing to the depreciation of the currency value due to the inflation during and after the War, however, this increase is not so great when reduced to the pre-war level of value. The very balance of issue has lessened in substance as in the table No. 11.

Next a general survey will be made of the national properties. It is said that a modern state should be non-propertyed and should not own any property. But Japan had a considerably large properties be-

Table 12. The Comparison between the Real Values of the Pre-war and Post-war Domestic National Bonds
(Unit: ¥1,000,000)

Years	(A) Balance of domestic bonds	(B) Wholesale index number of Bank of Japan	(C) Real Value domestic bonds (A)÷(B)	Index number of (C)
1935-36	8,174	1.0	8,174	100
45	139,294			
47	208,581	48.1	4,337	53
49	290,758	208.7	1,393	17
51	260,608	342.5	761	9
53	445,018	351.5	1,226	15
55				

On the basis of the Manual of Financial and Economic Statistics by Finance Ministry.

Table 13. National Properties in 1935

(Unit: ¥ 1,000,000)

	Land		Standing trees and bamboos		Buildings		Others (Value)			
	Area (hectare)	Value	Quantity tree 1,000 c. m. bamboo 1,000 bundles	Value	Floor area	Value	Structures, machines and tools	Vessels	Various* rights	Stocks and shares
Property for public use	559	1,224	51,546	30	31,504	1,059	3,487	1,373	0	—
Forestry Administration	7,820	279	817,549	1,059	319	3	35	0	—	—
Miscellaneous use	458	110	6,469	8	135	4	1	16	—	564
Total	8,837	1,613	875,563	1,097	31,958	1,066	3,533	1,389	0	564

Made on the basis of the Yearbook of the Statistics of the Japanese Empire No. 56. Fractions over 0.5 are considered a whole number, disregarding the rest, 0 shows below unit. * includes mining right and quarry right.

Table 14. National Properties in 1952

(Unit: ¥ 1,000,000)

	Land		Trees and bamboos		Others (Value)		Buildings			
	Area (unit 1,000 <i>cho</i>)	Value	Quantity tree 1,000 <i>koku</i> bamboo 1,000 bundles	Value	Floor area (1,000 <i>teubo</i>)	Value	Structures, machines, tools	Vessels	Various* rights	Securities, etc.
Property for administration	7,733	12,297	3,388	13,408	6,805	58,893	27,444	8,306	187	3
Public owned	155	4,548	64	1,008	5,624	33,087	11,480	7,905	2	—
For Public welfare	0	114	0	3	5	5	15	0	—	—
For Imperial Household	3	72	0	2	51	92	37	—	—	—
For Public enterprise	7,575	7,565	3,324	12,407	1,125	25,700	15,913	400	185	3
Ordinary	813	4,224	19	341	8,403	14,537	18,792	206	44	257,701
Total	8,545	16,521	3,407	13,822	15,208	73,430	46,236	8,512	231	257,704

Made on the basis of Japan Statistics Yearbook No. 6. Fractions over 0.5 treated as a whole number, disregarding the rest, 0 shows below unit. * includes surface right, servitude, mining, quarry patent, royalty and trade-mark right.

sides lands, buildings and roads necessary for administration before the war. In the process of land-tax reform after the Restoration of Meiji, considerably large tracts of forests and fields were appropriated by the Government. In order to bring up the backward capitalism and also to meet the requirements of the arms, railroad, harbor and telephone and telegraph system were made by the Government itself, and business was operated in various branches of industry. (Some were later released to private enterprises, but other private businesses were bought up by the Government, e.g., railroads.) Further for the same purpose, various funds were held to be invested or accommodated by the Government. These funds became greater and greater as the Japanese capitalism entered upon the monopolistic stage. As referred to above, in order to increase the revenues, government monopoly has been operated in various lines, nucleating tobacco. Thus Japan's national properties had come to have the variety and scale at the end of 1935 as shown in the table No. 13. The national wealth of Japan during that year is estimated to have been ¥123,343,000,000 in the total, so the national properties amounted to about 7.5%, and with the local public entities' properties in the amount of about 1.1 billion yen, about 8.4% of the nation's wealth was owned by the

state and local public entities. (Moreover, when we consider that the national or local public entities' properties herein mentioned are defined in a narrow sense according to the national property act, and valued not at current prices but book prices, the specific gravity thereof would increase). A part of these national properties was damaged or destroyed in course of the War, but some considerable addition was made after it for various reasons. It is especially to be noted that there has been an increase to lands and buildings, purchased with expenditures for the post-war readjustment and defence for the use of the Occupation Army. So-called properties purchased with post-war readjustment expenditures. (They amount to lands of 7,550,000 *tsubo* and buildings of 1,050,000 *tsubo* in floor area, valued at 36.1 billion yen including others as of the end of March, 1956. 95% thereof is still in the use of the U.S. Army and U.N. army stationed in Japan.) Though not in the category of national property in the narrow sense of the national property act, those handed over to the state in payment of the capital levy carried out in 1947 should not be overlooked. Those existing from the pre-war period have increased in current as well as in book value owing to the post-war inflation. The table No. 14 shows the variety and scale of the recent national properties.

Local Public Finance

Outline and general survey

In the former chapter the national finance was surveyed in the outline, but speaking of the public finance of Japan, the local public finances cannot be ignored. Because the local public finances of today equal the national finance in scale with compulsory education, police, fire-service and other duties devolving upon the local public entities, necessitating the Japanese people to bear, e.g., in 1955 the local tax amounting to 358.3 billion yen in addition to the nation-

al tax amounting to 917.6 billion yen (including tobacco monopoly profit).

Let us begin with the outline history of the local public finances. The local administrative system of Japan consists of two strata, i.e., the lower stratum of cities, towns and villages and the upper one of prefectures. (Tokyo-to and Hokkaidō have almost the same character as the prefectures with some variations respectively). Those local public entities came into being with the creation of the administrative system of cities, towns and villages instituted in 1888 and that of prefectures organized in 1890, but it might more parti-

nently be said that those towns and villages were created by the state for administrative purpose by combining those of spontaneous origin, while the prefectures as the lower administrative institutions. Therefore those local public entities were subject to many limitations in respect of self-government, and though the cities, towns and villages since their institution in 1888 and the prefectures since 1899 had been called local public entities, the former had been subjected to the stringent watch and direction of the Governor of the prefecture, a state official, and the latter to that of the Home Minister on important matters.

The character of the local public entities referred to above must needs inevitably appear in finance, namely, the finance of the local public entities was in principle to be subject to the deliberation and decision of the assemblies, but in prefectural finance the Governor had the authority to execute the original plan and the Home Minister to revise it and in the case of city, town or village finance the Governor or the county chief had the authority to enforce the appropriation of the expenditure deemed necessary. Thus the local public entities had no financial autonomy except nominally, which could be seen in their expenditures and revenues. In the former the expenditures needed for such duties and census-registration, mobilization, encouragement of industry and prevention of infectious diseases which ought to have been performed by the state but were entrusted to the local public entities (i.e. entrusted business expenditure) and those for education and sanitation incumbent on the local public entities, but also upon the state for the maintenance of the expenditure at a certain level (compulsory expenditure) were heavy, while those necessary for works proper to the local public entities and able to be treated with discretion (proper business expenditure and voluntary business expenditure) were light. In the latter main tax sources were mostly taken away by the national tax, leaving little to the local public entities. Therefore they mostly depended on the additional tax to the income tax and grants-in-add, and levy of

miscellaneous taxes to make up for the shortage. In cities, towns and villages, especially in towns and villages where there was no public utility revenue, the household rate, a sort of assessed tax, was levied, weighing heavy on the inhabitants.

In short, the local public entities in Japan were very weak in the character of self-governing body and accordingly their finances were lacking in originality. Nay, in a more or less exaggerated expression, the Japanese local public entities or finances were created and operated for the purpose of carrying out such duties as education and social welfare without sufficient income sources, which ought to have been executed by the state but could not be attended to owing to the press of affairs as the state or the national finance was too busy nurturing and strengthening the backward capitalism, needing vast sums of revenue to meet the requirement referred to I.

It was natural that the local public entities created thus could not help suffering from constant poverty. The extension and repletion of revenue sources were demanded, but it was satisfied to a small degree solely by an increased defrayment out of the national treasury as was seen in the system of defrayal out of the national treasury of the expenditure for compulsory education in cities, towns and villages (1918). On the contrary, the transfer of land tax and business profit tax, etc. to local public entities was often made a public issue, but it could not be realized. In the meanwhile with the advance of Japan's capitalism, the volume of business incumbent upon the local public entities increased with the financial difficulty by no means ameliorated. The financial embarrassment was uneven as is typically seen between cities, towns and industrial prefectures versus villages and agricultural prefectures owing to the difference between the economic powers of the local public entities on one hand and the heavy entrusted and compulsory business despite that unbalanced economic power on the other.

The poverty in various degrees of the local public finances had been aggravated since 1930 with the progress of the agricul-

tural crisis and went from bad to worse with the expansion of the national finance due to the Manchurian Incident, a struggle out of the crisis and a series of warfares thereafter. In order to meet this situation the measures of readjustment of the local finances were introduced in 1937 followed by the tax reform on a large scale throughout the national and local taxes in 1940. In this reform land tax, business tax and house tax were made locally returned taxes, being collected by the state and returned to the prefectures, and further a part of income tax and corporation tax, which are national taxes, were made locally apportioned taxes, being apportioned to the prefectures, cities, towns and villages for the purpose of readjusting the local finances. On the surface this seems to have done much to relieve the poverty of the local finances and make them even, but the fundamental objective of this reform was to ensure the tax sources for the expanding national finance and as for the local tax the additional tax to income tax and household rate were prohibited in exchange for the reform above mentioned, making the increase in revenue not very great. Moreover, the ever-expanding expenditures necessary for the increased production of important materials and foodstuffs and rationing, for the relief of service-men's families and anti-air-raid defence came to be forced on the local finances more and more. Thus this tax reform did not relieve the poverty and iron the local finances much, accentuating only the state control over the local finances and heightening their dependence on the central finance. This tendency was being carried to the utmost limit.

Now the local autonomy and finances surveyed hitherto underwent a drastic change during the period of the defeat of the War and the Occupation. In the new Constitution after the War a chapter of "local self-government" not existing in the old Constitution was made, specifying that regulations concerning organization and operation of local public entities shall be fixed by law in accordance with the principle of local autonomy. The local autonomy

act enacted on this basis prescribes that the chief of the local assembly and that of the local public entity shall be elected directly by the local inhabitants respectively, discarding all the restrictions hitherto imposed in operating the local finances. In July, 1947, the local finance act was enacted to determine the fundamental principle in operating the local finances and relationship between the national and local finances and in July, 1950 acting on Shoup's recommendation the local tax act was enacted, bringing about a great change in the local tax system. These acts were subjected to several revisions with the termination of the Occupation, but at any rate the local finances in the present Japan are organized and operated on the basis of and nucleating the constitution and these three acts. Let us see the outline in the following paragraphs.

Organization, operation and relationship with the national finance

At present the local public entities are divided into ordinary ones and special ones. The former covers prefectures, cities, towns and villages, while the latter special cities, special districts, societies of the local public entities and property districts. But as for the finances of the special local entities, those regulations concerning those of the ordinary ones are applied with some necessary modifications, so here a general survey of the ordinary local entities only will be made.

The finances of the ordinary local entities cover those of prefectures and those of cities, towns and villages, and each finance is operated by the chief corresponding to the cabinet of the state and the assembly corresponding to the Diet, the mode of operation being similar to that of the national finance in principle. First the finances of those local public entities are compiled respectively by the chiefs and operated according to the budgets approved by the local assemblies, the fiscal year same as that of the national budget. The

result of the budget executed are collected as squared accounts by the chief and after the inspection of the audit commission (composed of four members in the case of the prefectures, and two in the case of cities, towns and villages, a half of them being members of the assembly, and the other the learned and experienced who may be dispensed with in the latter case) corresponding to the Audit Bureau of the National Finance, they must be tendered to the assembly for approval.

On the other hand, however, the finances of the local public entities are restricted from their nature by the state and higher entities as follows, and it is necessary for us to take note of this aspect.

Firstly, the budgets and settled accounts after the decision of the assemblies must be reported in the case of the prefectures to the chief of the local autonomy office, a state organ, and to the governors of the prefectures in the case of cities, towns and villages and these higher offices are entitled when necessary to demand a report on financial business and further the tender of documents and books and to inspect the revenues and expenditures actually.

Secondly in respect of expenditures, local public entities must appropriate those necessary to execute special business (entrusted business) entrusted by the state by dint of acts or decrees. These expenditures have a considerably great specific gravity to the whole, restricting them that much in expenditures, leaving little scope of activity at their own discretion.

Thirdly the local public entities are subjected to many limitations in levy and collection of taxes. Namely, principal ones of the local taxes are determined in kind and tariff by the national act, i.e., the local tax act and even in case a change in tariff is recognized by the act, it must get the approval of the chief of the local autonomy office when put into practice. It goes without saying that the local public entities are recognized to levy and collect other taxes (extra-statutory taxes) subject to the approval of the local assemblies besides those principal ones (statutory taxes), but in this case also, they must have the permis-

sion by the chief of the local autonomy office, the revenues in this connection amounting to little.

Fourthly the local public entities cannot defray all the expenditures only with local taxes, and they have to receive various kinds of allotment, subsidy and grant from the state or higher local entities, making them liable to much restraint from above. Namely, the local public entities, besides receiving all or part of the expenditures necessary to carry out the above mentioned entrusted business or particular undertakings encouraged by the state, receive for the greater part of them grants-in-aid (granted revenue out of locally granted tax and conceded revenue out of locally conceded tax) to cover the deficit in their financial power. With their high specific gravity in the local revenues, the dependence of the local public entities on the state and the control of the latter over the former through the grants are considerably great. Nevertheless they are not enough to cover all the shortage in their financial power, compelling them to work on the national government to increase the grants, and thus increasing their dependence on the state followed by the state control.

Fifthly and last, the local public entities after issue bonds to provide revenues for restorative works due to calamity, repairs and maintenance of rivers and roads, public enterprises and educational works, and even in this case they must have the approval by the chief of the Local Autonomy Office. Only wealthy local public entities, a small part of the whole, can issue bonds for public acceptance. Most of them have no way but have the bonds accepted by such government institutions as Trust Fund Bureau and Post Office Life Insurance. Thus the local public entities depend on the state, doubly restricted in issuing bonds.

It was mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs that the local autonomy was confirmed by the Constitution and acts after the War with a phenomenal reform compared with the pre-war condition. Even nowadays after the reform the local finances supporting the local self-government materially are subject to the state restric-

tion in various respects and forms, dependent on the state. Why does the state put restraint on the local finances? Why do the local public entities depend on the state in their finances in this way? And what are the consequences? In order to answer these questions let us consider the contents of the local finances in further details.

Expenditures

First let us see the sizes of the expenditures. The total sum of local expenditures in Japan, as seen in the table No. 15, appears to equal approximately that of the national finance with the exception of

Table 15. National Expenditure and Local Expenditure

(Unit: a million yen)			
	(A) National expenditure*	(B) Local expenditure**	(B)/(A) %
1930	1.6	1.7	106
1935	2.2	2.2	98
1940	5.9	2.8	49
1945	21.5	5.0	23
1947	205.8	93.5	45
1949	699.4	391.5	56
1951	749.8	668.7	89
1953	1,017.2	1,069.7	105
1955***	991.5	982.9	99

Source: "Data of Figures in Connection with Local Finances" by Tax Department of the Local Autonomy Agency.

* shows only general account.

** shows the net amounts of general and special accounts throughout the prefectures, but 1930 does not include the special accounts of the prefectures and 1953 does not include the special accounts of the prefectures, cities, towns and villages.

*** the national expenditure is that of the budget and local expenditures are planning sums. The rest are those of settled accounts.

several years during and after the War. This is not, however, a correct way of putting it in substance. Because among the items of expenditures there are contained those appropriated in the national expenditure but actually to flow to the local public entities and defrayed through them such as allotment, subsidy and grant handed over from the state to the local public entities mentioned already. For instance, in 1954 the total sum of the national expenditure was about 999.9 billion yen, while that of the local expenditures 980.4 billion yen, but in the former subsidy and grant above described amounting to about 397.1 billion yen were contained. The national expenditure less that amount is 602.8 billion yen, its ratio to the local expenditures being 100:162, the latter for exceeding the former.

Next when the local expenditures are divided into those of the prefectures and those of cities, towns and villages, the re-

sults are shown by the table No. 16. According to this table, the expenditures of the cities, towns and villages, so-called basic

Table 16. Local Expenditures by Entities in 1954

(Unit: a billion yen)		
Category	Number of entities	Expenditures
Prefectures	46	677.4 (57.9)
Cities, towns and villages	9,003	492.8 (42.1)
Five big cities	5	69.6
Cities	378	207.1
Towns and villages	8,597	199.6
Special districts	23	16.5
Total	9,049	1,170.2 (100)

Source: "Outline of the Local Finances" by the Local Autonomy Agency. The expenditures are settled accounts. The number of entities is as of April 1, 1954.

public entities and great in number, are smaller than those of the prefectures, intermediate entities and small in number.

Further, let us consider the expenditures of the prefectures and those of cities, towns

and villages item by item. The table No. 17 shows the outline. According to this table, with some differences in the order of importance and specific gravity of various expenditures between the prefectures

Table 17. Composition of Local Expenditures by Items

(Unit: ¥1,000,000)

Item	Tokyo-to, Hokkaidō, Prefecture		Cities		Towns and Villages		Total	
	amount	%	amount	%	amount	%	amount	%
Assembly	2,817	0.4	5,211	1.8	4,744	2.4	12,772	1.1
Office	58,384	8.6	54,926	18.7	39,418	19.8	152,728	1.3
Police, fire service	41,076	6.1	23,348	8	7,782	3.9	72,206	6.2
Civil engineering	116,915	17.2	32,193	11	22,748	11.4	171,856	14.7
Education	218,602	32.3	53,732	18.3	48,390	24.2	320,724	27.4
Social and labor	59,099	8.7	50,718	17.3	13,204	6.6	123,021	10.5
Public health, sanitation	16,379	2.4	12,010	4.1	6,372	3.2	34,761	3
Industrial and economic	106,257	15.7	14,645	5	24,215	12.1	145,117	12.4
Bonds	22,767	3.4	12,300	4.2	6,044	3.0	41,111	3.5
Others	35,132	5.2	34,158	11.6	26,656	13.4	95,946	8.2
Total	677,428	100	293,241	100	199,573	100	1,170,242	100

Source: "Outline of Local Finance" by the Local Autonomy Agency.
Settled accounts for 1954.

and cities, towns and villages, in every one of them the expenditure for education coming foremost, those for civil engineering, industrial and economic relations and office expenditure are weighty, while in cities social and labor equipment expenditure is also of high specific weight. Of course, this survey is roughly made, but we can conclude from this as following.

Firstly as far as the scales of the expenditures are concerned, the specific gravity of administration executed through the local public entities is greater than that carried out by the state. Especially when we consider that in the national expenditure such items as not directly concerned with administration are contained, e.g., national defence, disposal of special debts like reparations, or financial investment and accommodation, we may safely say that the specific gravity of local administration is over twice as big as that of state administration.

Secondly, though the local administration has much to do with a very wide extent of our life, its importance is placed on education, public works, encouragement of in-

dustry, social and labor equipment and police and fire service. In one respect these administrative activities are closely connected with our life, but in another, it must not be overlooked that they have a great deal to do with the interests of the Japanese capitalism, in particular, of monopolistic big capitals or enterprises forming the nucleus thereof. For instance, education which appears to have little to do with them, contributes in fact to the supply of laborers at considerably high intellectual level in demand by big capitals or enterprises or to the supply of soldiers qualified to handle advanced weapons in case of aggrandisement of armament by no means unconnected with big businesses. Also road-construction occupying greater part of public works has much to do with the development of automobile traffic and increase in the U.S. army bases after the War, while the determination of lines is solely made from the geographical and industrial point of view in relation to big cities or from the military point in relation to the connection of the bases. Further though the activities of encouraging

industries, social welfare and labor relief have much to do with the interests of their object, i.e., peasants, the poor and the unemployed on one hand, it cannot be denied that on the other they aim at the development or maintenance of the Japanese capitalism as a whole, trying to patch up the contradictions involved therein. We shall desist from going into detailed explanations besides the above, but we can say at any rate that the local administration has much to do with our life in one respect, but in another it has great significance for the whole capitalism. For this reason the state makes it incumbent upon the local public entities to maintain activities at a certain level, putting at the same time a strict restriction upon them.

Thirdly, more of the local administration above mentioned is carried out through the prefectures than cities, towns and villages. Herein may be seen the fact that the local administration is of stronger character as a ring of the chain of state administration executed for the whole capitalism than principally for the life of local people. Because if it is an administration chiefly for local people, more ought to be executed through cities, towns and villages closer to the local life.

Now if we can say as above, the question is why such administration is called local administration and forced on the local public entities, or why this administration is not called state administration, carried out by local agents. In order to answer this question, we must consider the other side of the local finance, i.e., revenues.

Revenues

First of all let us see the composition of the revenues. The table No. 18 shows the outline. This table shows that of the local revenues over 50% in the case of the prefectures is defrayed out of the national treasury, locally granted and conceded taxes, while in the case of cities, towns and villages 27% is composed of defrayment out of the national and/or prefectural treasuries, locally granted and conceded taxes. On the other hand the specific weight of

the local tax revenue proper is no more than 25% in the case of the prefectures and about 36% in the case of towns and villages, and even in the cities whose local tax has the greatest specific gravity in the three categories of basic local public entities it falls short of 50%. This is in a respect due to the fact that the administration and consequently the revenues of these entities have a strongly national color, while in another they lack originality in revenue source, depending on the state or higher entities, shackled by them to a great extent. Moreover, though defrayal from the national treasury and granted taxes occupies a great share of the resources of the local public entities, they are by no means enough to cover all the expenditures for the administration of national character executed by these entities. For instance the expenditure for compulsory education referred to above is one of those that have the strongest national color, but the subsidy and locally granted tax cover no more than 30%, and the rest is borne by the local public entities. It is the same with those for road construction and reconstruction. In case the Construction Minister executes the undertaking, only two-thirds and in case the Governor carries it out, only a third of the expenditure is borne by the National Treasury, the rest being defrayed by the prefecture.

Then the question is what class of local people bear the burden of the tax collectable from resources proper by the local public entities. In order to make this point clear, it is necessary for us to look into the resources proper of the local public entities more closely.

The resources proper of the local public entities are, as shown in the table No. 18 composed of local tax, local bonds and various other revenues, but the local tax comes foremost because of its character and amount, and our attention will be focused on this tax.

Let us begin with the prefectural taxes. The composition is shown in the table No. 19. The most important of them are business tax and prefectural inhabitant tax. They amount to about 6% of the

Table 18. Composition of Local Revenues

(Unit: ¥1,000,000)

Items	Tokyo-to, Hokkaido, prefectures		Cities		Towns and Villages		Total	
	amount	%	amount	%	amount	%	amount	%
Local tax	167,456	25	130,933	47.1	69,499	35.6	367,888	32.1
Locally conceded tax	23,061	3.4	411	0.1	—	—	23,472	2.2
Locally granted tax	86,234	12.8	12,499	4.5	27,647	14.2	126,380	11
Property revenue	5,613	0.8	5,717	2.6	16,678	8.6	28,008	2.4
Allotment and apportionment	5,622	0.8	1,375	0.5	2,310	1.2	9,307	0.8
Fee for use and commission	22,474	3.4	11,698	4.2	2,724	1.4	36,896	3.2
Defrayal from national treasury	234,621	35	43,658	15.7	26,810	13.8	305,088	26.6
Defrayal from prefectural treasury	—	—	9,555	3.4	6,459	3.3	16,014	1.4
Donations	6,941	1	3,700	1.3	7,844	4	18,486	1.6
Transfer	6,583	1	6,283	2.3	3,756	1.9	16,623	1.5
Carry-over	15,191	2.3	8,866	3.2	8,675	4.5	32,731	2.9
Miscellaneous	40,658	6	19,075	6.8	8,405	4.3	68,138	6
Local bonds	56,335	8.4	24,173	8.6	14,082	7.2	94,590	8.3
Total	670,788	100	277,943	100	194,890	100	1,143,621	100

Source: "Outline of Local Finances" by the Local Autonomy Agency. Settled accounts for 1954.

Table 19. Composition of Prefectural Taxes (1956)

(Unit: ¥ 1,000,000)

Item	Amount	%
I. Ordinary tax		
Prefectural inhabitant tax	25,445	13.3
Business tax	86,957	45.4
individual	17,828	9.3
corporation	69,129	36.1
Newly obtained property tax	4,305	2.3
Tobacco excise	18,864	9.9
Amusement, drinking and eating tax	16,592	8.7
Automobile tax	8,636	4.5
Others	4,809	2.5
Small total	165,653	86.6
II. Locally conceded tax		
Admission tax	16,221	8.5
Local road tax	6,923	3.6
Small total	23,144	12.1
III. Purpose tax		
Gasoline transaction tax	2,454	1.3
Total (I+II+III)	191,251	100

Source: "Local Finance Planning for 1956".

whole tax revenue. None of the other taxes amount to 10% of the whole by itself. By the investigation of these two, the whole might be inferred.

Business tax is what is called by the German scholars Ertragssteuer, being levied on the business of private corporations and individuals. However, public corporations, agriculture, mining and the press are free from it. The standard of taxation is for corporations the earnings or income during the current year and for individuals the earnings during the previous year. The tariff is for the former 10% for below ¥ 500,000 and 12% for the excess over that sum, and for the latter 8% but for some professions (e.g. doctors, lawyers, midwives) 6-4%. In Japan small business of corporations and individuals are predominantly great in number and about 70% of the corporations earn less than ¥500,000 a year. For them what is called a business income is in substance an earned income of the proprietors and other members of the families. Therefore, in addition to the income tax, 8-10% business tax on it is a considerably heavy burden for these people.

Further, this business tax is proportionately levied besides the two-grade system, so a few business obtaining big incomes, especially big corporations are comparatively lightly taxed.

The method of taxation for the prefectural inhabitant tax is complex, but this may be considered similar on the whole to city, town and village inhabitant tax mentioned later. It is levied according to the two principles of uniformity and earnings. The former principle partakes of the nature of poll-tax, taxing equally irrespective of incomes, and the latter taxes on the same tariff or that rearranged and compressed retrogressively. For corporations a different and low tariff is applied, just as in the case of cities, towns and villages. In short this tax also partakes strongly of the nature of mass tax.

Table 20. Composition of City,
Town and Village Tax (1956)
(Unit: ¥ 1,000,000)

Item	Amount	%
I. Ordinary tax		
City, town, village inhabitant tax	67,995	29.6
Fixed property tax	107,780	46.8
Bicycle, cart tax	4,000	1.8
Tobacco excise	21,223	9.2
Electricity, gas tax	20,606	9.0
Others	4,678	2.0
Small total	226,282	98.4
II. Locally conceded Tax		
Local road tax	497	0.2
III. Purpose tax		
Town planning tax	3,031	1.3
Irrigation local benefit tax and common equipment tax	256	0.1
Small total	3,295	1.4
Grand total	230,074	100.00
(I+II+III)		

Source: "Local Finance Planning for 1956".

Next the table No. 20 shows the composition of city, town and village taxes. This shows that fixed property tax and city, town and village inhabitant tax have a preponderantly great specific gravity, amounting to over three-fourths of the whole revenues.

They, along with tobacco excise and gas and electricity tax supply about 95% of the whole taxes.

The fixed property tax was instituted following the Shoup recommendation, combining the land tax and house tax hitherto extant with the newly added taxation object of depreciatory property. The standard of taxation is based on the current price of fixed property (land, building and depreciatory property) with the tariff at 1.4% as the standard, the maximum 2.5%. The most questionable aspect of this tax is proportionate taxation. A peasant owning only five *tan* of land and a man living in a hovel of 5 *tsubo* are taxed similarly to capitalists in possession of big buildings and factories and the rich living in sumptuous mansions. The more objectionable point is that the estimation of the current price the tax is based on is often warped by connections and interests. Apart from this a reduction in tax amounting to a half to two-thirds is openly made for depreciatory property in large-scale machinery and equipment in the name of the accumulation of capital and acceleration of industrial rationalization. In short the fixed property tax may be said to weigh rather heavy on the poor or masses.

The inhabitant tax of city, town and village is of the same character as that of the prefectures, consisting of two parts, i.e., uniformity and earnings. The part of uniformity imposes ¥ 200-¥ 600 on every person with earnings according to the size of the local public entity on the same tariff. The taxation according to earnings has three methods: (1) the income tax is made the standard, 15% thereof being the standard with the maximum of 18%; (2) the whole income-taxable amount (or less personal allowance and/or dependent's allowance) is the standard with the maximum of 7.5%; the whole taxable income less income tax is the standard with the maximum of 15%. In (2) and (3) some progressive tariff is sometimes applied. The part of the inhabitant tax calculated by these methods carries in (1) the same incidence as the income tax and in (2) and (3) taxes the non-income taxed. Moreover, in the

latter two cases the tariff is less progressive than that of the income-tax, becoming what is called retrogressive. Therefore if the income-tax is a mass tax as seen above, the more so is this part of the inhabitant tax on the basis of earnings. On the other hand specially light tariff is applied to corporations as in the case of the prefectural inhabitant tax.

Tobacco excise and gas and electricity tax are representative consumption taxes, and needless to say they weigh comparatively heavy on small earners. Especially as for the latter such industries consuming over a half of the whole output of gas and electricity as coal-mining, steel and iron, aluminium, sulphate of ammonia, carbide, cement and chemical textiles are tax-free, so it may be considered as the tax on the light and heat of our daily life.

What can be said from the above simple considerations is that prefectural taxes as well as city, town and village taxes weigh comparatively heavy on small earners or the poor to a greater degree than the national taxes. In other words throughout the prefectures as well as cities, towns and villages, more of the local taxes are borne by small earners or the poor than by big earners or the rich. Herein lies the aim or implication of the fact much of administration and sometimes wholly national-colored administration is forced on the local public entities with small sums of subsidy or allotment scarcely enough to execute it. On the other hand when the nucleus of the local taxes is what is called by the German scholars *Realsteuer* and even in case it is *Personsteuer* it is scarcely progressive with the maximum of the tariff restricted by the state in general, the shortage cannot be covered with an increase in tax revenues even in case of the local administration having increased in quantity without enough subsidy or allotment. When such an event comes to pass—and it occurs not only by acts of God, but constantly and annually—miscellaneous taxes are imposed in search of trifle revenues, while

horse-race, cycle-race, lottery, etc., are looked to excessively as revenue sources.

Table 21. Accumulation of Local Bonds
(Unit: ¥1,000,000)

At the end of	Present amount	Index number
1935	3,372	44
1940	4,121	54
1946	7,598	100
1948	38,703	510
1950	98,435	1,290
1952	143,809	1,890
1953	219,975	2,890

Source: "Financial Statistics Monthly Report" No. 35 by Finance Ministry and "Outline of Local Finance" by the Local Autonomy Agency, ed. 1954.

Needless to say the deficiency cannot be filled with these means, making the issue of local bonds inevitable. The table No. 21 shows that Japan's local bonds have increased to 30 times as much during the 10 years since the end of the War. Nevertheless the amount falls short of what the local public entities wanted to raise by bonds. In the monetary situation till very recent times they have had no way but to ask the whole bonds to be accepted by the state financial institutions such as Trust Fund Bureau, etc., unable to issue them for public acceptance. These institutions have had to make investments and accommodations at the same time to reconstruct and strengthen the Japanese capitalism, having been able to accept only part of the bonds after a careful examination of the issue plan on application. The table No. 22 shows that no more than over 40% of the bonds on application were authorized, and through this examination and authorization, the state can control the local public finances, enforcing its own policy on them.

The shape of Japan's local finances may be described in a nut-shell that they are executing various lines of administration rather strongly national colored at the cost of local people, especially comparatively lower people at that.

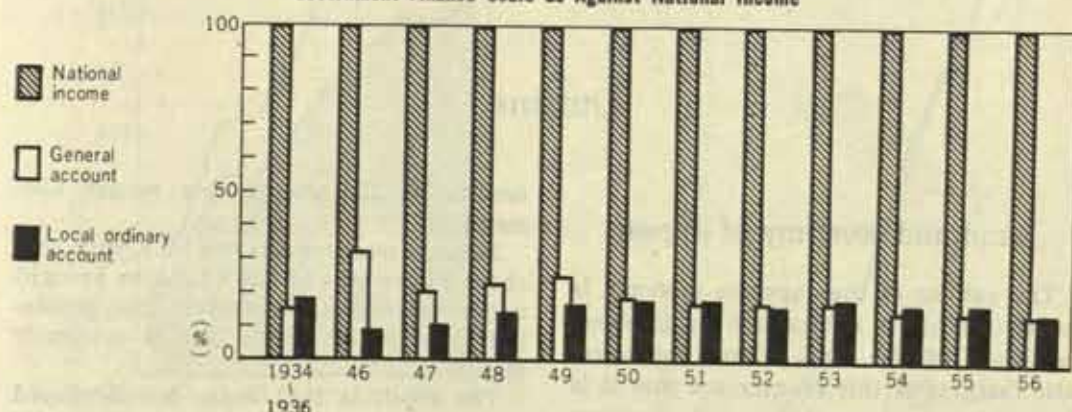
Table 22. Authorization of Local Bonds (1954)

(Unit: one billion yen)

Division	Amount applied for or borne	Issue authorized	%
General Account			
General supplementary work	73.1	41.7	57
General single work	41.5	11.0	26.5
Supplementary damage restorative work	12.8	11.3	88.3
Single damage restorative work	14.2	10.4	73.2
Compulsory education equipment	17.9	11.7	64.8
Expenditure for 5-year plan of completion	3.8	1.9	50.0
Reconstruction and rehabilitation road bonds, etc.	—	—	—
Small total	163.3	88	53.9
Public Undertaking Account			
Electric undertaking	26.6	10.0	37.6
Water-system undertaking	46.9	10.0	21.3
Hospital undertaking	10.7	1.5	14.0
Transportation undertaking	15.4	2.0	13.0
Others	6.0	0.9	15.0
Small total	105.6	24.4	23.1
Grand total	268.9	112.4	41.8

Source: "Local Autonomy Yearbook," No. 3.

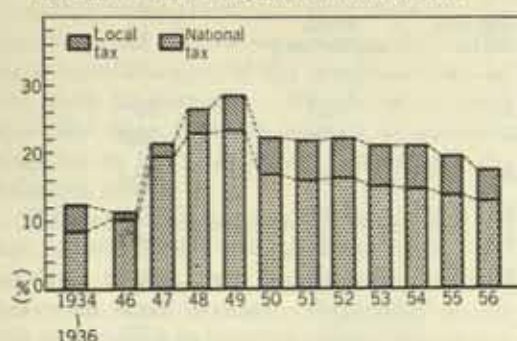
Government Finance Scale as Against National Income



Source: The Economic Planning Agency

Remarks: 1. National income for fiscal 1952 and 1953 is based on estimates.
 2. Central and local government accounts are based on statements of accounts.

Tax Burden Rate as Against National Income



Source: The Economic Planning Agency

Government finances expanded during the war and in a period immediately following the war's end. However, the proportion of Government finance to national income is gradually approaching the prewar level. The scale of the Government's general account is now maintained at the ¥1,000,000 million (approximately \$2,800 million) level in an effort to curb inflation. Tax burden is exceedingly heavy, as it has doubled the prewar level.

X OUTLINE OF THE JAPANESE ECONOMY

Outline

Land and economy of Japan

The pattern of the Japanese economy is determined by the natural and geographical conditions of the land. Chief characteristic features of this country are that it is limited in area, poor in natural resources and that the climate is mild, with much rainfall and a high degree of humidity. These features are decisive factors mainly responsible for the type of economy we have in this country.

Japan has an area of about 370,000 square kilometers and a population of 88,290,000 as of 1955. It has a population

density of 239 persons per square kilometer.

Japan is mountainous and hilly, with only about 15 per cent of the total area brought under cultivation. Therefore, the population density per arable land is extremely high.

The result is that Japan has developed an extremely intensive agriculture in which a large amount of labor power is expended on a limited area of land for the purpose of increasing the amount of crops per unit area. Otherwise it would be impossible for about 40 per cent of this large population of this country to live on farming.

Generally speaking, Japan is poor in mineral resources. However, despite the lim-

ited quantities of mineral production, the kinds of minerals produced in this country are many and varied.

Of the many minerals, Japan enjoys a comparatively high degree of self-sufficiency in coal, as its domestic production is enough to meet more than 90 per cent of its needs.

As against this, the production of oil, which is becoming increasingly important of late, is so limited that Japan has to depend on foreign imports for more than 95 per cent of its consumption.

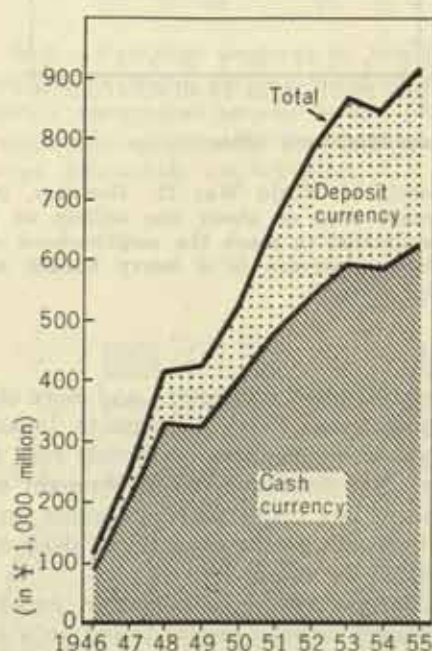
This is one of the serious drawbacks for Japan's industrial development along with a poor prospect for uranium ores in this country.

The climate of Japan is also an important factor for its economic development. Situated in the temperate zone, this country is a narrow chain of islands extending about 1,900 kilometers from south to north. Therefore, Hokkaidō in the north and Kagoshima Prefecture at the southern tip of the country present different climatic characteristics.

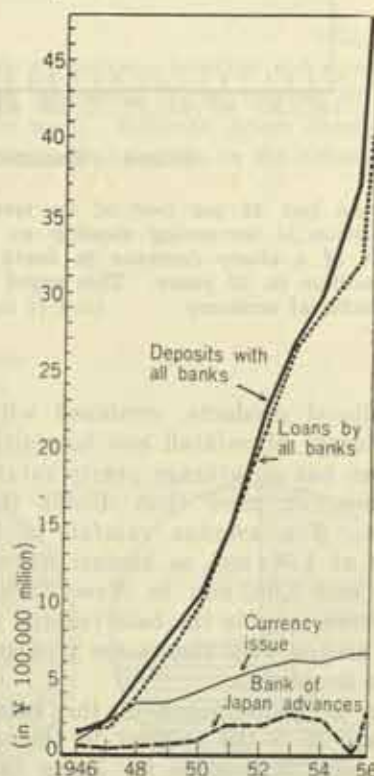
Further, as there are comparatively high mountains for a small country, difference in temperature in the same area is great according to altitudes.

These geographical conditions are mainly responsible for the multifariousness of

Currency circulation

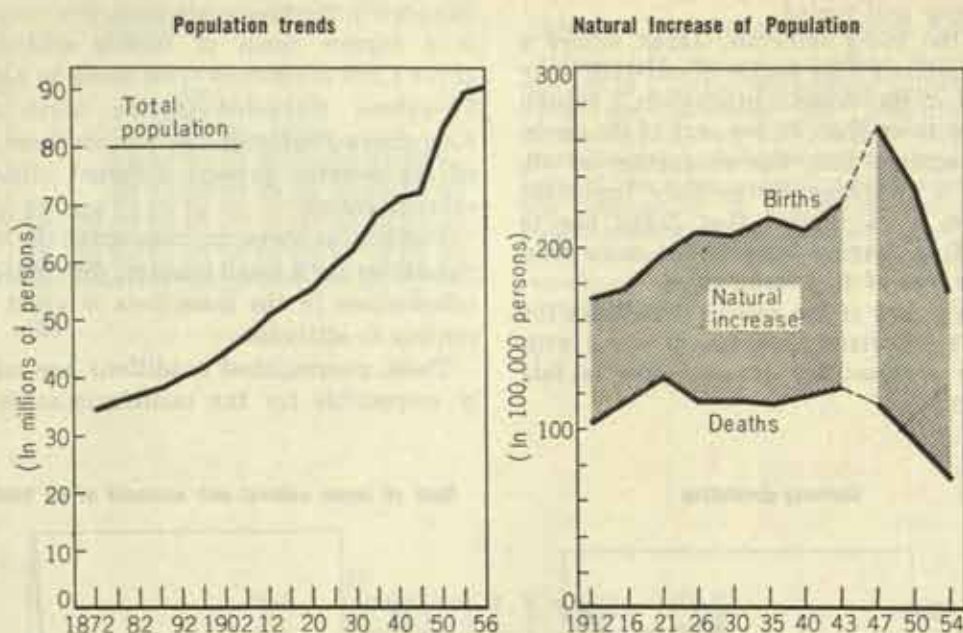


Bank of Japan account and accounts of all banks



Sources: The Bank of Japan

Note: Japan is overcoming currency inflation in recent years, which plagued its economy in the period immediately following the war's end. The amount of currency issue has been reduced, while there is no longer an overloan tendency among city banks as a result of increased deposits. Consequently, money interest rates, which were very high in the inflation period, are now following a downward curve.



Source: Statistics Bureau, Prime Minister's Office

Japan lost 45 per cent of its territory as a result of World War II. However, its population is increasing steadily as a yearly increase rate of about one million as a result of a sharp decrease in death rate. It is estimated to reach the neighborhood of 100 million in 10 years. This rapid pace of population increase is a heavy burden on the national economy.

agricultural products, combined with the high degree of rainfall and humidity.

Japan has an average yearly rainfall of 1,600 mm, or more than double that in Europe. The average rainfall in Tokyo stands at 1,564 mm as against 622 mm in Paris and 1,092 mm in New York. We have more rains in the *baiu* (rainy) season in or around July and in the typhoon season in September.

Rice is transplanted in the *baiu* season, and it is the rainfall in this season that makes it possible for Japan to grow rice as the major product of Japanese agriculture.

Tropical atmospheric depressions, that brew in the southern seas, move northwards developing into typhoons. Some of them hit Japan with a daily rainfall of

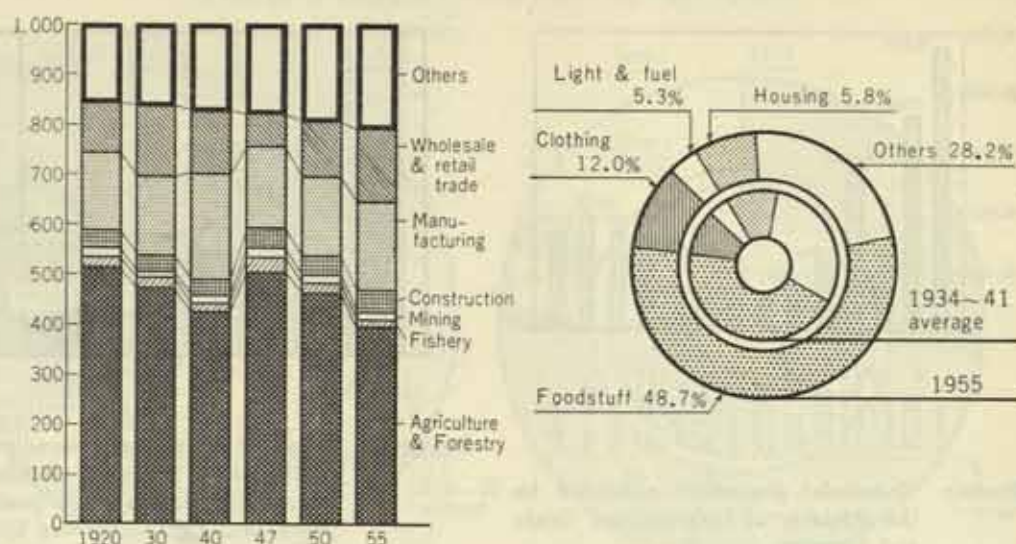
several hundred millimeters, and more often than not cause heavy damages to Japan.

Typhoons sometimes completely ruin rice crop. But the heavy rainfall brought with typhoons is a major source of water supply for hydraulic power generation, along with snowfalls in winter.

It is worthwhile to note that Japan is utilizing hydraulic electric power to a considerable degree to make up for the lack of industrial fuels.

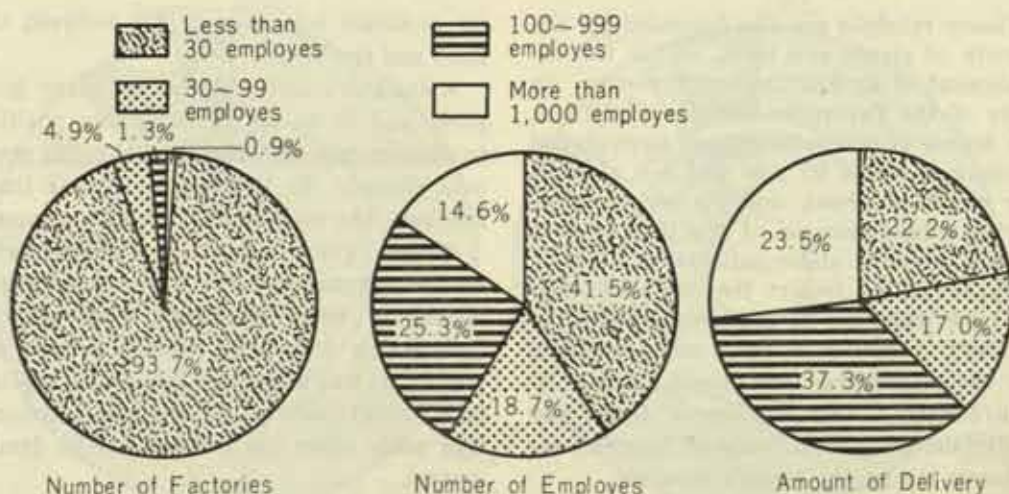
The importance of hydraulic power for Japan will be seen from the fact that it amounted to 7,500,000 kilowatts against 3,600,000 for thermal power production (excepting thermal power produced for private use). If it had not been for this heavy rainfall, it would not have been possible for Japan to develop industrially.

Employment Percentages by Industry (At time of National Census)



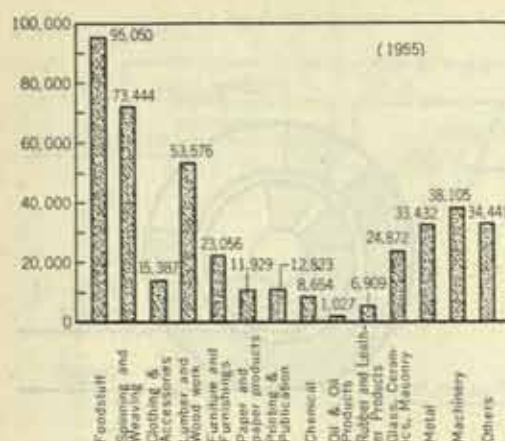
Note: Part-time employees as household workers in agriculture, forestry and commerce comprise a larger part of yearly increasing working population. The number of completely unemployed persons is now below the 700,000 mark. However, latent unemployed persons are estimated to total between 7 and 10 million. Real wage is on the increase but wage differentials are widening.

Industrial Enterprises Classified by Scale



Source: "Industrial Statistics" published by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

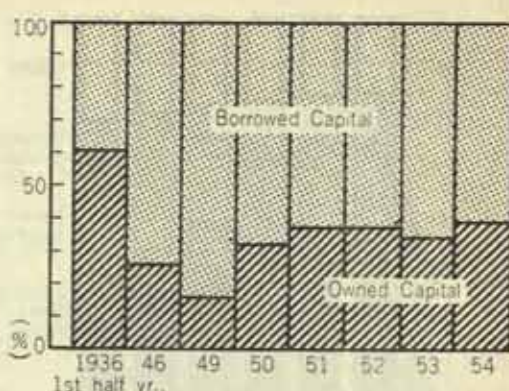
Number of Enterprises by Industry



Source: "Industrial Statistics" published by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

Note: The overwhelming majority of enterprises in this country are medium and small enterprises. They have come to depend more on banking institutions in postwar years due to lack of owned capital, although the tendency is that they are becoming less dependent on borrowed capital in recent years. The burden of money interest on enterprises is heavy because of high interest rates.

Composition of Capital of Enterprises (All Industries)



Remarks: Source of figures for prewar years—Mitsubishi Economic Institute; Source of figures for postwar years until 1952—A survey by the Development Bank of Japan; and Source of figures for postwar years after 1953—A survey by the Bank of Japan.

Heavy rainfalls are also favorable for the growth of plants and trees, or for the development of agriculture and forestry. In spite of the favorable climatic conditions, the degree of self-sufficiency in agricultural produce is about 90 per cent for rice, 40 per cent for wheat, and 60 per cent for barley mainly because of the limited area of land brought under cultivation.

Japan has to import the important textile raw materials of raw cotton and wool in large quantities as there are practically no cotton-growing and sheep-raising in this country. The imports of these raw materials, along with foodstuff imports, are a heavy burden on Japan's economy.

Japan's geographical position is closely related to its economic development. Japan, lying in the Western Pacific, is the gateway to the Asian continent and has played

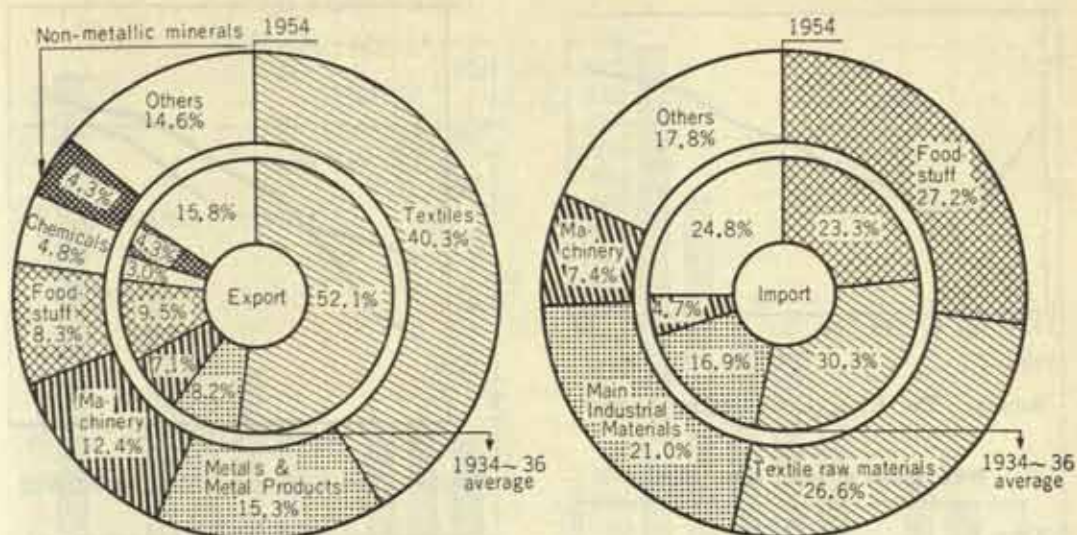
its economic role as a bridge between the East and the West.

A sea-girt country, Japan has many good ports and is in an advantageous position to acquire raw materials and ship its products abroad. In this way, overseas trade has been the mainstay of Japan's economy.

It was quite natural for Japan, with limited natural resources and a dense population, to have developed what we call "processing industries producing for export". It was along this line that a capitalistic reorganization of Japan's economy was made after the collapse of the feudal system.

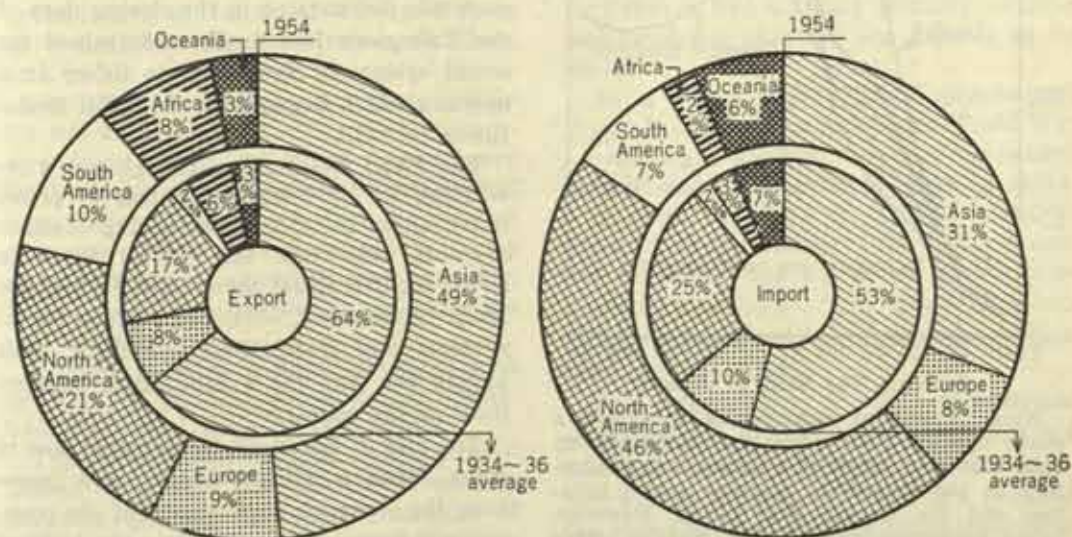
Japan followed a policy of almost complete seclusion from the outside world in the feudal age from the early days of the Tokugawa Era, the only contacts with for-

Comparison of Prewar and Postwar Export and Import by Items



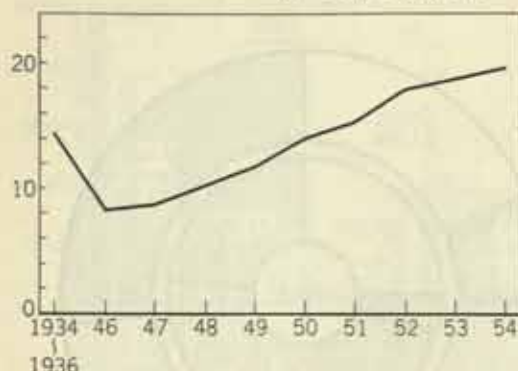
Source: Customs Statistics, Finance Ministry

Comparison of Prewar and Postwar Export and Import by Areas



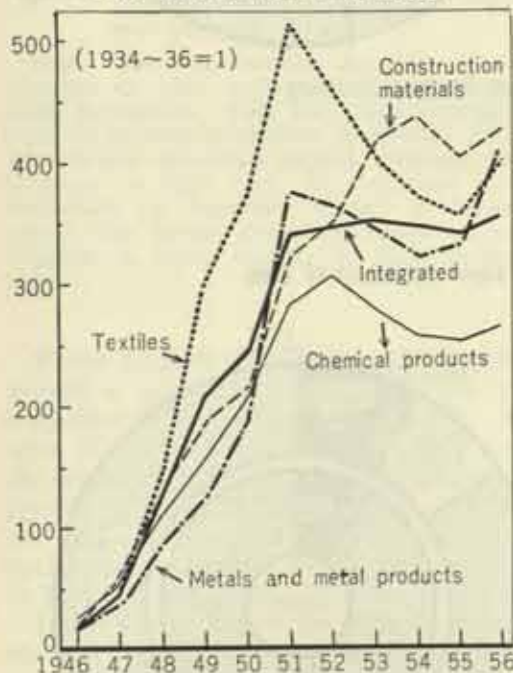
Source: Customs Statistics, Finance Ministry

Trends of Real National Incomes
(in ¥ 1,000 million)



Source: The Economic Planning Agency

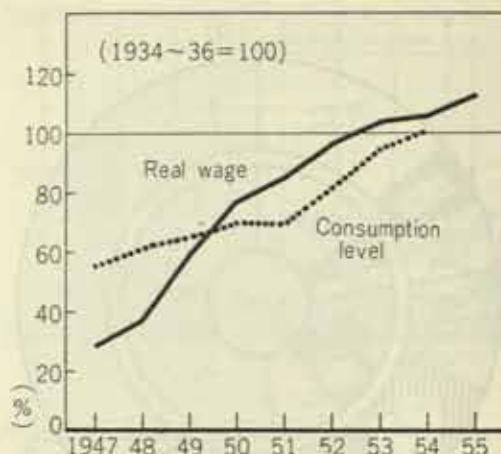
Price Trends of Retail Price Indices



Source: The Bank of Japan

Note: Prices of commodities continued a sharp upward trend after the war's end up until 1951 as a result of a decrease in production in the immediate postwar years, inflation and the Korean War boom. However, today prices are following a crablike curve due to the deflationary policy of the 1954-55 period. There is no predicting at the present stage that prices will be stabilized at the present level.

Labor



Source: The Economic Planning Agency

eign countries being made at a Dutch factory on Dejima Island in Nagasaki.

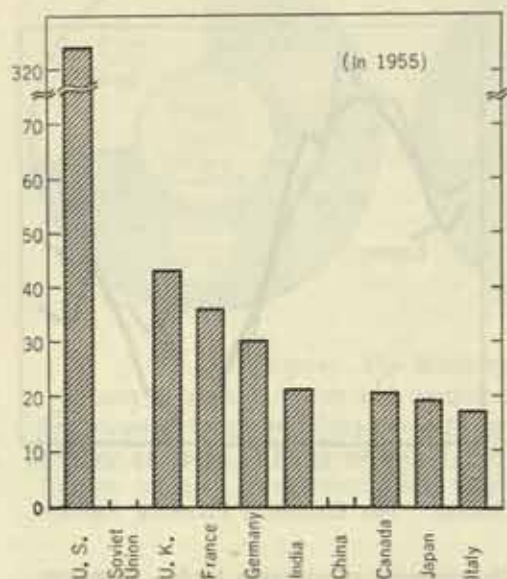
A typical pattern of feudal society was maintained within this narrow framework of seclusion. However, in the mid-19th century, the United States, Britain and Russia demanded that Japan open doors to these countries. Political upheavals and economic dislocations in the closing days of the Takugawa Era finally undermined the social system of feudalism to usher in a new era which began with the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

The Meiji Restoration, though not a revolution led by bourgeoisie, was of prime importance in that low-ranking former *samurai*, who was the central force in achieving this social change and formed the Meiji Government, abolished various feudal systems and institutions overnight, thus paving the way for a capitalistic development of the country.

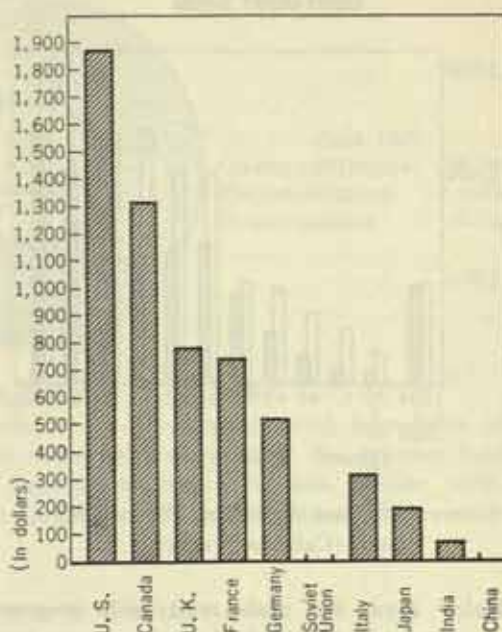
The aim of the Meiji Government was to make Japan a military power, and therefore, the economic development of the country was inseparably related to the buildup of its military strength.

It is quite natural that Japan found it necessary to enrich and strengthen herself

Comparison of National Incomes of 10 Principal Countries
(in \$ 1,000 million)



Comparison of Per Capita National Incomes of 10 Principal Countries



Remarks: Figures for India are for 1954.

The real national income, which had sank to 60 per cent of the prewar average after the war's end, rose sharply at a rapid yearly increase rate of 10 per cent. However, it is still at a low level as compared with advanced countries of the world.

in the face of the inroad of Western Powers as evident in their colonization of China as a result of the Opium War.

She adopted the processing trade system for the above purpose. The Meiji Government intended, by use of the system based on the exportation of articles manufactured from imported goods, to offset the costs of materials in the first place and to foster heavy industries, especially war industry, if she could obtain surplus funds under the said system.

The big *zaibatsu* or financial cliques such as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, etc. undertook the actual work in this regard.

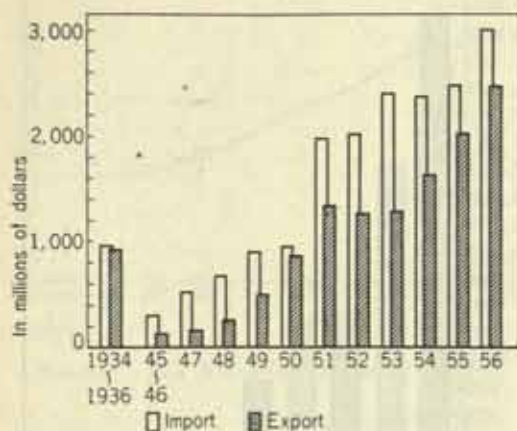
The *zaibatsu* was brought up and strengthened to perform the mission of concentratively utilizing the limited amount of capital for meeting the requirement of the state, that is, the raising of efficiency of the industrial structure. Accordingly, capitalism in Japan was characterized by the

fact that it had a strong military coloring and developed with the big *zaibatsu* as its center.

As a result of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars as well as World War I, although Japan's territory expanded greatly and her capitalism grew, progressing from the days of light industry to those of heavy industry, the living standard of people was not raised so much as it should have been. This may be attributed to the heavy burden of armament which fell upon the nation.

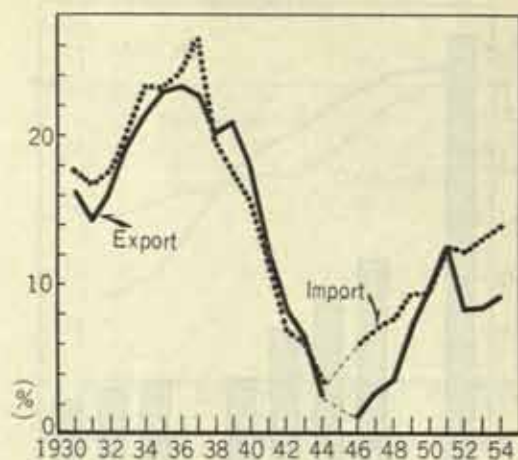
The aggravation of the international situation, the financial panic in the world and the economic difficulty in the country which were present in the 1930's inspired the ambition for invading China cherished by the militarists who became by then a great political power in Japan. Finally, they caused the Manchurian Incident

Export-Import Trends



Source: Customs Statistics, Finance Ministry (Calendar years)

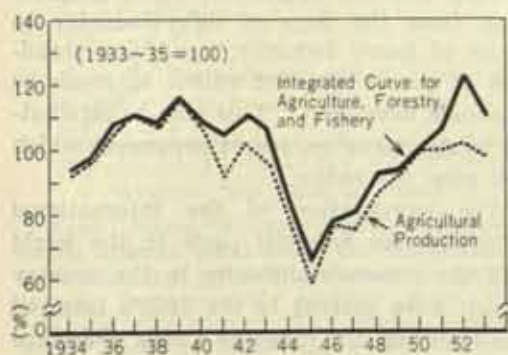
Rate of Dependence on Trade as measured against National Income



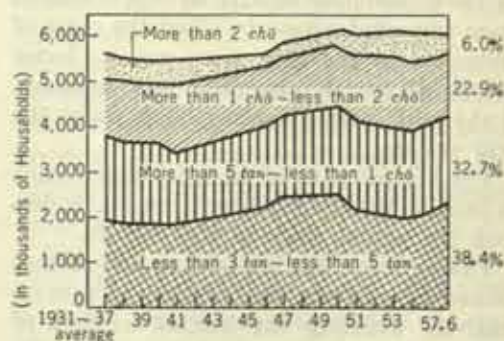
Source: The Economic Planning Agency

Note: Japan has made remarkable progress in the recovery of overseas trade. However, its scale is still half of the prewar level. Trade with the United States plays a more important role than with other countries. This means that Japan's trade with South-east Asian and other neighboring countries remains inactive. The reason for this is due to dollar gap and market instability prevalent in these countries.

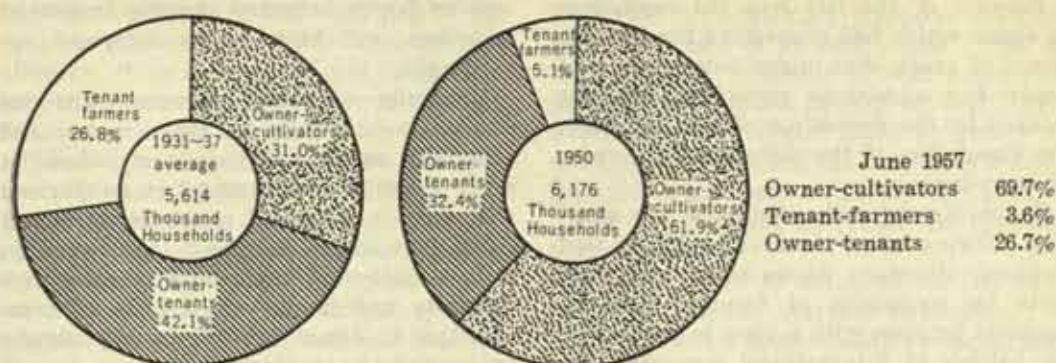
Trends of Agriculture and Fishery Production Indices



Number of Farming Households Classified by Cultivation Area



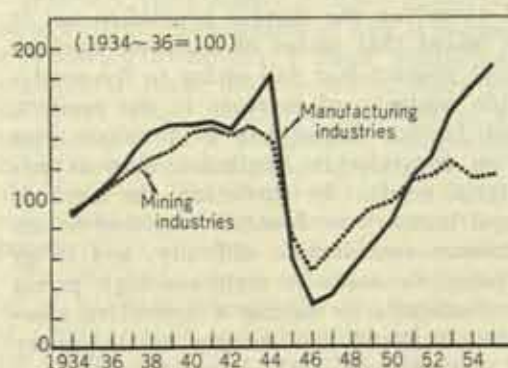
Percentages of Owner-Cultivators and Tenant Farmers



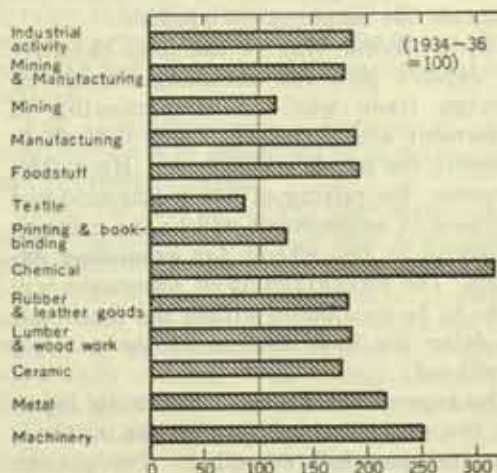
Source: The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry

Tenant households, which had comprised one-fourth of the total farming households of this country in prewar days, were turned into owner-cultivators under the postwar land reform program. This resulted in dividing agricultural enterprise into smaller units. Despite progress in mechanization, production is in the state of stagnation.

Trends of Production Indices



Recovery of Production



Source: The Economic Planning Agency

Production, which had been reduced to 30 per cent of the prewar level immediately after the end of the last war, gradually rose until it registered an all time high in 1955. The recovery of production is particularly remarkable in heavy and chemical industries in contrast to the slow pace of recovery in light industries.

(1931) and the China Incident (1937) and plunged into the World War II (1941).

Because of the last war the capitalism in Japan which had progressed for the last scores of years, was ruined completely, and Japan had undergone surprising changes marked by the demolition of war industry, the dissolution of the *zaibatsu*, the reform of farm-land, etc.

Japan is now confronted with new question. Owing to her natural conditions and economic structure, Japan has to make efforts for expansion of foreign trade to augment incomes with a view to improving the balance of international accounts. On the other hand, the pressure of the expanded population on economy is increasing gradually. While she lost 40 per cent of her territory in consequence of World War II, her population has increased by 20 per cent. If an annual increase of about 1,150,000 in the working population (15-59 years old) is unavoidable, the employment question will undoubtedly become serious.

There is no other way but to expand exports and develop economy if various problems before Japan are to be settled, for instance the employment question.

Up to World War II the final objective of Japan's plan for enriching herself by foreign trade was the strengthening of armament and therefore it was difficult to improve the people's livelihood. Hereafter, however, the raising of living standard and increase of employment will be the primary objective in her efforts for expanding exports. The strengthening of armament will have to be considered within the limits not to deter the improvement of the nation's livelihood.

As regards the policy of enriching Japan by the promotion of foreign trade, there are questions left unsettled. The prewar exports centered upon products of light industry with cotton goods and raw silk accounting for the greater part of exports. The trade in raw silk, however, has become stagnant, being outrivaled by nylon. Too optimistic a view cannot be taken about cotton goods, either, considering the progress of the cotton industry in India and other

newly rising countries. Therefore, it is necessary to switch over exports to products of heavy industry and the industrial structure will have to be reformed accordingly.

Generally speaking, however, the industrial productivity in Japan is low and especially as to heavy industry there is much room for improvement in comparison with that in advanced countries, including Great Britain and Germany. Consequently, it is a matter of importance to raise productivity and to cut down costs of commodities if Japan intends to rely chiefly on heavy industry for exports.

In the meantime attention must be paid to the future of agricultural industry in relation to Japan's policy of building up her economy by export trade. It may be said in a sense that capitalism in Japan has progressed at the sacrifice of the farming population since the Meiji Era. The farmers not only played an important role as the source of supplying cheap labor but also provided, in the form of land tax, in the early days of the Meiji Era, the capital required for Japan's capitalization.

Even now farm villages serve as places of absorbing the surplus population but it is feared that prices of Japanese agricultural product may fall owing to the worldwide tendency of increase in the product, and further Japan has to purchase rice from countries in Southeast Asia as collateral goods. In that case, the agricultural industry in Japan is expected to experience considerable difficulty, and if an attempt be made to maintain high prices of foodstuffs by taking a protective measure, it would run counter to the policy of cutting down costs of export goods.

As a basic measure of dealing with this situation, it is desirable, in the first place, to take steps to provide employment to the working age population by making efforts to develop the secondary industry (mining and producing industries) and the tertiary industry (service business) so as to lighten the burden of the primary industry (agricultural and forestry industries).

Another question is the systematizing of economy. In the economy of Japan before

World War II, the *zaibatsu* held the leading position and played a crucial role. While they monopolized profits accruing from economic activities and exerted anti-social influence, it is undeniable that they have made great contributions towards the economic progress of the country.

The dissolution of the *zaibatsu* and division of large enterprises effected by the United States after the war have had important bearings on the democratization of Japan's economy, but it is plain at the same time that the connection between enterprises has been shattered and thus the efficient operation of economy has been hindered. Furthermore, the existence of a large number of medium and small enterprises makes it more difficult to carry out the systematization of economy.

How to systematize economy without allowing the revival of the *zaibatsu* is an important question in relation to the forming of the Japanese economic policy. It will be difficult for Japan to maintain her position in an international competition with Great Britain and Germany unless she can succeed in the systematization of the prewar *zaibatsu* system.

Any way, the economy of Japan is destined to confront the question of how to secure a stabilized living for a large population expected to reach the 100 million mark in the near future which is contained in a narrow land. It is required to reorganize Japan's economy for peaceful purposes unlike those of the prewar economy, which was aimed at the enhancement of military power.

To attain the above object the building up of national strength by the expansion of foreign trade and promotion of export are needed more than anything else.

Development of domestic resources

Soon after Japan signed a trade agreement with the U.S. in 1858, she started to exploit available domestic resources to meet a growing demand for industrializing the nation but made no efforts to develop new resources. This resulted in exhaustion of natural resources available on four islands of Japan and brought about an acute need for development of new resources as well as

redevelopment of already exploited areas.

There were several causes that promoted launching of large-scale resources development programs in postwar Japan. One of them was the influence of such successful development projects carried out in foreign countries as TVA and allied programs of the United States and the ambitious nature remodeling program of the Soviet Union.

But the most urgent factor was the economic necessity.

As a result of the defeat in the last war, Japan lost all her overseas territories. It brought about a stern situation—Japan had to feed her increasing population on a soil that had shrunk to 56 per cent of its prewar size.

In the face of such a hard reality, it became urgently necessary to expand economic structure of the nation and advance further its industrialization if Japan was to raise the living standard of the people.

As the first step toward this supreme goal, the nation's economy had to be stabilized. Increase of agricultural yields, development of power resources and bringing up of synthetic fabrics and other chemical industries which do not have to look to foreign countries for raw materials supply were of prime importance in stabilizing the economy and improving international trade balance.

And to achieve these objectives, all natural resources in Japan had to be developed and efficiently utilized.

It is true that Japan has very scarce natural resources. But it is also true that quite a portion of her limited resources still lies unexploited. For instance, it is estimated that the total river flow of Japan is capable of generating 20 million kilowatts when fully utilized. Today, only about 7,000,000 kilowatts of electricity is generated.

Though not great in quantity, she has quite a variety of mineral resources. Sulfur, sulfide ore, magnetic sand, and lime stone are turned out in comparatively large volume. Zinc, iron and copper also are found in sizable quantity.

One thirds of forest resources estimated at 6,000 million *koku* is found on undeveloped mountainous areas.

Even in agricultural production, there is room for improvement. Sixty-nine per

cent of total rice fields is expected to turn out increased yields by improving farming land. It was held possible to have at least 800,000 more acres of rice fields by developing uncultivated arable land.

Promoted by urgent economic needs already mentioned, the first resources development plan was drafted by the Government in 1946. In 1957, the Resources Commission was established and the following year saw the launching of another similar organ, the Council for Overall Development of Rivers.

Then in 1950, the Multiple Purpose Land Development Law was enacted.

With the institution of the law, drafted on a careful study of similar plans already launched as well as urgent economic requirements and development possibilities, Japan can be said to have launched on a truly overall resources development project for the first time.

The law dealt with: a) utilization of land, water and other natural resources; b) protection against typhoons, floods and other natural disasters; c) recommendation on size and distribution of cities and farming villages; d) recommendation on proper location of industrial centers; e) planning on size and location of such public facilities as power station, transportation, communication and cultural, welfare and sightseeing establishments.

Seven years have passed since the law was enacted but not very much has been done, mainly because of lack of fund to carry out plans drafted in office.

The most worthy of attention in the present stage of developments being carried out under the law is the multi purpose development projects carried through in the 19 special districts. The fact that 13 of the 19 special areas are mainly devoted to opening up of rivers clearly shows that the most emphasis in the present development plans in Japan is placed on full utilization of water resources for power generation and other purposes.

National income

The blow dealt on Japanese economy by the defeat in the last war is very clearly

illustrated by comparison of net national incomes before and immediately after the war. As shown in the Table No. 1, the national income in 1946 was ¥8,300 million, only 57.6 per cent of the prewar average (1934-36).

Great efforts against inflation made by the Government and recovery of war-destroyed industries set the national economy of Japan on sound footing after 1948. The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 brought about an unexpected boom in Japanese business and resulted in unprecedented rapid rate of growth of the economy rarely witnessed in the history of the world.

In 1951, the national income topped the prewar level by eight per cent. In 1954, the total national income reached ¥19,700 million, or 136.5 per cent of the pre-war average.

However, the per capita net income did not reach the pre-war level until 1953 due to a rapid increase in population.

Before the last war, the per capita national income of Japan was on the same level with those of Italy, the Soviet Union, Poland and other industrialized Western nations. However, the rapid postwar industrial growth in these nations left Japan far behind in comparison of per capita national income. Japan now stands much more inferior to the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and West Germany in comparison of per capita national income as compared with the prewar position.

Now let us briefly review the breakdown of Japan's national income according to different kinds of industry.

Immediately after the war, farmers had an unusually large share in national income mainly due to abnormal rise in black market price of agricultural products, notably rice. Sudden growth of inflation, coupled with destructive damages on equipments suffered during the war resulted in an all-time low of productive industry's share in the national income breakdown.

The national economy gradually returned to normal from 1954 as mentioned above,

and ratio of productive industry and agriculture was reversed before long.

Monetary and real estate dealing business and public corporation industries such as communication and transportation remained in the lower brackets in the breakdown chart of national income even after the nation's economy recovered to the prewar level.

This was due to the strict regulation enforced on land and house rentals in the case of the former and political consideration given to hold transportation and communication fares at a low level in case of the latter, both enforced in order to maintain people's living standard at an desirable level.

Characteristics of the national dividend are as shown in Table 3.

1. There are opposing trends between earned income and private enterprise income. The former increased from 30.8 per cent in 1946 to 49.5 per cent in 1954, whereas the latter decreased from 65.2 per cent to 39.0 per cent.

This shows a comparative decline in importance of medium and small enterprises in recent years as a result of recovery of larger industrial corporations as well as a gradual stabilization of the living standards of the working people.

2. A sharp decrease in property income: Private rental and interest incomes decreased sharply as a result of the land reform, economic controls, inflation and taxation on property.

3. Corporate income marked an all time low with 1.1 per cent in the year immediately following the termination of war. However, it attained a prewar level during the Korean War boom, showing the great effect of the war on the industrial activity of this country.

The last war reduced Japan's non-military national assets to one-fourth of the prewar level. It is assumed from various economic indices that Japan rapidly recovered the prewar level of national assets in the postwar period. However, there is no giving accurate data on the question, as the results of a national asset survey conducted in 1955, the first survey of the kind made after the last war, are still unavailable.

Main features of Japanese economy

An unusually big share given to military purposes and strong pre-capitalistic economic structure gave a special distinction to prewar national economy of Japan.

Japan grew out from a feudalistic country into a modern nation after the 1868 revolution as far as political structure was concerned. But it was past 1890 that any appreciable private industry on a capitalistic basis came into being under the Government's strong assistance.

Japan's heavy industry which compares with any western nations today made a humble start in 1901 when the Government-run iron foundry started operation in northern part of Kyūshū. The iron mill was the predecessor of the privately owned Yawata Iron Mill, one of the largest iron works in Japan today.

Once stood on sound footing, the economy of Japan grew rapidly afterwards, making unusual large strides of advancement at each of several wars she faced with to date, and became the most industrialized nation in Asia.

Unfortunately, the political revolution of 1868 was not based on democratic idea. As

Table 1. Comparison of Real National Income Between Prewar and Postwar

	1934-35 Average	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
Total amount (in thousand of million yen)	144	82	87	102	118	140	154	169	179	184	205	221
Index	100	57.6	61.1	71.5	82.6	97.2	107.1	117.5	124.1	127.8	142.3	153.2
Per Capita (in yen)	210	100	113	129	145	168	182	197	206	209	230	245
Index	100	52.4	53.8	61.4	69.0	80.1	86.9	93.9	98.2	99.3	109.3	116.8

Table 2. Composition of National Income by Industry

	Primary Industries			Secondary Industries			Tertiary Industries					Total Domestic National Income	Pure Income from Abroad	Nat. Product, Income				
	Agri.	Forest,	Fish,	Sub-total	Min-ing.	Constr.	Man-ufac.	Sub-total	Wholesale, Retail Trade.	Bank-ing, Real Estate	Transpor., Commu-nic., and Public Utilities				Service	Others	Public Service	Sub-total
1934-1936 Average	16.7	1.6	1.5	19.8	2.3	3.2	25.3	30.8	13.6	10.4	10.4	10.5	1.3	3.2	49.4	100.0	0	100.0
1946	31.1	5.0	2.7	38.8	3.0	6.9	16.4	26.3	10.7	2.5	4.4	15.5		1.8	34.9	100.0	-	"
1947	29.1	3.7	2.7	35.5	3.1	4.9	20.6	28.6	13.8	1.6	3.8	14.6		2.2	36.0	100.1	-0.1	"
1948	25.7	3.1	3.0	31.8	3.4	4.2	23.2	30.8	12.3	2.1	5.3	14.4		3.3	37.4	100.0	0	"
1949	22.5	2.0	2.9	27.4	2.5	3.7	25.9	32.1	13.4	2.6	7.4	13.2		3.9	40.5	100.0	0	"
1950	21.3	2.0	2.9	26.2	2.9	3.9	25.5	32.3	16.1	3.5	7.5	10.6		3.9	41.6	100.1	-0.1	"
1951	19.8	2.5	2.6	24.9	3.6	3.5	25.7	32.8	17.0	3.5	7.3	10.6		4.0	42.4	100.1	-0.1	"
1952	18.4	2.4	2.6	23.4	3.9	4.1	23.7	31.7	16.3	4.6	8.2	10.9			45.1	100.2	-0.2	"
1953	16.1	2.7	2.8	21.6	3.1	4.5	23.7	31.3	16.5	5.2	8.3		17.3		47.3	100.2	-0.2	"
1954	16.5	2.4	2.8	21.5	2.7	4.6	23.5	30.8	16.4	5.1	8.6		18.1		48.2	100.5	-0.5	"
1955	17.5	2.2	2.5	22.1	2.0	4.8	24.1	30.9	16.4	4.9	8.9		17.1		47.4	100.9	-0.4	"
1956	15.6	2.2	2.4	20.2	2.0	4.6	25.9	32.5	16.8	5.1	9.1		16.8		47.7	100.9	-0.4	"

Table 3. Distribution of National Income

	Earned Income			Private Enterprisers			Private Income			Income of Corporation			Surpluses of Gov. and Pub. enterprise	Pure Income from Abroad	Exemption	Total
	Salaries and Wages	Others	Sub-total	Agri., Forest, and Fish.	Others	Sub-total	Private Rental Income	Private Interest Income	Corporation Tax	Dividends	Corporation Resources	Sub-total				
1934-1936 Average	36.8	2.1	38.9	13.7	17.6	31.3	9.1	9.1	2.4	3.9	2.4	8.7	2.9	0	-	100
1946	29.7	1.1	30.8	33.9	31.3	65.2	1.4	2.1	1.2	0.2	-0.3	1.1	-0.6	-	-	100
1947	31.4	1.2	32.6	31.3	34.8	66.1	1.0	0.9	1.3	0.2	-0.4	1.1	-1.6	0.01	-	100
1948	40.0	2.2	42.2	27.9	27.7	55.6	0.8	0.9	2.1	0.4	0.1	2.6	-2.1	0	-	100
1949	39.2	2.6	41.8	23.8	25.0	48.8	0.7	1.1	3.4	0.5	1.4	5.3	2.3	0	-	100
1950	38.5	2.9	41.4	23.0	22.0	45.0	0.9	1.2	3.2	0.9	5.8	9.9	0.7	0.01	-	100
1951	40.0	3.3	43.3	21.9	20.7	42.5	0.9	1.2	5.1	0.9	4.9	10.9	1.1	0	-	100
1952			46.8			42.1	0.9	1.5				9.1		-0.2	0.1	100
1953			47.1			39.8	1.1	1.9				10.2		-0.2	1.0	100
1954			49.5			39.0	1.2	2.4				8.7		-0.5	1.2	100
1955			48.9			38.8	1.3	2.8				8.9	0.9	-0.4	1.1	100
1956			44.9			36.2	1.3	2.9				10.7	0.8	-0.4	1.1	100

a result, feudalistic labor conditions remained in rural areas, resulting in exploitation of farmers and near-slavery land owner-farmer relations.

This poor working conditions in rural areas caused influx of cheap labors into urban areas and resulted in low wages in industrial labor.

Scarce domestical natural resources and lack of domestic demands for products due to low living standard inevitably drove Japan to seek overseas resources and markets with the help of arms.

Japan's heavy industry was strongly monopolistic from its start because it was brought up and protected by the Government for the purpose of arms production. And this monopolistic industry was financed

by several giant family trusts such as Mitsui and Mitsubishi.

The last war drastically changed these features of Japanese economy.

The occupation forces authorities ordered extensive land reforms in order to put an end to feudalistic labor relations and give farmers their own land. They closed all factories operated for arms production and other military purposes and dissolved the family financial concerns. The Anti-Monopoly Law was enacted to prevent any revival of such financial combines.

Labor unions which were stifled during the war were revived and their activities were encouraged. This was another attempt made by the Occupation authorities to put the labor-management relations in Japan on modern basis.

Production and Consumption

The World War II inflicted enormous damage on the Japanese economy. About one fourth of the total national wealth had been reduced to ashes and one third of productive facilities had been destroyed by the middle of 1945.

In addition to the physical damage to the nation's capital equipment and plant, that vital organic link between industries themselves and that between producers and consumers were disrupted at many important junctions. Japan turned just one great desert of ruins by the time the war was over.

The absolute shortage of food caused a general state of hunger among the Japanese people, and the collapse of the productive system drove down their general consumption to an all-time low level.

Per capita consumption of textile goods dropped in 1945 as low as 5.6 per cent of that in 1936, that of woolen textile goods to only 1.8 per cent of 1936 level, that of plate glass fell to 0.8 per cent, the consumption of soap to 3.7 per cent, and that of electric bulbs to 3.9 per cent as compared with the corresponding statistics of 1936.

Under this circumstances, the first thing that the allied occupation authorities and

the Japanese Government had to do was to put the production wheel of the Japanese economy again in motion.

This difficult task was carried out by imposing strict control on various phases of economic activities and, at the same time, by pumping tremendous amount of Government subsidy and loan into Japanese industries to finance the reconstruction process.

Imported crude oil was allocated to the iron and steel industries on priority basis. The steel output was, in turn, allocated to the coal mining industry with top priority. The process was complete when increased coal output was fed back to the steel and iron production.

The so-called "priority production system" which was adopted early 1947, was intended to build the foundation first on which the Japanese economy was to be reconstructed by placing the whole emphasis of the economic policy at the time on the iron and steel and coal mining industries.

Boosting this "priority production" policy from under were the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (Fukkō Kinyū Kin-ko) established by the Government in Jan-

uary, 1947, on one hand, and the economic aid by the U.S.

The U.S. economic assistance supplied food stuffs and important industrial raw materials, while the Reconstruction Finance Corporation provided funds to key industries.

However, the "priority production" formula did not work quite as expected at first. It entailed further upward surge of general price level accelerating the runaway

inflation which had been plaguing the Japanese economy since the end of the war. On the other hand, it did not succeed remarkably at first in raising industrial production to the desired level.

The index of mining and manufacturing production stood throughout 1947 as low as 37.4 as compared with 1934-36 level.

In 1948, the production index rose about half as high as 1934-36 level in March of the following year and at last advanced to 72.9 in December the same year.

Production and Consumption in the Postwar Period

Year	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
General Index of Industrial Activities	39.2	46.2	61.8	76.7	88.0	119.4	131.8	161.2	175.3	187.9	228.7
General Index of Mining and Manufacturing Industries	30.7	37.4	54.6	71.0	83.6	114.4	126.4	155.1	166.9	180.7	220.5
General Consumption Index	—	—	—	—	—	79.3	82.7	94.8	105.7	111.0	118.3
Index of Consumption in Urban Areas	—	—	55.4	61.2	65.0	69.8	68.9	80.2	94.0	100.0	109.4
Index of Consumption in Rural Areas	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	116.6	123.2	127.5	131.7

Note 1. The average of the three years between 1934 and 1936 is used as the base (100) for the comparison.

Note 2. The general index of industrial activities is computed from those of mining and manufacturing industries and public utility industries such as electric power and gas industries.

In 1948, the increased industrial production began to exert some restraining effect on the upward movement of prices. Thus, the ground was prepared for the initiation of a new economic policy based upon the so-called Dodge scheme which emphasized economic stability rather than expansion for Japan at that stage.

In 1949, the mining and manufacturing index recorded 71.4 or 16.4 per cent increase over the preceding year. As compared with the increase of 17 per cent in the same index in the preceding year, this represented a slight declining in the rate of industrial recovery.

However, with this much of increase in industrial output, the Japanese economy showed signs of overproduction or glut of supply chiefly due to insufficient aggregate demand.

It was alleged that the stagnancy in export and the enforcement of heavy taxation in that year were responsible for the decline in the effective demand.

The outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950 was, indeed, a godsend to the Japanese economy. The so-called special procurement and export increase wiped away the overglutted stock of finished goods in a short period of time and pushed up Japanese industries to a literal boom condition.

Reflecting this booming state of production activity, the production index, which lingered around 86.6 before the Korean Conflict, surpassed the prewar level (1934-1936 level) in October, 1950, at last, and recorded 120.8 in March and 140 in May, 1951.

However, the Korean war-prosperity began to wane early 1952 as the U. S. led other free nations to cease further stock-piling

of war materials. The Japanese economy entered new adjustment period.

The average production level in the year 1951 stood still high at 119.4 which was an increase of 31.4 per cent over the preceding year. However, a breakdown by industries shows that all industries, with the exception of food, tobacco, mining, textile and metal industries, recorded no increase in production over the previous year.

The post-Korean recession began to take definite shape as it first hit the distribution sector of the Japanese economy in 1951 and then spread to the production sector in 1952. Beginning with the reduction of operation scale by about 400 companies of the rubber industry, the recession gradually immersed whole consumer goods industries and finally affected the capital goods production sector including iron and steel, non-ferrous metal industries.

There were some industries, on the other hand, which enjoyed the lion's share of the demand caused by the vigorous investment in the power resource development by the Government and by some increase in the national income.

The inventory finance by commercial banks which was underwritten by the Bank of Japan and the expansion of plant and equipment by private enterprises supported by the Government loans and subsidies provided an inflationary boost to general industrial activity. As the result, the production level increased to 126.4 which was a 12.0 per cent gain over the previous year.

In 1953, the domestic investment boom gained its momentum as consumer demand showed a sharp upward trend. Thus, the mining and manufacturing industrial index pointed to 155.1 recording a miraculous increase of 28.7 per cent over 1952.

It was evident, however, that this enormous expansion of production was not brought about by export increase but by undesirable increase of the domestic demand. The expansion in the industrial production which was unwarranted by export increase soon caused serious deterioration in the international account. The Government was obliged to take tight-money policy in the autumn of 1953. As the re-

sult, the general production level in 1954 recorded only a 3.5 per cent increase over 1952, which was the lowest rate of growth in the postwar period.

Industrial production in Japan, however, began a sharp upward curve at the turn of 1955 favored by the rising prosperity in other countries of the world. Thus, the index of mining and manufacturing production increased by leaps and bounds in 1955 renewing the postwar high record every month of the year. It recorded 192 in November, 1955, surpassing the corresponding figure of the same month of the preceding year by 25 per cent.

As of November, the production of chemical industry was three times that of previous year, that of metal manufacturing industry 2.3 times and machine tool industry 2.6 times. Sole exception was textile industry the production level of which was as low as 91.7 indexwise as compared with the standard prewar level.

This was sufficient evidence to the structural change of the Japanese economy in the postwar period toward greater proportionate importance of chemical and heavy industries.

However, certain discount must be made of the statistics concerning the proportion between the light industries and chemical and heavy industries in the postwar period because many arsenals of armed forces, which are presumed to have accounted for seizable portion of the total industrial output in the prewar Japan, had not been included in relevant prewar statistics.

Meanwhile, how the consumption level and the livelihood of the Japanese people fared during the same period?

All Japanese families were extremely impoverished by the devastations of the war and were forced to live "peeling-off" life under a state of near starvation resulted from food shortage and under the pressure of the hyper inflation. However, people managed to live through the difficult period as their minimum food intake requirements were secured by the emergency relief food import under the occupation policy. The Food Agency also played the vital role to provide the Japanese households with min-

imum food requirement by establishing fair routes of food distribution.

The consumer goods production was barely maintained through these years mainly depending on the materials stocked during wartime. The consumption level recovered to a point about half as high as the 1934-1936 level in 1947.

Slight improvement was witnessed in people's livelihood in the following 1948 but the inflation exerted a heavy negative pressure preventing any large scale advance in the real living standard of the people.

The enforcement of the Dodge scheme in November 1948 marked a significant break for Japanese homes because it somehow brought the inflation to a halt in next two years.

As the result, the consumption level recovered to 66 in urban areas in 1949, while in rural areas it attained 89. It continued the upward trend favored by the increase in the general income level during the Korean war-prosperity. The general consumption index recorded 79, the index of consumption in rural areas 90, and that in urban areas 70 in 1950. In 1951, the consumption in rural areas exceeded the prewar level, at last, recording 103, while that in urban districts suffered a setback of one per cent below the level of 1950 despite the favorable effects on the city households during the Korean boom.

This decline in the urban consumption level could be explained by the fact that wage increase lagged considerably behind price increase during the same period and income increase, if there were any, did not bless all urban workers equally.

Reflecting this situation, the general index of consumption remained at 83 in 1951.

In 1952, however, the consumption level sharply increased recording 96 in the general index, 120 in the index of rural consumption, and 80 in urban consumption.

The general consumption level finally exceeded the prewar level recording 108.6 in 1953. The consumption in rural areas stood at 130.4 and that of urban districts at 94. It was realized, in the autumn of 1953, however, that the rapid advance as

was shown by such consumer indices were not the result of healthy growth of the Japanese economy but rather of the abnormal expansion of economic scale chiefly spurred by the large amount of special procurement purchase by U.S. military forces.

The international account crisis befallen Japan in that autumn prompted the Japanese Government to institute series of measures designed to curb further rise of domestic consumption.

Thus, a slight six per cent increase was witnessed in the general consumption level in 1954.

The foregoing review shows that the general consumption level has steadily recovered from the end of the war and, boosted by the impact of the Korean boom in 1950, closely approached the prewar standard or, as was the case in the rural part of Japan, exceeded it.

Especially remarkable was the spectacular advance recorded in the living standard of Japanese farming families which was said to be some 30 per cent lower than that of urban industrial workers in prewar days.

Though the general living standard of the Japanese families, both rural and urban, exceeded the prewar level in statistical sense, due attention should be paid to changes in the composition of consumption in the postwar period.

Japanese families are, for example, still suffering from acute shortage of housing facilities of a proportion not witnessed in prewar days.

It must be pointed out, too, that the three-year average figures on production and consumption between 1934 and 1936 used throughout the foregoing discussion of consumption level as the base for comparison was made to serve as a mere standard measure to evaluate the degree of recovery in the postwar period and by no means meant to represent ideal consumption level.

M.K. Bennet ranked Japan at the ninth or tenth place among 31 countries of the world in his "An International Comparison of Consumption Standard". His comparison covered the five-year period from 1934 to 1938.

The present consumption level, which Japan took ten postwar years to attain, stood about twice as high as the average consumption level of Asian nations, but is still extremely low when compared with the advanced countries of the West. It is about one eighth of the consumption level in the U.S., one fourth of that in Great Britain and half as high as that of West Germany.

The wide discrepancy between the high production level and the abnormally low living standard was alleged to characterize the Japanese economy in the prewar period. There was no fundamental improvement on that score in the postwar period. In sharp contrast to the remarkable advance recorded in the mining and manufacturing index to 192, the consumption index lagged considerably behind recording 125.

Capital and Labor

Capital

The mining and manufacturing productions of this country rank sixth, following Germany, France, Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States in the order named. However, Japan leads all the other capitalist countries of the world in the rate of production increase.

If we set the level of production in 1900 at 100, Japan's production increase index stands at 1,880, as against 782 for the United States, 233 for Britain, and 318 for Germany.

If we take the eight postwar years, the index for Japan shows a 4.5-fold increase as compared with about a 50 per cent increase for both the United States and Britain. This is a reflection of a characteristic feature of capital accumulation in Japan that the accumulation tempo is extremely rapid in contrast to its relatively low levels of accumulation, as compared with the advanced countries of the West.

World War II destroyed Japan's accumulated capital to such a great extent that its capital assets at the time of the war's end was reduced to a level in 1935.

However, capital accumulation progressed at a rapid pace in the postwar period, particularly after the Korean War. According to the national income statistics, the percentage of nongovernmental capital formation in the total national spending reached about 25 per cent after 1950 as against the 15-20 per cent levels of advanced western countries in the postwar period. It reached a record high of 27.5 per cent in 1951.

Another feature of capital accumulation in Japan is the fact that capital is concentrated on a comparatively small number of large enterprises inspite of a great number of medium and small enterprises and that these large enterprises, relatively few in number, play a decisive role in the economic life of the nation.

It is true that the Anti-Monopoly Law formulated after the war's end and other related laws had the effect of temporarily weakening the position of these large enterprises, but they came to strengthen their economic position in the course of rapid capital accumulation after the Korean War.

As of 1953, the number of corporations each with a capital less than ¥2 million stood at 236,715, accounting for 90.8 per cent of the total number of corporations, while the number of companies with a capital of more than ¥100 million numbered 732, comprising only 0.3 per cent of the total.

Further, as against the fact that the proportion occupied by the former in the total amount of capital used stood only at 16 per cent, the percentage for the latter amounted as much as 57 per cent of the total. (All the above figures exclude banking and insurance industries.)

In other words, enterprises, numbering less than 0.3 per cent of the total, used capital amounting to 57 per cent of the total amount of capital employed.

In this way, the rates of capital concentration on the five major enterprises in various industries are as follows: 39.9 per cent in coal, 62.8 per cent in steel materials

manufacture, 47.1 per cent in shipbuilding, 39.9 per cent in ammonium sulfate, 58.0 per cent in caustic potash, 70.9 in cement, 32.4 per cent in cotton spinning, and 91.3 per cent in rayon filament yarn manufacture.

A feature of capital composition in Japanese enterprises is a comparatively smaller proportion of owned capital.

It was necessary for enterprises in the immediate postwar period to renew superannuated equipment and rebuild production equipment damaged during the war.

As there were no funds available in the form of reserves and further as it was not possible for them to raise funds by issuing stocks, they were forced to obtain necessary loans from banking institutions.

Inasmuch as banks had not enough funds to meet demand from enterprisers, they were also forced to get loans from the Bank of Japan.

In this way, the proportion of owned capital declined. In prewar days, the proportion of borrowed capital stood at 39.2 per cent (in the first half year of 1936), while it rose to 60.1 per cent in the postwar period (in the first half year of 1953).

This, combined with high interest rates, made enterprises feel the heavy burden of interest on loans. In the following table are shown the proportions between owned and borrowed capital in the principal countries of the world.

	Japan	West Germany	U.S.	Britain
Owend capital	40%	47%	67%	67%
Borrowed capital	60	52	33	33

However, the proportion of owned capital rose slightly after 1954 as a result of tight-money measures and owing to favorable economic conditions brought about by the expansion of exports.

Further, as Japanese enterprises were in short supply of funds in the postwar year period, there arose a tendency among them to activate reception of capital from the United States. The reception of U.S. capital was closely related to the introduc-

tion of technical knowhow from the United States.

The amount of foreign capital invested in Japanese industry amounted to ¥45,800 million as at the end of 1954, of which 59.7 per cent was American capital. The amount is broken down into 22.5 per cent for investment in stocks and 79.5 per cent in the form of loans. The figure of ¥45,800 million is comparatively large for Japanese economy, comprising 7.7 per cent of the total amount of ¥592,900 million financed as industrial funds in 1954. The larger part of foreign capital has been invested in public utilities, including power industry and the oil refinery industry.

The total capital of Japan, amounting to ¥690,773 million in 1953, is distributed as follows according to industries; 47.6 per cent for manufacturing industries; 45.7 per cent for public utilities, including electric power, gas, transportation, and communication; 26.2 per cent for commerce; 4.8 per cent for mining, 0.2 per cent for service and realties, and 0.7 per cent for agriculture and fishery.

Percentages for mining, agriculture and fishery, and service are conspicuously small in the distribution of capital.

Labor

What is characteristic of Japan's labor conditions is the fact that the number of household workers and independent petty enterprisers comprises a larger proportion than that of employed workers in the total working population.

Japan's total working population is broken down into 38.5 per cent for employed workers, 33.7 per cent for household workers, and 25.6 per cent for independent petty enterprisers.

Household workers and independent petty enterprisers play an important role in agriculture, forestry and fishery, and retail trade, while in the manufacturing industries they account for 22 per cent of the total number of people gainfully employed in these industries.

Another characteristic of Japan's labor conditions is that a comparatively larger proportion of workers are employed at small-scale places of employment—factories and shops.

As regards the conditions of the manufacturing industries in 1951, 23 per cent of the total number of workers in these industries were employed at enterprises each with less than 10 workers, 43 per cent at enterprises each with less than 30 workers and 60.5 per cent at enterprises each with less than 100 workers.

As against this, only 17.2 per cent of the workers were employed at large enterprises with more than 1,000 workers. In the following table the distributions of workers according to enterprise scales in Japan, the United States, Canada, and West Germany are compared:

	1~99	100~499	More than 500
Japan	60.5	16.5	23.0
U.S.	25.0	30.9	45.9
West Germany	51.5	22.9	25.6
Canada	24.5	31.9	33.7

Remarks: Figures for Japan and the U. S. are for 1951 and 1947, respectively, while those for west Germany and Canada are taken from the Statistical Yearbook (1954 edition).

The distribution of workers in the manufacturing industries as of 1951 was 48 per cent for heavy and chemical industries, and 52 per cent for light industries. This shows that although the proportion of workers in light industries is greater than that of those employed in heavy and chemical industries, yet the percentage for the latter is gradually on the increase.

For example, the number of workers employed in the machinery industry, which stood at 420,000 persons in 1935, increased to 860,000 persons in 1951, while the number of textile workers decreased from 1,060,000 in 1935 to 930,000 in 1951.

Further, in the manufacturing industries, male workers comprise 67.6 per cent of the total as against the 32.4 per cent of female

workers, while in the textile industry the percentage for woman workers is as high as 71.4 per cent of the total. The majority of female workers employed in the textile industry are recruited from farming communities and live in dormitories directly attached to enterprises.

The question of unemployment is a very serious social problem in Japan as the increase in employment is relatively small as against the rapid pace in the increase of adult population.

Increase in the number of unemployment was slowed down in years immediately following the outbreak of the Korean War. However, the unemployment curve rose sharply in 1954. It began to level off in 1955 as a result of expansion in export. Today there are about 700,000 completely unemployed persons in this country.

In addition to this category of the unemployed, there are large numbers of so-called "latent" or potential jobless workers, whose living conditions are practically at the same levels as those of completely unemployed people.

In this connection, special attention should be paid to household workers, mentioned above, whose employment conditions are extremely unstable.

In prewar days, there were in Japan such uncivilized forms of employment as the "bond labor", "gumi" and "dormitory" systems,—or forms of forced labor. Workers were confined in pens or dormitories at night so that they might not be able to run away, and were forced to work under extremely debased working conditions.

Also, there were such feudalistic employment systems as the apprentice system and the "recruiter system", by which is meant a system under which young women and minors were sold into bondage by recruiters, who paid "wages" in advance to their parents.

The Labor Standards Law, formulated after the war's end, prohibits forced labor and intermediary exploitation (yellow-dog system), provides for protection of woman workers and minors, and stipulates that working conditions should be decided

through negotiation between employer and employees, each standing on an equal footing.

In addition to the Labor Standards Law, the Trade Union Law and other laws for the protection of workers were formulated. As a result of the framing of these laws, the position of the worker has now been greatly improved.

Furthermore, some larger enterprises have full-equipped welfare facilities, while others are adopting scientific labor management methods as in the United States.

However, the wage of Japanese workers is at an extremely low level from an international viewpoint. The per hour average wage of workers in the mining industries was only \$0.2, or about one eighth of the average wage of American workers and about half of that of British workers.

This difference in wage from foreign countries is remarkable in the textile industry where young woman workers are employed in large numbers, while it is comparatively smaller in the case of workers employed in the primary metal industries.

Average Wages of Workers Per Hour (in dollar)

	U. S.	Britain	W. Germany	France	Italy	Japan
Manufacturing industry workers	1.77	0.49	0.39	0.35	0.27	0.22
Textile workers	1.37	0.42	0.32	0.36	0.23	0.14
Primary metal industry workers	2.06	0.55	0.50	0.42	0.37	0.28

Figures represents yearly averages, excepting that figures for Britain represent are for June and that figures for France's textile and primary metal industries are for September.

Sources: ILO Statistical Yearbook, 1954; German Statistical Yearbook, 1954; and British Statistical Yearbook, 1954.

Forms of Japanese Enterprises

Small business forms a predominant proportion of Japanese enterprises. This is chiefly due to the fact that it is only 80 years or so since capitalism was first introduced to this country. From the very start Japan was about one century behind Western countries in the development of capitalism. And even after the first seeds of capitalist way of business enterprise were sown, the influences from the West were too slow to reach this country in a remote corner of Far East.

Thus, the Government took the leadership in the capitalistic development in this country at initial stages to catch up with Western industrial powers in a short period of time.

The Japanese economy developed at the fastest speed among the countries of the world.

The Government gave preferential treatment to key industries and as a result some enterprises, relatively few in numbers, grew into giant business or industrial corporations by adopting modern management method.

Meanwhile, other area of the Japanese economy were left completely neglected. Japanese farmers and those who had been engaged in traditional handicraft industries continued their pre-capitalistic method of production and management.

According to the survey by the Government's Statistic Bureau in 1954, there were a total of 3,291,515 private and public enterprises in this country, of which 24,350 were run by the government or public corporations.

Of this total, 2,625,079 or 80 per cent were owned by private persons, 586,127 corporate bodies including joint-stock com-

panies, 3,046 by public authorities and remaining 17,263 by other organizations.

An enterprise employed 5.6 persons on average and workshops or trade firms with less than 100 employees accounted for 99.6 per cent according to the same statistical source. Eighty-three per cent of the total enterprises employed less than five persons.

Enterprises with more than 100 employees constitute only 4.4 per cent of the total, but gave employment opportunity to some 24 per cent of the total employees employed by all Japanese enterprises.

Breakdown by industries showed that trade firms accounted for 45 per cent, entertainment or other service industry 28 per cent, manufacturing industry 15 per cent, and the remaining enterprises were engaged in construction, transportation, communication, public utility, finance and insurance industries.

There were about 300,000 companies in 1953, 80 per cent of which were engaged in trade and manufacturing industries. Breakdown by forms of ownership showed that joint-stock companies occupied 64 per cent of the total enterprises, limited companies 20 per cent, partnership companies 11 per cent.

Breakdown by capital brackets showed that companies with a capital of more than ¥50 million accounted for only 0.3 per cent of total numbers of enterprise and smaller companies with the capital of less than half a million yen accounted for 43 per cent.

Companies belonging to ¥50 million capital bracket took 34 per cent of total revenue earned by all enterprises, while half a million bracket enterprises took only eight per cent of the total revenue.

There were witnessed large-scale concentration of financial power in the hands of a few before the war. This was one of the inevitable concomitants of the rush industrialization process of this country.

Supported by the subsidies from the government, a small number of *zaibatsu* monopolized major industries in Japan and grew into dominant industrial groups.

Zaibatsu controlled member companies by holding large amount of stocks of these companies. Since it wielded power by

means of financial control, *zaibatsu* were similar to German "Konzern".

However, *zaibatsu* in Japan took the form of partnership or unlimited partnership company and the final power and ultimate ownership were vested in the members of the *zaibatsu* families.

There were eight major Konzerns before the second world war. They were, Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yasuda, Asano, Okura, Furukawa and Kawasaki. We can name also Nitchitsu, Mangyō, Mori, Nissō, Nomura and Riken as *zaibatsu* of lesser scale.

These 14 Japanese Konzerns owned as large as 32 per cent of the total invested capital in this country as of 1939.

They controlled virtually all important departments of the Japanese national economy. Their economic kingdoms covered the iron and steel, machine tool, ship-building, chemical, textile, ceramic, paper manufacturing, food, gas, electric power, banking, international trade, domestic trade, shipping and transportation industries.

These 14 families first gained strength chiefly in light industries and trade fields. But the Manchurian Incidents which, in fact, put Japan on her fatal course leading to the World War II, was the turning point for them. Around that time, they began to advance positively into the still undeveloped heavy and chemical industrial sector of this country.

After the Second World War, the allied occupation authorities undertook the complete disintegration of *zaibatsu*. Allied occupation authorities deemed this step as essential for the successful elimination of war-making potential of Japan since *zaibatsu* had controlled virtually every Japanese industry by the subtle, indirect control system and were exploited by the military cliques as the means to carry out war. Occupation authorities stressed the institutional as well as psychological effects of the *zaibatsu* disintegration policy.

The purpose of this policy was achieved by prohibiting public and business activities by the members of *zaibatsu* families

and concentration of stocks of various companies in the hands of a few.

Legislative measures were also taken to insure the lasting effects of the policy. The Anti-Monopoly Law, patterned after the Anti-Trust Law in the U. S., was passed by the Diet and put in force. The Law concerning the elimination of excessive concentration of economic power was also enacted.

However, substantial revisions were later made to moderate the effects of these anti-monopoly laws on the ground that the rigid application of these laws produce undesirable results.

Revision of the law became necessary in view of the need for Japan to induce foreign capital to step up economic recovery. There is no denying, however, that the law, though revised, had the effect of changing the economic structure of this country. *Zaibatsu* Konzerns were dissolved, at least in form.

A tendency toward concentration of large enterprises became particularly notable after Japan's economy had gone through various stages of economic instability after the war's end.

The Deconcentration Law was revised so as to limit its application to iron-steel, paper manufacture, beer brewery, ship-building and machinery, electric power, and a few industries, while the Anti-Monopoly Law was finally amended and emasculated in 1949.

Moves for merger among smaller firms became observable after 1949, and the tendency gradually extended to medium and larger enterprises.

Differentials in financial positions of enterprises have widened in the course of competition among them, and the present trend among larger enterprise is to engage in multilateral business activities.

Concentration of enterprises through competition was pushed in both production and merchandizing, and the process of business alignment between manufacturers and merchandizing firms was particularly active in iron-steel, electric machinery, electric wire, and automobile industries.

On the other hand, there is a trend for cartelization among enterprises as the room for enterprise rationalization and cost reduction has now been narrowed down. A copper scrap cartel and an iron scrap cartel have already been formed to step up the process of affiliation among enterprises.

There is a different kind of cartel, which aims at coping with adverse effects of excessive competition. An instance of this is the coal cartel. Cotton spinners have so far formed a cartel on a temporary basis in order to adjust demand and supply conditions.

What is most important in this general trend for enterprise reorganization and cartelization is the revival of dissolved *zaibatsu* Konzerns under the aegis of powerful banking institutions.

Banking institutions affiliated with *zaibatsu* remained intact even after the enforcement of the Deconcentration Law. These banking institutions have strengthened their economic strength in the postwar period as many firms had been forced to rely on them for funds because of lack of owned capital.

The proportion of borrowed capital to owned capital was 40 to 60 in the prewar period, while it was reversed to 65 to 35 in the postwar period. This shows the overwhelming importance of financial institutions in the postwar Japanese economy.

The reorganization of *zaibatsu* progenies has just begun and still remains to be a task to be fulfilled in the future. As in prewar days, a need is keenly felt today for merger of commercial and trading firms, and special efforts in this direction are being paid in the newly started petrochemical industry.

A need for merger of trading firms is recognized from the viewpoint of building up Japan's competitive position in the international market.

However, as it is not desirable that inefficient medium and small enterprises be sifted out of existence as a result of free competition, efforts are being consistently made to organize them into cooperatives

or help them streamline their management and produce high quality products.

On the other hands, measures are being taken to stabilize medium and small enterprises through restrictions on production and on installation of new equipment, while "production adjustment associations" based on the "law for the stabilization of medium and small enterprises" have been established in more than 90 different industrial sections, including textiles, ceramics, matches and towel manufactures.

Cooperative associations are organized not only in manufacturing industries but also in commerce, agriculture, forestry and fishing industries. However, these cooperatives, with insufficient financial backing, are economically unstable.

Large-scale enterprises take a larger part of production in such industries as oil, iron-steel, nonmetal, machinery, chemical, ceramic textile, paper manufacturing industries.

Medium and small enterprises are dominant in sundry goods manufacture, including furniture and leather goods manufacture, in which handicraft plays an important part. These industries are important in that they contribute greatly to

Japan's economy by earning foreign currency.

Another feature characterizing the industrial picture of this country is the induction of foreign capital and technology from foreign countries, particularly from the United States.

This is comparatively active in textile, machinery, electric machinery, and oil industries. This has helped these industries to improve their production techniques to international levels. However, on the other hand, some enterprises are plagued by the heavy burden of royalty payments to foreign firms.

As Japanese industries have come to stand on their own feet, they are now beginning to export manufacturing plants, particularly textile plants, and are setting up companies in Southeast Asia, So Central and South American countries on a joint investment basis.

Among the prewar state-run enterprises, which were reorganized into public cooperations, are the Monopoly Public Corporations, the Telegraph and Telephone Public Corporation, and the National Railway Corporation.

These public corporations are engaged in more active business than when they were managed by the Government.

Economic Organizations

The defeat of this country in the second world war and the allied occupation policy in the postwar period dealt a crushing blow on all major economic organizations in Japan.

Immediately after the end of war in August, 1945, Nakajima Chikuhei, the then commerce minister of the Higashikuni Cabinet, summoned the representatives of the Economic Federation (Keizai Remmei kai), the Federation of Industrial and Commercial Organizations (Shōkō Keizai Kai), the Council of Key Industries (Jūyō Sangyō Kyōgi Kai), and the Central Council of Industrial and Commercial Cooperatives (Shōkōkumiai Chūō Kai) to discuss and give counsel on the ways and means to reconstruct the Japanese economy.

These four economic organizations continued to exist in form, but had no functions to perform at the time.

The representatives of the four economic organizations, however, proposed to the Government that a joint committee be established to mobilize the efforts and wisdom of the Japanese economic circles for the reorientation of the Japanese economy in the postwar period.

The proposal was accepted by the Government and subsequently the Committee of the Federation of Economic Organizations (Keizaidantai Rengō Iinkai) was formed in September, 1945.

However, this first attempt to reorganize the shattered economy proved a complete failure. The committee, which was formed

immediately after the end of the war, was overwhelmed by the vastness of the task it had had to carry out under the allied occupation.

The committee, which was formed with so much haste and with only insufficient understanding of the character of the allied occupation policy, failed to realize the anticipated results faced with the immense tasks which included the dissolution of *zaibatsu*, the prohibition of monopolies, land reform and the encouragement of labor movement, on one hand, and those difficulties which had to be overcome to put war-ruined enterprises back on their feet again.

Having failed in its own tasks thus, the committee had to be completely reorganized in the meantime because some of the committee's supporting organizations became bankrupt.

As the result of this reorganization, the committee developed into a permanent body composed of five major industrial and financial organizations, which later came to be known as the Federation of Economic Organizations (*Keizaidantai Rengō Kai*). These five organizations were, the Japan Industrial Council Preparatory Committee (*Nippon Sangyō Kyōgikai Junbikai*), the Council of the Banking Organizations (*Kinyūdantai Kyōgi Kai*), the Japan Council of Commerce and Industry (*Nippon Shōkō Keizai Kai*), the Central Council of Industrial and Cooperatives (*Shōkōkumiai Chūō Kai*), and the Japan Council of Trade Organizations (*Nippon Bōeki Dantai Kyōgi Kai*).

At the same time, the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry made a fresh start as a public utility association. It was agreed that the chamber should have its own sphere of operations but work in close cooperation with the federation as one of its sub-organ.

The preparatory committee for the Japan Industrial Council was dissolved and the Japan Industrial Council (*Nippon Sangyō Kyōgi Kai*) was officially inaugurated in August, 1946. Thus, with the council's formation, the task of reunifying Japan's major economic organizations was nearly completed.

Since then these reconstructed economic organizations have recorded remarkable achievements in the economic and political field amidst the spiraling inflation, while fighting off rising labor offensives.

However, as the Japanese economy successively experienced the retrenchment under the Dodge ordinances, the Korean boom, and the new phases of rearmament and economic cooperation with the U.S., diverse tendencies came to appear among the economic organizations which caused some of them to disintegrate.

Maj. Gen. Markat, the then Chief of the Economic and Science Department of the General Headquarters, disclosed a scheme for the new economic cooperation between Japan and the U.S.

In response to this, the Federation of Economic Organizations set up a Japan-U.S. Economic Cooperation Council within its structure. The council, in turn, established several special committees which studied the cooperation problem specifically.

The council submitted a report of its findings in due course and cooperated closely with the economic and science and diplomatic departments of the General Headquarters and, went further than that, to contact with the Mutual Security Agency in the U.S.

However, the central emphasis of the economic cooperation with the U.S. tended to be placed on heavy and chemical industries which were predominantly operated by big enterprises. Thus, a wide disparity of interest emerged between the big enterprises and the small and medium-sized enterprises which did not have appreciable share of the benefit accruing from the U.S.-Japan economic cooperation.

The Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Japan Federation of Small and Medium-sized Enterprises Organizations split away with the Japan Federation of Economic Organizations in September, 1952.

Some attempts were made later toward reunification of economic organization without successful results. By October, 1953 it became clear that the leaders of major

Japanese economic federations were inclined to remain divided rather than unified into an all-inclusive body.

Thus, the Federation of Economic Organizations (FEO) remained as the largest federation of various Japanese industrial organizations including those of mining and manufacturing industries, banking and finance in general, insurance, trade, transportation, and agriculture. The Japan Industrial Council, which was formerly a first-class member organization of the FEO, was absorbed into the FEO by the time.

Ishizaka Taizō made it clear when he assumed the presidency of the FEO in February, 1956, that the FEO would henceforth concentrate its primary emphasis of its activity on; 1) only the problems which concern the entire economic circles, 2) the solution of reparations problems, 3) the improvement of the economic relations with Peoples' Republic of China, 4) the promotion of economic diplomacy on private initiative, 5) the adoption of cautious attitude in resuming diplomatic relations with USSR.

Ishizaka also urged the Federation should always articulate its intentions to the political circles and that the Federation should strive toward a higher standard of business ethics in this country.

The Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry claimed its own reason of existence as a comprehensive national organization of regional chambers of commerce and industry all over Japan. The chamber was chiefly interested in the promotion of the interests of the small businessman as opposed to the Federation of Economic Organizations which was held to be the spokesman of big business in character.

While, the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce and Industry served as the headquarters for chambers of commerce and industries located to the eastern part from Tokyo, small and medium-sized enterprises in Osaka and in the western Japan were chiefly represented by the Japan Federation of Small and Medium Enterprise Organizations in Osaka.

The Federation was known for its active political campaign. It announced "Views on Current Political Problems" as early as November, 1954.

In it the Federation called on the political circles for achieving political stability in this country as early as possible. The Federation also stressed the need of expressing the opinion and interests of the small business in the Diet through their representatives.

The Federation appealed to the Government for facilitating finance to small business as well as for certain reduction of taxes for small business when a depression hits small business under the Government's tightmoney policy in 1955.

In the third category of major federations of economic organizations in Japan are the Management Association of Japan (Keizai Dōyū Kai), the Japan Federation of Employers Associations (Nikkei Ren) and other specialized groups.

The Management Association is the outgrowth of a small informal group of businessmen which was formed in the post-war period to discuss particularly the labor problems. But it was soon realized that a special organization was necessary to deal with labor offensives which had increased in intensity. The Japan Federation of Employers Association was organized as the result.

The Management Association, however, continued to exist. However, the association confined its interest no longer to labor problems now. The progressive businessmen, who belonged to the association discussed general economic problems. The association recently announced its view on the problem of price of rice, the overloan problem and the research in technique and sciences.

The Japan Federation of Employers Association is an organization of Japanese employers specially designed to discuss labor problems.

It has conducted since its formation an extensive research and enlightenment activity covering problems such as management-labor cooperation, productivity increase, wage problem, social insurances, international cooperation, and the employment of new university graduates.

The association has followed the three main policies to cope with the current economic and social situation. These three

policies are the development of sound management practices, the rejection of class struggle theory and the speedy relief of unemployment.

The Japan Productivity Center, which was established in 1955 by the Federation of Economic Organizations, the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Japan Management Association and the Japan Federation of Employers Associations, has been rendering valuable aid to Japanese enterprises to achieve a higher level of productivity by urging them to adopt various modernization measures.

The center sent an iron and steel research delegation to the U.S. in May, 1955 and an auto industry inspection team in August of the same year.

By closely cooperating with similar organizations in the U.S. and Europe, the center is endeavoring to help bring Japanese industries to a point in industrial efficiency where they can compete with the industries in advanced countries in the West.

However, the many of the characteristics of the Japanese economy in the prewar days continued into the postwar period in spite of the series of economic reforms undertaken by the occupation authorities.

The land reform succeeded in destroying the semi-feudal tenant farming system in this country but left intact the vast holdings of woodlands owners.

The land reform divided former landowner's land in small pieces and as the result many Japanese farmers were further impoverished because they were compelled this time to live on their own, but small land lot.

The introduction of the capitalistic method of production was far from realization largely betraying the high hopes entertained of the reform.

Although the anti-monopoly law continued to exist and the Fair Trade Commission still kept functioning as the guardian of that major postwar economic legislation, a strong tendency is at work toward the concentration of capital and linking of enterprises in Japan now ten years after the end of the war.

It is true that the family head of old *zaibatsu* have not yet recovered the topmost place of the social ladder they once monopolized.

But the former *zaibatsu* people are beginning to gain influence and reunite themselves, while many enterprises which belonged to either one of *zaibatsu* are having a closer link than was possible in the occupation period with one another under the leadership of former *zaibatsu* banks.

The new feature of these industrial groups chiefly united by a common financial capital in the postwar period is their close connection with the Government as well as with foreign capital. These new combinations of industries is seeking to use the financial aid from the Government and from foreign capital as the lever for their development.

The Japanese economy in the postwar period became more overburdened than before the war with the excessive labor force. One of the reasons for this is that the agricultural industry in this country, which had served as the pool of labor reserves before the war, became saturated to a point where it could absorb no more additional labor force.

Thus, Japan came to have a large amount of dormant unemployment constantly which is estimated about ten times the employed working population in the postwar period. The fact that large proportion of the nation's available labor force are denied access to the productive occupations is also related with the low status held by the small and medium-sized enterprises in Japan.

The extremely low wage level and inferior working conditions prevalent in the small business of this country were reflected in the statistics concerning the latest unemployment figures.

The Japanese economy is suffering from many troubles as were reviewed in the foregoing discussion, but there is hope that these troubles will be solved in due course as long as the Japan's national income continues to grow at the annual rate of 10 per cent or more as in the preceding years in the postwar period.

XI TRADE AND COMMERCE

Marketing Systems

What is meant by a marketing system

By a marketing system is meant an economic system or organization for circulating goods from producers to consumers. Circulation channels of commodities differ according to the kinds of commodities. Therefore it is convenient to classify commodities and to explain marketing systems according to this classification. First, we will classify commodities into the two categories of agricultural and marine products and industrial products.

Marketing channels

Agricultural and Marine Products

These products have the following characteristics. 1. Weather conditions and other natural factors have very much to do with their production. 2. Each product in this category has its own season. Producers of these items are small-scale and scattered throughout the country. Consumers of these products are widespread and demands for most of them are seasonal. 3. Products falling under this category are in most cases lacking in uniformity as to forms and qualities, and most of them have to be made available to consumers while they are fresh. Therefore it is necessary to shorten as much as

possible the time required to collect and made them available to the general consumers.

However, some of the items are marketed after being processed. Therefore, marketing systems for processed goods are different in structure from those for other items which are marketed without processing.

The marketing systems for these two kinds of agricultural and marine products are as follows:

Marketing systems for items that are put on the market without being processed.
(1) producers—consumers (2) producers—retailers—consumers (3) producers—brokers—local jobbers—central wholesale market—brokers—retailers—consumers (4) producers—cooperatives—federation of co-operatives—central wholesale market—retailers—consumers.

Of the above marketing channels, (1) represents a case in which producers sell their products directly to consumers, while in the case of (2) producers take their goods directly to retailers, or retailers go out to producers to collect products.

The above two marketing channels have almost disappeared in the urban district and the following two systems (3) and (4) are far more general and the usual forms of marketing. However, as it is necessary that a central wholesale market be organized according to the provisions of a law, in

smaller cities and towns where there is no central wholesale markets, are found vegetable and fruit markets similar in function to a central wholesale market, where producers sell their goods to retailers.

The distribution of rice, which is the main food of the Japanese people, is placed under Government control. Farmers make sales contract with the Government before the rice harvesting season through their agricultural cooperatives. The contracts are relayed to the prefectural federations of agricultural cooperatives and then to the National Sales Agricultural Cooperative Association, which concludes a sales contract of rice directly with the Government. Then, rice is collected by Government rice collection agencies in each prefecture and then is distributed to rice rationing stations through about 10 wholesale dealers in each prefecture. Consumers buy rice from rationing stations according to the amounts specified in their ration books.

Marketing systems for processed agricultural and marine products.

(in the case of agricultural products)

(1) producers—processing manufacturers
(2) producers—brokers (or jobbers at producing centers)—processing manufacturers, (3) producers—brokers—jobbers at producing centers—jobbers—processing manufacturers.

(in the case of marine products)

(1) producers—purchasing agents (brokers or jobbers)—processing manufacturers,
(2) producers—brokers at producing centers—manufacturing processing.

Further, in the case of some marine products, operators of fishing boats sell their caught fish directly to factory ships, which are equipped with processing facilities and can or salt the purchased hauls.

Manufactured Goods

Manufactured goods may be classified roughly into the three following categories: (a) end-use goods, (b) raw materials that should be transferred to the next manufacturing processes, and (c) equipment or commodities used for the production of other items.

As all these articles are produced at factories, there is no need for collecting them from small producers as in the case of agricultural and marine products. However, some production of these items are carried on a small scale as a household industry as in the case of toys, such items should be collected before marketing.

On the other hand, there is a tendency among larger manufactures to sell their goods directly to consumers at their own retail shops where their products are shown and after service is done.

The following are the marketing systems for manufactured articles.

Marketing systems for end-use goods.

(1) producers—consumers, (2) producers—retailers—consumers, (3) producers—wholesalers—retailers—consumers, (4) producers—agents—wholesalers—retailers—consumers, (5) producers—collecting agents—wholesalers—retailers—consumers (6) producers—shops directly operated by producers—consumers.

Marketing systems for raw manufactured materials. (1) producers—industrial consumers (2) producers—wholesalers—industrial consumers (3) producers—agents—industrial consumers (4) producers—collecting agents (or jobbers)—industrial consumers.

Marketing systems for equipment and commodities for the production of other items. Marketing systems for this category is almost the same as above mentioned.

Exported and Imported Commodities

Japan's foreign trade is controlled by the Government, and both import and export of articles are subjected to controls according to the laws and Government regulations. Trading firms function as retailers in the above-mentioned marketing systems in case it handles export business. Trading firms as importers function as wholesalers, excepting those department stores which sell imported articles directly to consumers. Both exporters and importers do not handle agricultural and marine products excepting canned goods and other processed products.

Roles played by different stages in circulation

Jobbers

It was in the latter half of the 11th century that jobbers made their appearance in Japanese history for the first time. In those days they were called *toiya* or *toimaru*. The Tokugawa period saw a development of *za* (guilds) or *kabunakama* and household handicraft industry, and jobbers called *toiya* bought goods produced by them on their own account or on a consignment basis and sold the goods to brokers. The present-day *toiya* or jobbers are essentially the same in function with the *toiya* of the Tokugawa period.

Today, the commercial code defines *toiya* (usually called *tonya*) as "persons engaged in the purchasing or selling goods in their own names for the sake of other persons." By the phrase "for the sake of other persons" (nomatter whether they are juridical or private persons) is meant that *toiya* is the subject of claims and obligations, despite the fact that he (*toiya*) buys and sells on consignment. Therefore, there is no legal relationship between the consignor and persons with which the consignee deals.

In prewar days *toiya* gave financial aids to both producers and wholesalers, extending loans to producers required to obtain raw materials and leasing production equipment to them. This was a vestige of the practices prevalent in the feudal period, which continued even in the prewar period due mainly to the fact that there were many medium and small industrial enterprises in Japan whose financial basis was extremely weak. Under these circumstances, *toiya* had strong financial influence on producers and wholesalers. After the World War, II *toiya* lost much of their former influence as a result of the loss of accumulated capital. However, there is a tendency to show that some of the former *toiya* are gradually gaining influence in the economic world.

Commodities consigned by producers to *toiya* are sold to large-scale wholesalers.

Wholesalers (*Oroshiuri-shō*)

Wholesalers are placed just above retailers in the marketing machinery. They have been called also by the name of *toiya* since feudal times.

Brokers (*Nakagai-nin*)

Strictly speaking, brokers are those who offer good services on their own account between wholesalers and retailers as regard the sale and purchase of commodities. However, purchasing agents who collect products from producers are also sometimes referred to as *nakagai-nin*.

Middlemen (*Nakadachi-nin*)

Middlemen (*nakadachi-nin*) offer good services on consignment in helping merchants reach agreement on the sale and purchase of commodities. The Commercial Code defines them as those "engaged in acting as intermediaries among other persons in their commercial transactions."

Commercial Agents (*Dairi-shō*)

Commercial agents sell goods or act as intermediaries in the sale of goods. They conduct business as agents in their own names and on their own account. Therefore, in ordinary cases they have a property claim to the goods they handle. A commercial agent monopolizes the sale of the products of a manufacturer or manufacturers in a certain area. But he does not sell the goods directly to consumers but through his agents.

Agents (*Tokuyaku-ten*)

An agent is a retailer who has a right to sell certain products in a certain area under the contract with the producer.

Cooperative Associations

Cooperative associations in Japan are organized under the Law for the Cooperative Association of Medium and Small Enterprises, the Agricultural Cooperative Association Law, and the Marine Products Cooperative Association Law. The Medium and Small Business Cooperative Association Law is intended to organize small busi-

nesses to defend their interests in competition with larger enterprises in the distribution machinery.

These cooperative associations function as collection and sales organs of agricultural and marine products and as joint purchase organs of fertilizers, farm instruments, fishing nets and fuels. It is no exaggeration to say that today almost all of the agricultural and marine products are handled by cooperatives.

In this way, these cooperative associations function as *toiya* so far as the sales of the products of farmers and fishermen are concerned, while they play the role of retailers in the sale of necessities to farmers and fishermen.

Forms of enterprises

Wholesale Business

Jobbers and wholesale commission merchants in producing districts collect products and send them to wholesalers in consuming areas, or urban districts.

In case wholesalers handle manufactured goods, instead of agricultural products, the kinds of products they handle are naturally limited. In Japan, the wholesale business is classified into the following categories (in the brackets are shown products handled.)

Ordinary wholesalers (automobiles, bicycles and their parts and accessories; chemical medicines, pharmaceuticals, toilet articles; textiles, clothing and accessories; foodstuffs and drinks; agricultural and marine products; furniture and tableware; machinery, hardware, pipes; etc.)

Special wholesalers (head offices, sales stations and offices of mining and manufacturing companies. Agents and brokers excepting those engaged in the collection of agricultural product; agent brokers and commission merchants; and merchants engaged in the collection of agricultural product.)

The Central Wholesale Market Law was formulated in 1917, and wholesale markets were set up in large cities and in their adjoining areas according to the law, where prices of agricultural and marine

products are quoted fairly by auction. Daily quotations at these markets are the basis on which transactions are conducted throughout the country.

Central Wholesale Markets

A central wholesale market was established in Kyoto in 1927 according to the Central Wholesale Market Law of 1917, and later such auction market were established in many other cities. These central wholesale markets are opened by local municipalities and are equipped with various necessary facilities, including transportation facilities such as shunting tracks, loading and unloading facilities, ice plants and refrigerators.

The central wholesale market is actually managed by wholesalers called "licensed consignees", who deposit surety money and pay rents to the municipal government. They have to observe a set of regulations approved by the prefectural governor with regard to transaction methods.

Licensed consignees assort and display in the market the agricultural and marine goods brought to the market early in the morning by producers. These goods are auctioned to commission merchants, who in turn sell them to retailers and large consumers as the market.

Retailers

Retailers are statistically subdivided into the following categories:

1) Retailers of various commodities (department stores, uniform price shops, other retailers not otherwise classified.)

2) Retailers of clothing and accessories (Japanese style clothing, men's suits, ladies' and children's dresses, second-hand clothes, shoes and other foot wear, other clothing textiles and accessories.)

3) Retailers of drinks (various kinds of foodstuff, alcoholic drinks and seasonings; meat, fish meat; dried foodstuffs, fruits and vegetables, candies and bread, milk, and other foodstuffs.)

4) Restaurants

5) Retailers of vehicles (Automobiles, bicycles, motorcycles, and other vehicles.)

6) Retailers of petroleum

7) Other retailers (furniture and fittings, mats, pharmaceuticals, toilet articles, household machinery, radio sets; earthenware and glass; second-hand articles excluding second-hand clothing; fuels, and others.)

The above is a classification according to articles handled. These retailers may also be classified into the following groupings according to enterprise scales and the nature of articles handled.

Classification by the nature of articles handled. 1) General Stores or *yorozuya* where almost all of daily necessities are sold. Such stores are often found in remote districts and secluded villages, but their number is gradually decreasing as a result of the development of the means of transportation.

2) Unit stores where only a certain category of articles, such as pharmaceuticals and toilet articles, and footwear are sold. This is the commonest form of retail trade.

3) Specialty stores where only a special kind of articles are sold. There are about 100 associations of such specialty stores with a membership of some 10,000 specialty stores.

Classification by the enterprise forms.

1) Street stalls: Street stalls are set up on the street or in the compounds of shrines and temples on festival days to sell simple articles, such as toys, accessories, toilet articles, drinks, to passers-by. This is one of the most primitive forms of trade in the development of commerce in this country.

2) Peddling: Peddlers make house-to-house visits to sell their goods to their customers, carrying their goods on their back or on pushcarts.

3) "Resident merchants": They keep a shops at certain places and most of retailers fall under this category. In urban districts, even "resident merchants", and particularly those who sell seasonings, fish meat, etc., make daily visits to their customers, to get the day's orders, and deliver the ordered goods to the customers.

4) Department stores: Most of the present-day department stores in Japan may be traced back to dry-goods stores in the Tokugawa Period. The first department store was opened by Mitsukoshi and Co., in 1910. However, it was after the great earthquake of 1923 that department stores mushroomed in this country.

In those days, many department stores in Tokyo set up their branch stores at many places throughout the country and sold at unified price and made bargain sales of daily necessities as a means of recovering from the financial losses due to the earthquake disaster.

The Japan Department Stores Association adopt the following regulations as membership qualifications: 1) A department store should have a sales space of 3,000 square meters or more in six major cities and of 1,500 square meters in other cities; 2) It should sell two or more of the following articles, namely, textiles and clothing, foodstuffs, furniture and fittings, precious metals and jewels, pharmaceuticals, etc.

According to the Ministry of International Trade and Industry's survey, department stores, which numbered 13 in 1926, increased to 174 as at the end of April 1957, of which 119 of 80 different companies were members of the Japan Department Stores Association.

According to the Ministry of International Trade and Industry's survey, the sales amount of 168 department stores totaled 23,903 million *yen* in April 1957 and a monthly average of 21,522 million *yen* in 1957.

5) Chain stores:

a) Ordinary chain stores are those retail stores selling the same kind of articles, organized under a single management. b) Voluntary chain stores: Voluntary chain stores are independent retail stores organized into a sort of cooperative association and purchase and advertize their goods jointly. Some of such chain stores are given various sales privileges by wholesalers or manufacturers. c) Unit price chain stores: Chain stores under a single management where comparatively cheap priced articles are sold at uniform prices.

Chain stores classified under the category a) are limited in number in this country, mostly found among textile and furnitures stores and restaurants. A representative form of chain stores falling under category b) are retail stores of toilet articles, which deposit surety money with a sales company of toilet article manufacturers.

In 1931, Takashimaya Department store started a 10 *sen* stores in Osaka and later in Tokyo. In a short period of two years, the number of 10 *sen* stores increased to 66, where as many as about 2,300 kinds of articles were sold. However, as Japan entered war, the department store finally closed all these 10 *sen* stores.

6) Mail order business: Publishers of popular magazines, agricultural, and gardening magazines are operating mail order business as a side line, using their magazines as advertisement media. Main items handled by them are clothing, household articles, accessories, seeds, etc. Further, some department stores in local cities are selling their goods by mail order. However, no such large scale mail order house as in the United States is found in this country.

7) Instalment system: In prewar days a monthly instalment payment system for various kinds of furniture was popular in this country. In postwar days, this payment system is more common for sewing machines, household electric machines, and bicycles.

Recently new forms of monthly instalment payment system have come into being. Under one of these systems, a monthly instalment system sales company entrusts a certain amount of purchase tickets with a company or government office under a contract. An employee of the company or government office can buy articles with a ticket at any department stores connected with the monthly instalment system sales company, which in turn collect the money from the employee on a three month instalment system, and is paid a 4 per cent commission from department stores.

The Japan Association of Specialized Stores, mentioned above, issues purchase

tickets common to all its member stores, and collect the money from the user of the ticket on a three-month instalment payment plan, with a payment ratio of 4:3:2 for the first, second and third month, respectively. The amount of ticket user is deducted from his wage by his company.

Another form of instalment payment system was devised by the Hypothec Bank of Japan in 1954. Under the plan, a person hoping to buy an article make a purchase contract with a manufacturer with which the bank has concluded a contract for the purpose, and begins depositing a certain amount of money by instalment according to the price of the article he wants to buy. When the deposit reaches a certain amount, the Bank issues a certificate, and the person takes it to the manufacturer and get the article. Further, when the deposit reached the amount of the price, it is paid to the manufacturer and the purchaser gets the interests on his deposit.

A certain leading manufacturer of electrical machinery established monthly instalment system sales companies in various prefectures at a joint investment with retailers. Manufacturers were sold through the retailers at on a instalment payment plan and the retailers were entrusted with the work of collecting payments. It is said that about one-third of the sales amount of the manufacturing company came from this instalment payment system last year. However, generally speaking the instalment payment system is not yet fully developed in this country, and the total sales amount due to instalment payment system is estimated at less than 10 per cent of the total retail trade.

Retail cooperative associations: Co-operative associations for retail trade are classified into the following:

a) Cooperatives established according to the Medium and Small Enterprise Cooperative Association Law of 1949; b) Cooperatives established according to the Agricultural Cooperative Association Law of 1947 and the Marine Products Cooperative Association Law of 1949; and c) those estab-

lished under the Consumers Living Cooperative Association Law of 1948.

Cooperative associations established according to the Medium and Small Enterprise Cooperative Association Law of 1949 are also subdivided into (1) business enterprise cooperative associations, (2) credit cooperative associations, (3) federations of cooperative associations, and (4) federations of enterprise cooperative associations.

Of the above-mentioned cooperative associations, those under b) are financing institutions organized as cooperative associations. In the following, we will give some explanations on (1) and (4).

Enterprise cooperative associations: Individual enterprises organized into an enterprise cooperative defend their common interests by jointly conducting production, processing, purchasing, sales, stockpiling, transportation, and/or inspection. They also obtain funds, set up welfare facilities and endeavor to improve management techniques organizationally. Retail stores in a certain locality are usually organized into such cooperatives to buy in stocks and advertise jointly. Cooperatives falling under this category numbered 23,637 as of June 20, 1956, as against 23,379 as of the same date of the previous year.

Enterprise cooperative associations: Enterprises organized into an enterprise cooperative association cease to be independent enterprise units and are operated under a unified management plan. Further, former stores are turned into business offices of the association and former proprietors of such stores into employees of the association. Such cooperatives totaled 10,569 as of June 20, 1956 as against 10,804 a year before.

b) **Agricultural cooperative associations and marine products cooperative associations:** as for the functions of these cooperatives, we have already given explanations. Some of these cooperatives own warehouses and ice plants. The number of agricultural cooperatives totaled 12,835, and that of marine products cooperatives 5,368

as of March 31, 1956.

c) **Consumers living cooperative associations:** these are the so-called Rochdale consumer cooperatives organized on a community or enterprise basis. According to the Welfare Ministry's survey, these cooperatives approved by prefectural governors numbered 1,565 as of April 1, 1956, of which 1,083 were organized regionally and 482 on a enterprise basis. National organized consumer cooperatives approved by the Welfare Minister numbered 24, all of which were organized on an enterprise basis.

Narushima Ryuhoku (1837-84) organized the first consumer cooperatives in Japan in or around 1878 in downtown of Tokyo, and later Katayama Sen (1860-1933) carried on a campaign for consumer cooperatives through his magazine "Rōdō Sekai" (Labor World). However, it was in 1900 that the Industrial Cooperative Association Law was formulated in this country to pave the way for the organization of consumer cooperatives under the protection of law.

Retail trade market. a) **Public markets**—markets owned and operated by prefectural and municipal governments.

b) **Private markets**—markets owned and operated by cooperatives or individuals.

These market buildings are divided into many booths which are rented by retailers who sell foodstuffs, sundry goods and other daily necessities.

When rice riots broke out in various parts of the country in 1918, the Osaka city authorities opened city-operated markets where goods were sold at lower prices than at ordinary retail stores. Retailers at these markets were given special conveniences in purchasing goods from wholesalers by the city authorities.

This type of markets gradually spread to other cities until the number reached 350 in 1923. However, these markets gradually declined later and were replaced by department stores.

Market Transactions

Fresh fish

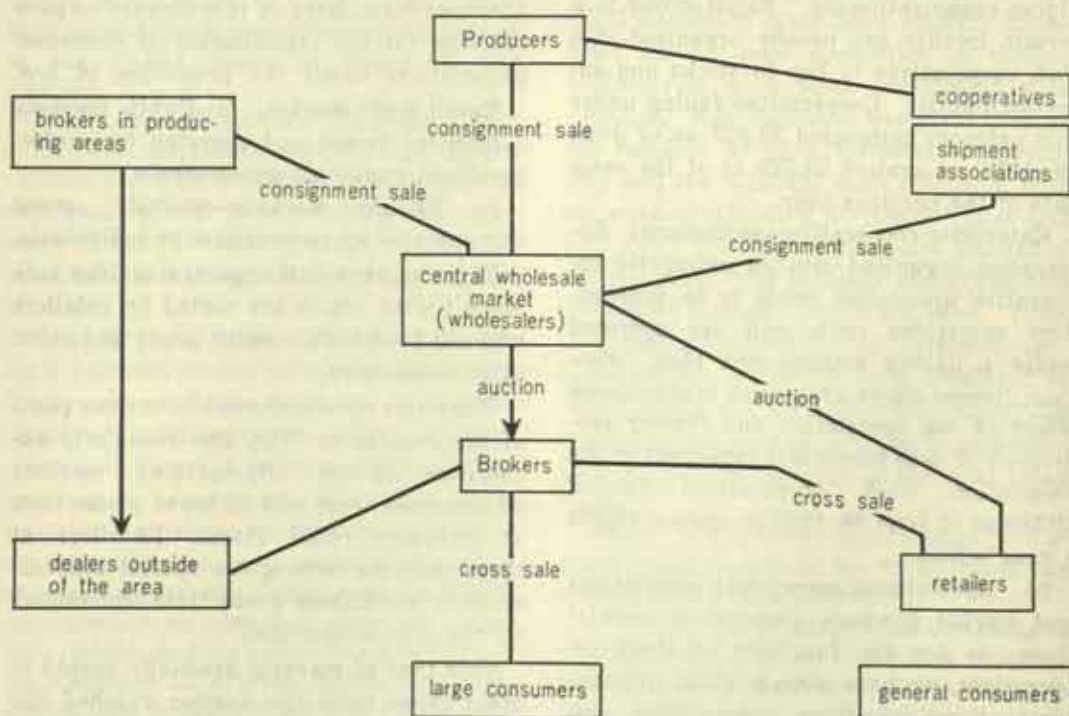
In large cities and their adjoining areas fresh fishes are transacted at central wholesale markets, while in smaller towns they are peddled or transacted at fish markets. Transactions at ordinary fish markets are conducted by auction or cross trade.

We will take for example the Tokyo Central Wholesale Market to see how central wholesale markets work. The Tokyo Central Wholesale Market has its main market at Tsukiji, Tokyo, and six branch markets in Tokyo.

Fishes unloaded from ships and cars are assorted and made into lots according to kinds and qualities. Brokers gather before

lots and the lots are purchased by the highest bidders. Brokers sell their purchased lots at their stores in the market to retailers and large consumers, that is, restaurants, dormitories, and hotels. Fishes are sold to retailers at prices 6-7 per cent higher than brokers' purchase prices.

A total of about 1,500 brokers operate at the main market at Tsukiji. Fish and shellfish received by the main market at Tsukiji in May 1957 amounted to 6,865,904 *kan* (2,574 metric tons), including whale meat amounting to 192,918 *kan* (723 metric tons). Of this figure, refrigerated fish reached 769,686 *kan* (2,886 metric tons) and salted marine products to 2,835,736 *kan* (10,634 metric tons).



Auction is conducted according to practices peculiar to Japanese markets, and brokers should be familiar with these practices and auction transaction techniques. Retailers are permitted to bid at some fish markets. In the chart of the preceding page are shown the channels through which fish and shellfish are handled.

Vegetables and fruits

These items are transacted at the main market and other six branch markets in Tokyo, including a market at Kanda. Transactions are made just in the same way as in the case of fish, excepting that at some of these markets retailers are permitted to bid.

The amount of vegetables received by the central wholesale market reached 17,950,803 *kan* (67,315 metric tons) in May 1957, and that of fruits totaled 5,986,109 *kan* (22,447 metric tons) in the same month.

Meat products

The Tokyo Metropolitan Government operates a slaughterhouse at Shibaura. The slaughterhouse kills animals for food on a commission basis. Animals are closely examined as to whether they are fit for food at an inspection house attached to the slaughterhouse, before they are killed. Animals raised by farmers are made available to general consumers at meat in the following way: 1) animal raisers 2) farmer agricultural cooperative, (local federation of agricultural cooperatives), 3) National Federation of Agricultural Sales Cooperative Association—(slaughterhouse), 4) brokers—retailers. Sometimes brokers take the place of 3) and 2). Animals slaughtered at the Shibaura Slaughter House in June 1957 numbered as follows: 5,528 cows, 1,931 horses, 713 calves, 543 sheep, and 37,276 pigs.

Fertilizers

Here we will take for instance ammonium sulphate fertilizer. There are 14 major manufacturers of ammonium sulphate in

this country, and the total production in the 1956 fertilizer year (from August 1956 to July 1957) is estimated at 2,363,000 tons.

There are two main distribution channels. The one is a channel connecting manufacturers with agricultural cooperatives, while the other is a route from manufacturers to their sales companies, to local wholesalers and then to retailers. At present, 55 per cent of the total production is handled by agricultural cooperatives.

Cotton cloth

Cotton cloths are classed into unbleached, bleached and dyed cloths, and then into wide breadth and narrow breadth cloths. Cloths with a width of more than 30 inches are called wide breadth cloths. Wide breadth cloths are also divided into 11 categories according to yarn counts, structures, and weights of yarn used. Cotton cloths purchased from weavers by wholesalers are sold to large consumers, and are finished and dyed while they are in the hands of wholesalers. A bale of cotton cloth contains 30 tan (one tan is 1 yard \times 42 yards).

Wide breadth cloths are divided into cloth-dyed and yarn-dyed cloths, while cloth-dyed cloths are subdivided into hand-dyed and machine-dyed cloths. The ordinary transaction channel of cotton cloths is as follows: spinner-weavers—larger wholesalers—wholesalers—retailers. Total production of cotton cloth amounted to 3,018,137,000 square yards in 1955.

Coal

The distribution channel of coal is as follows: coal mines—agents (direct sale companies or wholesalers)—large scale consumers—(or retailers). Coals are classi-

(In thousands of tons)

Total	46,555
Material coal	8,714
Gas generator coal	1,598
Ordinary coal	33,387
Powdered coal	1,135
Anthracite coal	1,414
Natural coke	307

fied according to qualities, producing areas, and forms. The production of coal totaled 46,555,000 tons in 1956 according to a Min-

istry of International Trade and Industry's survey. The figure is broken down in the table of the preceding page.

Industries Auxiliary to Commerce

There are various industries auxiliary to commerce, including banking, trust, transportation, warehousing, insurance and other businesses. We will here take up part of the warehousing and insurance businesses.

Warehousing

Warehouses are divided into ordinary and special warehouses. The latter include agricultural warehouses, refrigerator warehouses, dried cocoon warehouses, etc., where special kinds of items are stored in various special ways.

Warehousing includes the following businesses in addition to storage: loading and unloading, assortment, weighing, sampling, etc., and as a financial business, issuance of warehouse receipts.

Warehouse operators sometimes conduct ship loading and unloading, lighter, customs clearance, brokerage, consignment sale, transportation, and other services and act as agents for shipping companies.

Warehousing business in Japan is based on the Warehousing Business Law of 1935, the Agricultural Warehousing Law of 1917, and the Bonded Warehouse Law of 1897, and other concerned laws. Only those warehouse operators approved by the Government are authorized to issue warehouse receipts. The first warehouse company, Fukagawa Warehouse Co., was established in 1882, and the number of warehouses, which stood at 80 in 1921 and 97 in 1931, increased as shown in the following table after 1941.

	1941	1945	1950	1953	1954	1955
Ordinary warehouse operators	450	536	869	1168	1215	1216
Refrigerator warehouse operators	287	522	704	808	904	782

The floor space of ordinary warehouses totaled 1,022,000 *tsubo*, and their storage factor stood at 73 per cent in 1948. The average storage balance per *tsubo* amounted to 30 tons and its value ¥76,000 in the same year. In 1955, the storage factor was brought down to an average of 57 per cent, and the per *tsubo* storage balance and its value also fell to 20 tons and ¥ 60,000. The decrease in the storage factor and value per *tsubo* is due to the fact that there was no corresponding gain in storage as against the advance in the floor space of private warehouses.

However, in terms of indices, the storage space index increased to 290 in 1956 as against the 100 of 1956, while the storage balance index in August 1956 stood at 112 as against the 100 of January 1952, and the storage balance value index at 133. Further, the index of circulated warehouse receipts rose to 271 with February 1957 as the base.

Insurance business

Insurance business and establishment of insurance companies should be based on the Insurance Business Law of 1939. Insurance companies are divided into two categories of joint-stock companies and mutual insurance companies. Joint-stock insurance companies should be capitalized at more than 30 million *yen*, and profits are divided among stockholders. A deficit with such insurance companies may be spread over the accounts of several years, but no profits are permitted under the law to be divided among shareholders until the deficit has been completely covered.

In the case of mutual insurance companies, policy holders are at the same time company staff members, and the profits are to be returned to them. A mutual insurance company may be set up with a fund of

more than 30 million *yen*. The fund may be raised from other persons than company staff members, but a certain amount of profits should be reserved for repayment of the fund.

Insurance may be classified into life, non-life, policy, and social insurances. Of these, non-life insurance is the most important as an auxiliary to commerce.

Non-life insurance is subdivided into fire, marine, and miscellaneous insurances.

1) Items covered by fire insurance are (a) ordinary articles, including offices, houses, equipment, commodities, (b) goods stored at warehouses, and (c) factory equipment including machinery and other movables.

2) Marine insurance covers risks to (a) ships, (b) cargoes, (c) freightage, and (d) expected profits.

As against marine insurance, there is land transportation insurance.

3) Miscellaneous insurance include automobile, accident, credit and other insurances.

Soliciting agents are entrusted with the work of selling insurance. Agents are independent salesmen and receive a commission of 8-15 per cent under the contract with insurance companies. Insurance contracts are made according to the provisions approved by the Government. Excess insurance is not permitted by law in this country. Insurance premium rates differ according to localities and nature and condition of insured articles, ranging between ¥ 1.14 and ¥ 18.36 per ¥ 1,000, which is the lowest minimum of insurance. Marine insurance premium rates depends upon sea routes, ships, kinds and conditions of insured articles.

The first non-life insurance company in Japan was the Tokyo Marine Insurance Co. established in 1879, and the number of non-life insurance companies increased sharply at the time of the world war I as the Government took a policy to encourage and cultivate non-life insurance business.

The Tokyo Fire Insurance set up in 1889 is the first fire insurance in Japan. Fire insurance companies mushroomed soon after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5), and as a result of sharp competition among them insurance premium rates tended to decline, with the result that many of them collapsed financially. In 1907, five major fire insurance companies reached an agreement on insurance premium rates. This agreement, later revised, is still observed by fire insurance companies under the supervision of the Government.

Non-life insurance companies are numbered 20 throughout the country, while a total of 39 foreign non-life insurance companies are operating in this country. These foreign insurance companies are broken down to marine insurance (32 per cent), automobile insurance (31 per cent), fire insurance companies (26 per cent) and others, netting premium profits amounting to 2,000 million *yen* annually. However, Japanese insurance companies are taking 97 per cent of the total non-life insurance business in this country.

The amount of insurance contracts totaled 20,548,900 million *yen* at the end of March 1956, and the premium incomes aggregated 91,700 million *yen*. The amount of new contracts made in 1935 reached 47,200 million *yen* (or roughly about 16,500,000 million *yen* in terms of the present currency value), while that of 1955 amounted to 14,029,900 million *yen*.

Problems of Japanese Commerce

Position of commerce in Japanese economy

It was after the establishment of the Meiji Government in 1868 that Japan overthrew feudalism and embarked on a capital-

istic development of the country, lagging about a hundred years behind the Industrial Revolution of the Western countries. This was about the time when Western powers were forcefully carrying out their colonial policies in the East.

Under these circumstances, the keynote of the policy of the Meiji Government was to arm the country with modern weapons and industrialize the country as quickly as possible. "National defense and industrialization" was the watchword of the Government.

The Meiji Government, abolishing the feudal caste systems, set to the work of developing munitions and other basic industries under the direct management, of Government with funds absorbed from mercantile capitalists and heavy taxes levied on peasantry.

State-run factories were later sold to private enterprisers at nominal prices. Those who purchased these factories were a handful of merchants, who were closely allied with the high-ranking bureaucrats of the Meiji Government. These commercial firms later developed into *zaibatsu* (concerns) under the industrial protection policy of the Meiji Government.

The capitalistic development of these basic industries were strengthened by the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), and the boom due to the first world war.

In the meantime, the Meiji Government paid little attention to the development of agriculture, fishery and commerce. It is true that some of the *zaibatsu* (concerns) set up firms for overseas trade and department stores, the larger part of domestic commerce came to be carried on by pulverized commercial enterprises with a heavy hangovers of feudalism under the conditions of an extremely narrow home market and under pressure of a rapidly increasing population.

Small commercial enterprises

Japan's population remained at the level of 32 millions for about a century before the establishment of the Meiji Government in keeping with the limited supply of food-stuff. The population rapidly grew along with the industrial development after the Meiji Restoration to reach 52 millions in 1914, increasing by about 20 millions in half a century. The Japanese population has

already exceeded the 90 million mark today, registering about a threefold increase in less than 100 years.

This increase of population, while being a source of labor power for the rapidly developing industries, was also responsible for low wages of Japanese workers.

However, in lean years, surplus population had to be absorbed into agriculture and commerce. Both agriculture and commerce are still plagued by latent unemployment. This tendency was particularly marked in the immediate postwar years as a result of devastation of industrial equipment due to the war. In the deflationary period following the Korean War Boom, there was an evident tendency of working population being concentrated on commerce and service industries, or the so-called "tertiary" industrial department.

According to the survey (1) by the Population Problems Research Institute of the Welfare Ministry, per capita income showed an increase in 1954 as against 1935 in the primary and secondary departments, while it dipped only in the tertiary department.

(1) P. 20, Data No. 114, Population Problems Research Institute.

Further, according to the All Japan Establishment Census of 1954, wholesale and retail trade comprise nearly half (49.8 per cent) of the total number of enterprises, excepting public enterprises.

About 45 per cent of wholesale and retail trade enterprises are run by private persons, and 96 per cent of them employ 9 or less persons, while 87 per cent 4 or less persons.

On the other hand, of the total employment, about 30 per cent are engaged in wholesale and retail trade, and about 73 per cent of the total are employed at enterprises with nine or less employees, while 55 per cent at enterprises with four or less persons.

Moreover, of the total of 1,390,000 people employed in wholesale and retail trade, 90 per cent are employed at enterprises with 4 or less persons.

All these figures shows how Japanese wholesale and retail trade is pulverized into petty enterprises and how most of them are

carried on by enterprisers and their family members.

This means on the other hand that more than enough persons are employed in whole-sale and retail trade, that business is conducted inefficiently and that there is a cutthroat competition among enterprises.

Retail trade attacked by both sides department stores and consumers cooperatives

According to the Ministry of International Trade and Industry's survey, the sales of 168 department stores covered totaled about 258,900 million *yen* in 1956 (1).

(1) P. 6-7, The Annual Department Store Statistics, published by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

Further, according to another survey of the ministry (Quarterly Dynamic Statistics of Commerce), the sales amount of retail trade aggregated 3,815,000 million *yen* in the same year. An average annual sales amount of ¥2,700,000 per retailer is a sharp contrast to that of 1,541 million *yen* per department store.

Department stores expanded their sales floor space yearly after the war until the sales floor space of 119 department stores totaled 1,600,000 square meters at the end of 1956, or a 28 per cent increase over the average of 1,253,000 square meters in the 1938-41 period.

Further, according to the survey of the Japan Department Stores Association, the sales floor space of 120 department stores totaled 1,600,000 square meters as of Oct. 1, 1956, or a 14.4 per cent increase over the previous year and a 168.7 per cent advance over 1951.

On the other hand, Japanese trade union achieved a tremendous development after the war's end, and according to the Labor Ministry's survey, 6,190,000 workers were organized into trade unions as of June 1955. Some of these trade unions have powerful consumer cooperatives.

In the case of the consumer cooperative organized by the workers of the Japan

Steel Manufacturing Co. at Muroran, Hokkaidō, the monthly sales amount is said to reach to the neighborhood of 25 million *yen*.

About half of the households of the Yonago City in Tottori Prefecture are said to be organized into a consumers cooperative.

Such moves among workers and general consumers will certainly act as a pressure on retail trade. It is no exaggeration to say that retail trade in Japan is now being attacked from both sides, that is, department stores and consumer cooperatives.

Under these circumstances, the Government formulated the Department Store Law in 1956 with a view to regulating the establishment of new department stores and expansion of the existing department stores. Further, the Government is expected to take administrative measures to prohibit the use of cooperative-managed stores by non-member consumers and restrict the kinds of articles that may be sold at such stores, according to the recommendations of the Industrial Rationalization Deliberation Council of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

Credit and fund problems

It goes without saying that petty enterprises find it extremely difficult to obtain funds from banking institutions because they do not enjoy sufficient credit with them. In view of this situation, the Government established the Commerce and Industry Association Central Fund, in December 1936, the National Finance Fund in June 1946, and the Medium and Small Business Finance Fund in September 1953, and set up a credit insurance system for small business in order to help small businesses obtain Government funds. The question with these organs, however, is that applicants for funds have to go through extremely complex procedures and that interest rates on such funds are generally higher than bank interest rates by 2-3 per cent.

Tax burden

The central Government imposes a corporation tax on a juridical person and an income tax on a private enterpriser. In addition to these, a business tax is levied on both of them as a local tax on the basis of the amount of corporation and income taxes.

If more than 50 per cent of the investments in an enterprise are held by the enterpriser and his relatives and close acquaintances, such an enterprise is regarded as a family partnership. According to the tax law provision, such a company has to pay an increased corporation tax.

In the postwar period, special legislative measures for tax reduction and exemption were taken for some industries for the purpose of increasing capital accumulation and expanding exports. All these measures are advantageous to larger corporations and smaller corporations do not benefit much from them.

As explained above, many of retail trade enterprises are small-scale private enterprises. Despite the facts that larger part of the profits of private enterprises are actually expended for the sustenance of family members, a business tax is imposed on profits accruing from private business. Further, while in the case of wage incomes of workers, an amount ranging between ¥80,000 and ¥120,000 is exempted from taxation, only a sum of ¥90,000 and a small sum computed in an extremely complex way are exempted from taxation in the case of private enterprises. This unbalance should have to be redressed properly in the future.

Rationalization and organization

As we have seen in the foregoing pages, the dwarfishness of enterprise scales is the most characteristic feature of Japanese commerce. However, in view of the fact that general consumers are scattered, a certain degree of enterprise pulverization is a necessary process even under capitalism with its trend for enterprise concentration.

The number of gainfully employed persons outside of agriculture and forestry stood at 23,590,000 persons (15,840,000 males and 8,400 females) in 1956, of which 6,750,000 persons, (3,800,000 and 2,950,000 females), accounting for 28 per cent of the total, were engaged in wholesale, retail, banking, insurance, and real estate businesses.

The Government established the Small Enterprise Agency whose task is to map out plans to aid and develop small and medium enterprises. However, there is no alternative for them but to rationalize their enterprises and organize themselves, in order to effectively cope with the attacks from larger enterprises.

The Government framed the Medium and Small Enterprise Cooperative Association Law mentioned above to step up the organizations of small businesses, while the Small Enterprise Agency, instituting an enterprise diagnosis system, is trying to help small and medium enterprisers rationalize their businesses. However, it may be said that all these measures have not so far reaped satisfactory results due mainly to the multifariousness of the forms and scales of small enterprises.

Foreign Trade

General situation of foreign trade in postwar Japan

Japanese foreign trade after the war was resumed in 1946 under the control of the General Headquarters of the Allied Forces. Transactions with foreign countries re-

quired approval of the GHQ and under its supervision business was handled exclusively by the Japanese Government.

Later, in April, 1949, when the U.S. dollar rate was set at ¥360, private trade was reopened with foreign countries after which the volume of export and import grew rapidly, as can be seen from Table 1.

However, the volume was far below the prewar level and the balance was heavily against Japan.

Table 1. Trade Volume During 1946-1949
(in one million dollars)

	1946	1947	1948	1949
Export	65.3	181.6	262.3	533.3
Import	303.3	449.0	546.6	728.1
Balance (-)	238.0	267.4	284.3	194.8

(Source: International Monetary Fund)

The trade deficit during this period was made up by U.S. monetary assistance totaling 2,000 million dollars, and as a result trade balance on the whole showed a deficit (of 78 million dollars) only in the year 1946, but improved gradually in favor of Japan in the following years. The amount received was 46 million dollars more than that paid out in 1947, 74 million dollars more in 1948 and 207 million more in 1949.

The U.S. aid was discontinued in 1950 and Japan was left on her own to reconstruct the foundation of her trade to improve the situation of international receipts and payments. The figures of Japanese foreign trade after the year 1950 is given in the following table:

As is clear from the above table Japanese foreign trade made a recovery from the desperate situation following the defeat in the war, and after 1955 the export volume was maintained at between 2,000 and 2,500 million dollars. Although the trade deficit persisted for some time during this period it was eliminated as a result of the special procurement and offshore procurement made by the U.S. Occupation

Forces in Japan as the Korean Conflict broke out in 1950. The procurement which was started in 1950 and amounted to 3,297 million dollars by 1956, accounted for 39 per cent of the total exports and more than 26 per cent of the total receipts of foreign currency. Due to the temporary nature of the U.S. purchase, however, the stable situation in Japanese trade accounts is not hoped to last long.

With regard to trade volume it may be said that remarkable rehabilitation has been made by Japan, but in substance, the trade in present-day Japan is quite inferior to that of prewar years. In Table 3 will be given the ratios of trade volume in the last seven years to that during 1934-1936, when Japanese economy was in a normal situation.

In 1956 imports exceeded the prewar level but exports remained below the level. When the Japanese level is compared with that of the world we can see how low the former is. Taking the 1950 trade volume at 100, the trade index of the world rose about 40 per cent, from 82 in 1937 to 117 in 1953. The country showing the largest growth was the U.S. where the index was doubled, and in some European countries, too, it grew 40 per cent, from 88 to 128. Japan, in contrast, showed a decline in her trade index. The tardiness in the recovery of Japanese foreign trade can also be seen in the insignificant proportion occupied by it in world trade. While in 1938 Japan exported 5.4 per cent of the world's total exports, to hold the fourth position, in 1956 she dropped to eighth place in both export and import amounts.

Table 2. Trade Volume During 1950-1956

(in one million dollars)

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
Export	820	1,354	1,272	1,274	1,629	2,010	2,500
Import	974	1,995	2,028	2,409	2,397	2,471	3,229
Balance (-)	154	641	756	1,135	768	461	729

(Source: Finance Ministry)

Table 3. Trend of Index Number of Trade Volume During 1950-1956

(As computed from Finance Ministry's data)

	1934-1936	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
Exports Index	100	32.1	35.8	38.0	41.1	50.7	71.6	85.3
Imports Index	100	37.2	55.2	60.8	82.7	85.6	90.0	114.4

Composition of Export Goods

It is said that in postwar Japanese export trade more and more weight has been occupied by heavy industry products. Proportions occupied by each type of industry are shown in Table 5.

It may be said in a sense that products of heavy chemical industry have become the center of export goods in view of the fact that the proportion formed by textile goods, which were representative exports of Japan, fell from 52.0 per cent in prewar years to 34.8 per cent in 1956, while the proportion of machinery, including ships, rose to 19.3 per cent. However, the proportion of heavy chemical industry products, even when machinery, metal manufactures, chemicals and ceramic products are included, does not exceed the 40 per cent mark, and it is lower than the proportion of West European countries such as Britain and West Germany.

It cannot be overlooked that the instability indicated in the composition of export markets is also seen in the markets as classified by commodity.

In short it may be said that Japan has not yet emerged from the position of marginal supplying country.

Postwar import trade

Since 1952 Japan has imported goods to the value not less than 2,470 million dollars each year and imports paid in foreign currency amounted to 2,470 million dollars in 1955 and to 3,229 million dollars in 1956. Thus, import trade of Japan has exceeded the prewar amount by 14 per cent. It can be noticed that the volume of postwar imports has decreased relatively when viewed even from the scale of domestic productive activity and the amount of national income. For instance, the index number of imports in 1956 was 114.4 while the index of the amount of mining industry products in the same period (1934-1936=100, based on the result of the Economic Planning Agency's investigation) rose to 219.1, showing an increase approximately 2.2 times over the prewar years.

Meanwhile, the national consumption index in 1956 was 119.6, which is also higher than the prewar level. In short, a strange situation was brought about as imports exceeded the prewar level by 14 per cent, production 2.2 times the prewar amount was made and a consumption level 19.6 per cent higher than prewar consumption was maintained. In this manner, the volume of imports has decreased relatively. This is due to the fact that the ratio of dependence on the imported raw and processed materials (the percentage of which is obtained by adding the amount of imports to that of domestically produced materials and then dividing the amount of imports by the sum) has markedly declined in comparison with prewar years.

As regards industrial raw and processed materials, for example, the dependence on imported pulps, manganese ores, coal, etc. has declined. Although iron ores and scraps have shown an upward tendency in the rate of dependence on imported goods, the rates of these commodities are still as low as 30 per cent to 40 per cent as against 93.4 per cent in the former and 51.1 per cent in the latter of prewar years.

This may be attributed to the development of domestic resources, the advance in the degree of self-sustenance and also to the decrease of demand for importation resulting from the progress of heavy chemical industry under the national industrial structure. However, there has been caused in some cases a decrease in the rate of dependence on imports by the depletion of domestic resources, and thus an economic question has arisen anew in this connection.

After the war's end the stress formerly laid on the Far East as import market has shifted along with the shrinkage of export markets. In the case of imports, the dependence on the U.S. has remained, on the average, at 42.3 per cent, and the position of the U.S. as major market for Japanese goods is stabilized. The following statistics collected by the Ministry of Finance show how various markets were cultivated.

North America in the sixth table includes Canada and Mexico, but the weight of the U.S. is overwhelming. As to im-

ports in 1956, for instance, the proportion of U. S. goods among major items exceed by far those of products of other countries as will be seen from the proportions of U. S. goods to total imports, viz., cotton, 33 per cent; wheat, 46 per cent; iron ore, 14 per cent; coking coal, 80 per cent; machinery, 64 per cent; and phosphate ore, 55 per cent. Judging from the position occupied by the U. S. as an export market and from the above figures indicating our excessive reliance on that country as an import market, one can tell why Japan

is suffering from "the shortage of dollars" which is a difficulty ever-present in Japan's postwar foreign trade.

Change in Composition of Import Goods

In connection with the decline of the rate of Japan's dependence on the imported commodities, reference has already been made briefly to the composition of import goods, but it will be made clear here how the composition of commodities in general has changed in table 7.

Table 6. Rate of Dependence on Various Import Markets in Percentage

	1934-1936	1953	1954	1955	1957
Asia	52.9	33.1	30.7	36.6	30.7
Europe	9.6	8.1	7.1	7.4	7.7
North America	26.0	45.9	41.3	42.1	45.6
South America	1.8	7.4	4.2	3.7	3.4
Africa	2.5	2.1	2.5	3.5	2.9
Australia	6.7	5.8	4.1	8.6	9.7

Table 7. Composition of Major Import Goods

	1934-1936	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
Foodstuffs & Beverages	16.5	31.9	25.3	30.4	25.1	27.2	25.4	17.2
Raw Materials for Textiles	31.8	37.9	38.5	30.1	28.3	26.6	24.2	24.8
Metallic Ores	—	1.9	4.7	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.5	14.1
Non-metallic Ores	—	3.1	4.4	3.5	2.9	3.5	4.2	2.9
Mineral Fuel	4.9	5.5	8.0	11.4	11.9	11.2	11.6	12.4
Other Raw Materials	11.7	11.7	6.8	9.5	9.7	13.6	11.1	—
Chemicals	4.1	1.8	2.2	2.9	2.6	3.2	5.0	—
Machinery	0.8	2.9	4.5	6.7	7.4	5.5	4.9	—
Others	3.1	2.7	3.9	5.5	4.6	4.8	7.6	—

In comparison with prewar years, an increase of metallic ores, mineral fuel (petroleum, coal, etc.) and machinery is obvious, but a decrease of raw materials for textiles is considerably great. This fact indicates a shift from light industry to heavy chemical industry in the industrial structure of Japan as has been stated in the foregoing paragraphs.

Summary

An observation has been made above in respect to all various aspects of postwar trade of Japan, but a few points which characterize the progress of Japan's trade will be summarized hereunder:

1. It is said that the world's trade presents structural unbalance, and this has had great influence over Japan, and therefore, markets for her products are in an unstable plight. Especially, the loss of the Chinese market and overseas markets in our former colonies has constituted a deciding factor in checking the development of markets for our products. This has made difficult the triangular trade between the United States, Asian countries and Japan and resulted in the chronic excess of imports over exports in the trade with the U. S.

2. As regards the composition of export goods, its center is shifting to the products of heavy chemical industry, but ac-

tually an increase in the exportation of these goods is made in relation to a decrease in exportation of cotton goods, silk, etc., and Japan has not sufficient competitive power in exporting machinery except ships.

With the shrinkage of export markets, the composition of commodities is changing yearly, and the basis of exports is not yet established firmly. On the other hand, the scale of imports is becoming smaller, reflecting the domestic industrial structure.

3. Because of the foregoing facts, the balance of Japan's trade continued to fluctuate until 1955 with imports exceeding exports. Since 1955 was ushered in, exports progressed greatly, being supported by the world-wide prosperity, and in the receipts and payments of foreign exchange, Japan had, for the first time after the war's end, an excess of receipts over payments, amounting to 110 million dollars.

In 1956, however, imports expanded sharply owing to the great increase of investments in equipment and also to the marked growth of productive activities and

imports exceeded exports by 68 million dollars, the balance of trade becoming unfavorable again. However, there was still an excess of exports amounting to 293 million dollars over imports when invisible trade is taken into consideration.

The foreign currency holdings decreased owing to the sharp increase of imports, and the situation of foreign currency holdings worsened further after 1957 was ushered in. And since March of that year, foreign currencies as much as 100 million dollars have drained out monthly and thus Japan is, it appears, about to face another serious shortage of dollars.

Accordingly, the Government has adopted the tight money policy since May of the same year in order to improve the balance of international accounts. But, before Japan can re-establish her national economy as she did remarkably between 1954 and 1955, she has to eliminate all difficulties confronting her, such as the question concerning moves in the U.S. to restrict imports from Japan.

Exchanges

Outline

There are nine securities and 20 commodities exchanges in Japan. Dealings in stocks and other valuable papers are transacted at securities exchanges, but futures transactions are not permitted in Japan. On the other hand, dealings in cotton yarn, silk, sugar futures and futures of other commodities are made at commodities exchanges.

Both the commodities and securities exchanges, though different in the kinds of goods transacted, sales and purchase methods, and in their economic functions, may be traced back to the same origin, or the rice exchange in the Tokugawa Period.

Peculiar hand-signs developed during the Tokugawa Period for transactions at rice exchanges are still used by operators today. At the same time, first transactions in securities were conducted at night at commodi-

ties exchanges during the Tokugawa Period.

Further, transactions in textiles, which are today the main goods handled at commodities exchanges, were started as a sideline to the rice exchange.

According to the recorded history, commercial transactions in rice were first made in this country in the eighties of the 17th century, or in the early days of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Such transactions came to assume a speculative character in the 18th century, and a system and facilities of a rice exchange more or less similar in function to the present day exchange were completed by the end of the same century.

Rice exchanges were then called *kome-saba-kaisho* or literally, rice quotation meeting places. Exchanges for speculative dealings in oils, cotton, and other articles were also established later in the Tokugawa Period.

The Meiji Government, which took over the reins of government from the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1868, planned at first to abolish speculative transactions in rice. However, rice exchanges were reopened in Tokyo and Osaka in 1871. In 1876, the Rice Exchange Act was enacted to systematize exchange transaction practices.

The Exchange Law was formulated in 1888, and the first exchange for raw cotton, cotton yarn and cloth, was set up in Osaka in 1894 according to the law. This was followed by the establishment of exchanges for sugar, cotton yarn, rayon filament yarn, raw silk and cocoon transactions.

As a result of strengthened economic controls due to Japan's military adventures in China and other parts of Asia, the rice exchanges were abolished in 1939, and raw silk exchanges were closed in 1943. Other commodities exchanges completely disappeared from the economic scene of Japan under conditions of a total war.

After the World War II the Commodity Exchange Law was framed in 1950, and a chemical fibers exchange was established in Osaka in October the same year, the first to be set up under the law. Later as many as 20 commodities exchanges were set up throughout the country, of which those for spun-rayon yarn, wool yarns, and rubber were of a postwar vintage.

On the other hand, the first securities exchanges were established in Tokyo and Osaka in 1879, given an impetus by the issuance of bonds by the Meiji Government and an increase in the number of joint-stock companies.

At first, Government bonds, gold and silver currencies formed the main objects of transaction at the exchanges. However, transactions in stocks gradually came to assume greater importance in keeping with the growth of capitalism in Japan, particularly after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), and the World War I (1914-8).

In the meantime, the new stocks of the Tokyo Stock Exchange became the center of transaction as an index to show business activity, while turnovers increased, and

elaborate transaction methods were developed.

The securities exchanges which numbered 11 throughout the country before the outbreak of World War II, were reorganized into the Japan Securities Exchange in 1943, which continued to function until 1945. The exchange was closed after the Soviet declaration of war against Japan and the atom-bombing of Hiroshima.

After the war, an abnormal transaction method called "collective sale and purchase" was developed as the occupation authorities did not authorize the reopening of securities exchanges. This state of affairs continued until May 1950 when securities exchanges were reestablished in Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya according to the securities transaction law, incorporating American practices, which was enforced in the previous year. The number of securities exchanges increased to nine by May 1950. However, it was in April 1956 that securities exchanges were permitted to conduct transactions in stocks, in addition to debentures.

Securities exchange

There are nine securities exchanges in all in this country, namely, in Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, Kyoto, Kobe, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, Niigata and Sapporo. The turnover at all these exchanges totaled 10,592,410,000 stocks in 1956, of which the turnover at the Tokyo Securities Exchange aggregated 6,692,410,000 stocks, or 63 per cent of the total. This was followed by 25.4 per cent of Osaka and 5 per cent of Nagoya.

Both Tokyo and Osaka are the centers of securities transaction. Formerly, these two cities were almost equally balanced with each other. However, today Tokyo is increasing importance as a result of the concentration of the national economy on the metropolis and of the highly developed means of communication.

Transactions in debentures, in addition to stocks, are conducted only at these exchanges.

In prewar days, securities exchanges were stock companies, but in the postwar period exchanges have been made membership or-

ganizations consisting of securities corporations.

Transactions in stocks and securities at securities exchanges are open only to member dealers. The main business of the security dealer is to sell and buy valuable papers at the request of his customers, deal in securities on his own account, and sell new securities to subscribers.

There are about 700 securities companies throughout the country, including those which are not members of the securities exchanges.

There was not a sufficiently developed securities market in this country in the prewar period due partly to the concentration of capital on zaibatsu companies. However, in the postwar period the securities market came to assume greater importance as a result of dissolution of *zaibatsu*. Another reason for this increase in importance was that there was a pressing need for corporations to increase their owned capital as against watered assets due to the postwar inflation.

In prewar days stocks were concentrated in the hands of zaibatsu companies and banking institutions, while today there is a great increase in the number of stockholders among the ordinary public.

Transactions are made in a board room of the exchange among the members or their agents called *badachi* in the morning and afternoon sessions. The principal form of transaction is the spot transaction or actual delivery of stocks and bonds. Dealers are not permitted to conduct transactions on a time bargain system. According to the regulations, actual delivery of stocks and bonds is made within four days after the date of purchase or sale.

There is another more or less speculative method of transaction called "credit transaction" patterned after the American "margin transaction".

In this transaction method the customer can actually buy and sell short by depositing a certain amount of money, as a deficit is covered temporarily by securities corporations or by a special organ called a securities financing corporations.

There is a strong demand voiced by securities corporations for the revival of time bargain, as under the credit transaction system speculative transactions are naturally limited in scale.

A remarkable feature of the postwar securities market is the securities investment trust. It is true that there was a securities investment trust system even in prewar days but it was limited in scale as well as in its social and economic significance.

This securities investment system rapidly developed in this country in the postwar period after the enforcement of the Securities Investment Trust Law in 1951.

Securities investment trust funds, operated by larger securities corporations and amounting to some 80 million *yen* chiefly made up of small amounts of subscriptions by the ordinary public, are exerting considerable effects on the movements of stock prices.

The debenture transaction market, which was reopened in 1956, is not active, as most of the debentures issued in the postwar period are in the hands of banking institutions and are not circulated in such quantities as in the prewar days.

Commodities exchange

There are 20 commodities exchanges in all throughout the country, including the Osaka Sampin (Three Staples) Exchange, the Tokyo Textiles Exchange, and the Yokohama Raw Silk Exchange. Transacted at these exchanges are cotton yarn (Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya), rayon filament yarn (Tokyo, Osaka, Fukui), spun-rayon yarn (Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya), raw silk (Yokohama, Kobe), wool yarn (Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya), dried cocoons (Toyohashi, Maebashi), sugar (Tokyo, Osaka, Shimomoseki-Moji), rubber (Tokyo, Kobe), grains (Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, Nagoya, Shimomoseki-Moji, Otaru), and marine products (Otaru, Hakodate).

Main agricultural products transacted are soy-beans, red beans, and starch. Rice is not included among them, as it is now placed under Government control. Dried

cuttlefish, tangle and other marine products are transacted at the Hakodate Marine Products Exchange, which is known as the only exchange in the world where marine products are exclusively transacted.

Commodities exchanges are also membership organizations, and only the members of these exchanges are permitted to trade there. The members are mostly made up of manufacturers, producers, wholesalers, and subsidiary companies of securities corporations. Further, some of them are brokers and retailers.

Transactions are mostly in futures, and the limit of future delivery called *gengetsu* differs according to the kinds of commodities. Futures transaction, which is a form of settlement transaction, is more speculative in character, particularly in the case of grains, than securities transaction.

Before the war rice was the principal item transacted at commodities exchanges. However, as it is still under Government control, cotton yarn is now the most im-

portant article. The center of cotton yarn transactions is Osaka, where there are many cotton spinners and textile firms. The amount of transaction in the Osaka market is about 10 times greater than its counterpart in Tokyo.

Osaka and Fukui are two large centers of rayon filament yarn transaction, while Nagoya is the center of wool yarn transaction.

In prewar days, the world followed with keen attention the moves of raw silk prices quoted at the Yokohama Raw Silk Exchange. However, the production of raw silk and its exports have declined sharply in the postwar period.

Prices of rubber, for which Japan entirely depend on foreign supplies, more or less faithfully follow the price fluctuations in the Singapore and New York markets.

Sugar, which is also an imported item, is limited in the range of price movements, as there is a political need to stabilize the price.

XII BANKING AND MONEY MARKETS

General Survey

The new government established by the Meiji Restoration in 1868 discarded whatever fiscal and economic systems had been in use under the feudal regime in order to modernize Japanese economy. It therefore introduced an economic system modelled on those in use in progressive Western countries. The system adopted was necessarily

modified by the fact that Japanese economy had to achieve in a short time the same level reached by other countries over the relatively long period of gradual development since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. The transplanted economic system has therefore assumed characteristics peculiar to Japan, of which the finan-

cial aspects are no exception. Apart from the *mujin*, a species of cooperative lottery, the Japanese financial system, while basically like that of progressive countries of Europe and America, has, nevertheless, its own peculiar characteristics. Four of these are especially noteworthy:

- A. The dominance of the financial institutions over the stock exchanges.
- B. The insufficient development of the short-term money market.
- C. The close relationship between state finance and the money market.
- D. The great dependence of Japanese finance on the central bank.

Dominance of the financial institutions over the stock exchange

In Western countries there is a marked distinction between the work done by banks and that done by the stock exchanges. Banks deal with short-term monetary affairs whereas long-term financial business is carried on by the stock exchanges. In Japan a theoretically complete security system of stocks, stock market and debentures has existed side by side with the banking system since the beginning of the Meiji Era. In practice, however, most debentures have been in the hands of banks so that loans of funds to pay for the buying or selling of shares have been made by banks to investment companies and individuals with stocks as security for the funds loaned. Moreover, the need for protracted loans which customarily are raised by some form of securities, either shares or debentures, has in Japan been supplied chiefly by the banks through long-term loans. Japanese banks, therefore, while theoretically following the English deposit banks whose business is to receive short-term loans and to supply short-term operating funds, as a matter of fact have become more like mortgage banks on the style of the German hypothec banks. Japanese banking despite its outward similarities to them has developed into something quite different from the financial systems it chose as models. The particular feature under consideration here points to the fact that

Japanese economy after the Meiji Restoration because of its rapid development and accelerated industrialization could not wait for an accumulation of capital but had to force its growth artificially by the full employment of the credit-creating power of the banking system. Thus the influence of banking interests in the financial system became preponderantly great to the detriment of economic democratization. After the World War II directives aimed at such democratization tried to effect a withdrawal of the banks from long-term financial negotiations. As a matter of fact, however, banks are not only engaged in short-term credit, but they are also considerably involved in long-term loans.

Insufficient development of the short-term money market

In Western countries there has been considerable development of call-money and of discount markets which serve to keep funds circulating among banks and to replenish reserves. Even before the World War II Japanese call-money and discount markets were backward in growth with only very small funds in these markets. The post-war inflation brought a steady decline in transactions by drafts. Moreover, the idea of replenished reserves was an idea which was gradually weakened in the minds of bankers. As a result the dependence of banks upon the central bank became ever more complete. Funds handled in the call-money and discount markets consequently became negligible, but the recent return to a state of financial "normalcy" has brought a considerable increase in these funds although they still fall short of the prewar standard. The discount market has shown less recovery than that of call-money.

Close relationship between state finance and money market

Since the Meiji Restoration vast sums have been invested with the purpose of developing Japanese economy. It has, how-

ever, been impossible to raise all through private security and financial institutions, therefore a large portion of government funds collected by taxes and postal savings has been allocated for investment in important industries. This money has thus been used in the development of such key industries as the nationalizing of trunk railway lines, the establishment of the Yawata Iron Foundry, the provision of subsidies for the construction of vessels and for other industrial projects. This policy of investment in special banks and corporations was pursued throughout the Meiji Era and has until recently been a part of the governmental program.

Great dependence of Japanese finance on the central bank

The Japanese financial system, as has been noted, in the raising of funds makes more use of banks than of investments and in the case of the credit-creating power of the banks proving inadequate the shortage is covered by the use of government funds. In the last resort where both these means still prove insufficient, recourse is had to

notes issued by the central bank, the Bank of Japan. Looked at from the point of view of the banks such financing of industrial and other enterprises by loans from the Bank of Japan means that loans exceed deposits causing what is called "over-loan". Looked at from the viewpoint of state finance, the deficit in government funds since they cannot be replenished from the people's savings, must necessarily lead to the acceptance of bonds or loans from the Bank of Japan. Since the restoration of normalized financial relations this state of over-loan has been somewhat ameliorated. In the case, however, of a sudden increase in demands for money, a situation which is quite likely to occur, and intensifying of over-loan may result because of the insufficient development of the shortterm money market.

At the close of this general survey it is not irrelevant to mention the kinds of financial institutions. There are, of course, many ways in which they might be divided, but here they are classified with some modifications, according to the Economic Statistics Monthly Report of the Statistics Bureau of the Bank of Japan.

Types of Financial Institutions in Japan

The Bank of Japan

Banks

- Ordinary banks (those with trust accounts excepted)
- Long-term credit banks
- Foreign exchange bank

Trusts

- Ordinary banks with trust accounts

Insurance companies

- Life insurance companies
- Miscellaneous casualty and inland marine insurance companies

Financial institutions for small business

- Mutual loan and savings banks
- Credit associations and credit cooperative associations
- Central bank for commercial and industrial cooperatives

Agriculture, forestry and fishery financial institutions

Agricultural cooperative associations

Credit federations of Agricultural cooperatives

General cooperative bank of agriculture and forestry

Government financed institutions

Japan Development Bank

Export-Import Bank of Japan

Small business finance corporation

Agriculture, forestry and fishery finance corporation

Housing loan corporation

Special government funds

Trust fund bureau

Postal life insurance and postal annuities

Besides these institutions there are the following money markets:

Call-money markets and call-money brokers

Discount market and bill-brokers
 Stock market (Stock Exchange and stock companies)

The relative importance of banks and other financial institutions is shown in the following table:

Table 1. Principal Funds and Investment of Financial Institutions Sept., 1955
 (Unit: Billion yen)

	Deposits	Loans and Discounts	Securities
Banks	3,462.7	3,030.1	470.3
Trusts	287.8	195.2	70.2
Life insurance	157.8	83.7	49.1
Miscellaneous casualty insurance	78.3	11.4	29.3
Mutual loan and saving banks	394.4	3,349.9	14.4
Credit associations	261.3	204.6	20.6
Central bank for commercial and industrial cooperatives	12.6	56.2	1.7
Agricultural cooperative and credit federations of agricultural cooperatives	464.8	289.2	16.2
Central cooperative bank of agriculture and forestry	64.7	91.7	28.5
Government financed institutions	0	649.3	14.8
Trust fund bureau	814.6	636.2	176.5
Postal life insurance and postal annuities	230.1	97.2	10.2
Total including other financial institutions	6,294.0	5,759.6	905.3
Overlapping accounts	457.4	286.9	14.9
Net Total	5,836.6	5,472.6	890.3

Other financial institutions cover credit cooperative associations, Labor Depository, fishery cooperative associations and federations of fishery credit cooperative associations.

The Bank of Japan

Like all other central banks of the world, the Bank of Japan is the organ of the government in monetary policy and credit control as the issuer of paper money, as the bankers' bank and as the government's bank, carrying out the currency policy through all three functions.

The Bank of Japan has adopted a system of issuing bank notes which provides a desirable moderate degree of elasticity. The Finance Minister determines the maximum amount of an issue but if the Bank deems it necessary and issue in excess of the amount fixed is possible. Although formerly conversion to gold as well as free import and export of gold was permissible, now this is not allowed so that the Japanese issue of paper money may be considered as an example of controlled currency. As

a result of the recent favorable international balance of trade, the Bank of Japan's assets in foreign currencies have increased with a view to the replenishment of its reserves in gold and in foreign currencies. For the details of the issue of notes by the Bank of Japan refer to the section on currency in "General Survey of Japanese Economy".

Besides the government the only clients of the Bank of Japan are financial institutions, hence it is solely a bankers' bank. Its transactions with its clients consist chiefly in receipt of deposits from them, rediscount of their bills, loans—both ordinary and in foreign exchange—and the purchase and sale of stocks with banks. The deposits from its client banks amount to no more than just enough to settle the Clearing House Balance, and there is neither the law nor the custom prescribing that part of the reserves of banks be cen-

tralized in the Bank of Japan. Consequently, there is no reserve system in Japan as in modern European and American countries.

In principle the Bank of Japan's sale and purchase of securities is done directly with the financial institutions concerned for no operations in the open market are done by the central bank in Japan as in Western countries. Therefore, its dealings in securities as a means of currency policy might be called an operation, but never an open market operation. Another important instrument of the currency policy is the discount or money rate policy which until recently has been widely used. The continuance of the favorable international trade balance, however, is reflected in the decrease of loans from the Bank of Japan which has shifted the focus of its activity to security operations with a view to the forming of a reserve system.

As the official bank of the government, the Bank of Japan receives as deposits all

the funds accruing to the Finance Department and out of these all government payments are made. In case government funds are inadequate, the Bank of Japan must accept government bonds to cover the shortage. During the Second World War vast sums were raised by such bonds in order to make the budget balance, thus inevitably paving the way to inflation. After the war the acceptance of such bonds was prohibited by law and now the Bank accepts only short-term government securities.

Because of its official character, the Bank of Japan by a special enactment has been constituted a juridical person. The government owns 51 percent of the capital and the rest is held by financial institutions and individuals. The currency policy is formulated by a policy board organized within the Bank which consists of the president who represents the board of directors, and of representatives of the government, of financial interests and of industry.

Table 2. Principal Accounts of the Bank of Japan Oct., 1955

(Unit: Billion yen)

Assets		Liabilities	
Gold and gold bullion	0.4	Notes issued	549.3
Bills rediscounted	31.8	Deposits from financial institutions	2.1
Loans	51.2	Deposits from Government	51.1
Loans in foreign exchange	15.1	Reserves	25.6
Bonds	461.1	Capital	0.1
Assets in foreign currency	142.5	Surpluses	11.9
Others	65.8	Others	127.8
Total	767.9	Total	767.9

Banks

The preponderant role of banks in the Japanese financial system is evident from a consideration of the fact that at the end of September, 1955 the manipulation of most deposits, loans and securities was in their hands. At that time there were 86 banks, 83 of which were established by the Bank Act. Two were long-term credit banks and one, a foreign exchange bank. Those owing their existence to the Bank Act (commonly called "ordinary banks"), include twelve

city banks with headquarters in large cities, sixty-five local banks which have their headquarters in leading cities of the different sections of the country, and six trust banks. This distribution can be seen in the following table:

Table 3. Numbers of Banks

Ordinary banks	83
City banks	12
Local banks	65
Trust banks	6
Long-term credit banks	2
Foreign exchange bank	1

Table 4. Principal Accounts of Banks in Japan Sept., 1955
(Unit: Billion yen)

Assets		Liabilities	
Loans made	3,030.1	Deposits received	3,462.7
Bills discounted	1,047.0	Current a/c	638.4
Loan in fund	1,933.5	General deposit	710.7
Securities	470.3	Fixed deposit	1,491.4
Cash excluding stamps and bills	50.2	Loans received	162.0
Deposits made	41.8	Call-money	63.9
Call-money	26.9	Capital	48.5
Others	1,169.6	Others	1,051.8
Total	4,788.9	Total	4,788.9

The principal accounts of these banks are given in Table 4.

It must be noted that among the above banks are not included the Bank of Japan, i.e., the central bank, the mutual loan and savings banks in the category of financial institutions for small business and the special banks that are government financial institutions.

Ordinary Banks

Ordinary banks are established under conditions determined by the Bank Act passed in 1927. Their functions are to handle deposits and money transfers, to make loans and to undertake investments in stocks. In form these banks are something like commercial or deposit banks in progressive countries in Europe and America. Japanese banks, however, are characterized by the great proportion of fixed deposits in the total sum of deposits and the preponderance of loans in the total assets. This is, in fact, to be expected for it is merely a reflection of the undeveloped state of the stock market referred to in the "General Survey". With regard to money transfer and exchange within the country there is no restriction, but only those banks authorized by the Finance Minister in accordance with the stipulations of the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Control Act can engage in foreign exchange. Besides the thirty-one ordinary banks, which up to the end of September, 1955 had received such powers and which are known as "authorized banks for foreign exchange," two long-term credit banks, to be referred to later, have the same rights in this connec-

tion. Hence there are thirty-three banks dealing in foreign exchange. Formerly, trust business was handled exclusively by trust companies. These have ceased to exist, so at present ordinary banks authorized by the Finance Minister can subsidiarily engage in trust business. In this case, however, the accounts of the trust and of the deposit transactions must be kept separately. At the end of September, 1955 they numbered seventeen.

Ordinary banks are under the strict supervision of the government. Authorization of the Finance Minister is necessary for the establishment of any bank and for each of its branches, as well as for the undertaking of any other work by the officers of the bank. The banks are also subject to the inspection of their business state by the Finance Minister. Japanese banks have adopted the branch banking system with the total number of branches amounting to 5505 and with an average of 64 branches per bank.

City banks. The ordinary banks that have headquarters in the big cities are comparatively few in number, but their importance is far greater than the more numerous local banks because of the size of their transactions in deposits, in loans and in their security holdings. They may therefore, usually called "big banks". Their clients, moreover, are principally the big businesses and in that they differ from local banks.

Local banks. The banks which have their main offices in smaller cities far exceed the city banks in number, but the deposits and loans handled per local bank

fall far behind those of any city bank. One result of this is that for these banks the incidental cost to deposits is relatively high. Their chief customers are the more prosperous small businesses and in this lies their *raison d'être*.

Trust banks. In 1948 all trust companies hitherto engaged in trust business were converted to ordinary banks engaging in extensive banking enterprises. But in continuance of their past tradition considerable emphasis has been given to trust business. Because of this specialized work, they have been authorized to style themselves, "trust banks." So in substance they may be said to be trust companies that also deal in banking, but legally they are considered to be ordinary banks with trust business as a subsidiary undertaking, and in no sense can they be called trust companies.

Long-Term Credit Banks

As has been explained, Japan's ordinary banks, unlike banks in Western countries, in addition to short-term credit have been engaged to a considerable extent in long-term loans, the funds for which would normally be procured through the stock market by the issue of shares or debentures. But because of the limited number of stocks dealt with in the stock exchange, Japanese businesses must depend on the banks for the long-term loans needed in their enterprises. In order to meet this requirement on the one hand, and to relieve the ordinary banks of their burden of long-term credit on the other, the Long-Term Credit Bank Act was passed in 1952 thus creating banks specializing in this type of financial negotiations. These banks, as their name shows, have as their function readily to supply long-term funds. While not differing from ordinary banks in principle, they are authorized to issue debentures to twenty times the amount of their capital, and their deposits are received only from the government, from local official corporations, and from their customers for loans. Their business is confined to the supply of equipment and long-term operating funds, discount of bills, guaranty of debts and ac-

ceptance of drafts for honor. At present there are two banks under this designation, the Japan Industrial Bank and the Japan Long-Term Credit Bank.

Foreign Exchange Bank

The enactment in 1954 of the Foreign Exchange Bank Act provided for the establishment of banks which would specialize in foreign exchange and related financial business and so smoothed the way for international finance. By the act only those banks established by its authority were meant to engage in foreign exchange, but the ordinary banks and long-term credit banks which had the right to deal in foreign exchange continued to be called authorized banks for foreign exchange. Because of this name the foreign exchange bank properly so called is numbered with the ordinary banks authorized for foreign exchange in the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Control Acts. Although the foreign exchange bank deals in ordinary bank business, such as receiving deposits and making loans, but loans, for instance, are confined to funds directly connected with foreign trade and other transactions abroad. Branches may be established only in places important from the standpoint of foreign trade. At present the Bank of Tokyo is the only foreign exchange bank.

Trusts

Formerly there existed trust companies specializing in trust business, but they have now been replaced by the six trust banks and the eleven ordinary banks that also deal in trust business. It has been noted that in the latter the general banking business and trust business are kept in quite separate accounts. At present besides money in trust, investment loans and stocks are recognized. "Loans Investment Trusts" is the term applied to loans to important industries, while "stocks investment Business" is that carried on through investments in securities at the direction of security companies. The beneficiary's document in this connection is obtainable by an individual as his actual dividend. In both these types of trust, dividends are payable ac-

cording to the actual results. The principal is guaranteed in loans investment trusts, while in stocks investment trusts, it is not, but the investment may be refunded in an amount exceeding the principal, according to the fluctuation of the stocks in which that principal has been invested.

Insurance Companies

Only a general survey of the financial aspects of insurance will be made here. For its other aspects and the functions of insurance companies, refer to the treatment of insurance in the chapter "Social Problems."

Before the Second World War life insurance companies held vast amounts of shares on the strength of the proved stability of their funds. Because of the infla-

tion during and after the war, the actual value of their investable funds depreciated and brought about decrease in their prestige as financial institutions. Thanks to the recent stabilization of currency, the return of such companies to their former status is gradually being effected.

The casualty and inland marine insurance companies were not dealt such a heavy blow during the period of inflation as that received by the life insurance companies. Moreover, their recovery has been brisker and more complete than that of the life insurance companies. Under the supervision of the Finance Minister, there are twenty life insurance companies and twenty insurance companies covering fire, marine, inland transportation and other risks.

Table 5. Principal Trust Accounts of Japanese Banks Sept., 1955
(Unit: Billion yen)

Assets		Liabilities	
Loans	195.2	Money in trust	111.6
Securities	3.0	Loans investment trust	100.7
Securities invested in trust	66.3	Securities investment trust	75.4
Call-money	12.7	Others	2.2
Others	12.7		
Total	289.9	Total	289.9

Table 6. Principal Accounts of Insurance Companies in Japan Sept., 1955
(Unit: Billion yen)

Life insurance		Insurance covering fire, marine, inland transportation risks, etc.
Contractual amounts	1,922.4	7,473.4
Loans	83.7	11.4
Securities	49.1	29.3
Real estate	18.6	11.6
Deposits made	3.8	22.2
Total assets	161.5	89.8

Financial Institutions for Small Business

Such financial institutions as banks, trusts, and insurance companies spoken about in previous sections find it difficult to provide small businesses with needed monetary aid because of the high cost and great risks involved in such transactions. In order to supply this necessary help many cooperative institutions have been organized for mutual aid. Yet even these at times

prove insufficient so that the government has had to assist these cooperative financial institutions with funds to help the monetary turn-over and to make up for shortage. Such semi-official financial institutions are called "financial institutions for small business."

Mutual loan and savings banks. Even in early times there existed in Japan the institutions called *mujin*. A certain number of people voluntarily contributed sums at fixed periods to a fund. This fund, increas-

ed by investment was then reapportioned from time to time by lottery or by auction. Thus the original sum or principal invested, though never returned in a block, does, nevertheless, come back to the donor in installments. The financial company handling such business was called a "mujin company". The Mutual Loan and Saving Bank Act of 1951 restyled the mujin companies as mutual loan and savings banks and authorized them to engage in banking business as well as in *mujin*. At the end of September, 1955 there were seventy-one banks of this type.

Credit associations and credit Cooperative associations. In 1947, a law concerning cooperative associations for small businesses and allied interests was enacted. This authorized small businesses or workers in any district to form associations which would receive deposits from their members and make loans to them. This is the

"credit cooperative association." In 1951 the "Credit Association Act" promoted to credit associations such credit cooperatives as received deposit from others besides members of the cooperatives. These institutions which has credit cooperatives had been under the governor of the prefecture were subjected to closer financial supervision under the Finance Minister. At the end of September, 1955 the credit associations numbered 554, and the credit cooperatives 378.

The Central Bank for Commercial and Industrial Cooperatives. This bank, established by a special enactment in 1936 has the privilege of issuing debentures. It is under the joint ownership and management of the government and of the cooperative associations for small business. Its function is to receive deposits from and make loans to subsidiary associations and their members.

Table 7. Principal Accounts of Japanese Financial Institutions for Small Business September, 1955
(Unit: Billion yen)

	Mutual loan and savings	Credit associations	Credit cooperative associations	Central bank for commercial and industrial cooperatives
Deposits received	178.6	261.3	39.2	12.6
Contributions in instal- ments	215.8	—	—	—
Loans received	1.6	3.2	3.4	1.4
Debentures	—	—	—	39.4
Capitals	10.9	12.9	3.1	2.6
Loans made	186.1	204.6	35.8	56.2
Remuneration	144.6	—	—	—
Securities	144.4	20.6	0.8	1.7
Deposits made	22.7	39.2	6.0	0.7

Bank in Support of Natural Resources

The lack of sources of ready capital that has been spoken of with regard to small business also holds true for agriculture and for the development of forestry and fishery products. In order to remedy the situation farmers in each city, town and village have organized agricultural cooperative associations which not only receive deposits and make loans possible among their members, but they also carry on transactions of co-

operative purchases, sales and utilization of equipment used in common. In each prefecture a credit federation of agricultural cooperatives has been formed, but at this higher rung of the ladder credit negotiations are entirely separated from other business, financial and otherwise. The Central Cooperative Bank of Agriculture and Forestry is placed over these credit associations as their mother bank. It receives deposits from its subsidiary financial institutions and has the right to issue

debentures. The agricultural cooperative associations are instituted on the basis of the Agricultural Cooperative Association Act passed in 1947. The agricultural co-

operatives engaged in financial business at the end of september, 1955 numbered 12,684, while the credit federations numbered 46 at the same time.

Table 8. Accounts of Banks in Support of Natural Resources Sept., 1955
(Unit: Billion yen)

Kind	City, town, village agricultural cooperatives	Credit federations of agricultural cooperatives	Central bank of agricultural cooperatives
Deposits received	418.6	146.1	64.7
Loans received	96.7	27.3	3.4
Bills rediscounted	—	12.1	—
Debentures	—	—	34.1
Capital	26.0	2.4	2.5
Loans made	181.5	107.6	91.7
Securities	4.7	11.4	28.5
Deposits made	137.3	67.9	0.4

Government Financed Corporations

The preponderant part played by government financed institutions has already been stated. These institutions exist only to supply funds to important industries, long-term loans to foreign trade, and any funds needed to carry out social policy and which cannot readily be procured through the ordinary profit-seeking or cooperative financial institutions. The one point they have in common is that all are public corporations entirely financed by the government.

Japan Development Bank. This bank was established by a special act in 1951 and has as its function the supplying of the long-term funds needed to rehabilitate Japanese economy and to quicken the development of industries. It also assists and advises ordinary financial institutions. Its assets are its capital and loans from the government and from foreign capital. It has no authority to issue debentures or to receive deposits. Loans are chiefly made for the development of electric power sources, for the construction of ocean-going vessels and for the nationalization of the coal, iron and steel industries.

Japan Export-Import Bank. The business of this bank established by special act in 1951 is to finance the export of materials, etc., for which repayment will be delayed.

The funds it uses come from its capital, from loans from the government and from foreign capital. It has no authority to issue debentures or to receive deposits.

Small Business Finance Corporation. An enactment of 1953 established this corporation with the function of supplying funds needed by small businesses but which could be obtained only with difficulty from ordinary financial institutions. Its source of funds is its capital and loans from the government. It has no authority to issue debentures or to receive deposits. In its source of funds and in the restrictions as to their use it is similar to the three following corporations.

Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery Finance Corporation. The purpose of this corporation established by special act in 1953 is to supply at a low rate of interest long-term funds to those who need such money for the maintenance and improvement of their productive power in agriculture or in forestry and fishery and who would find it difficult to procure such funds through ordinary financial channels.

People's Finance Corporation. Established by special act in 1949, the People's Finance Corporation functions to supply funds for their work to the common laboring people who would find it difficult to procure such monetary aid through ordinary financial institutions.

Housing Loan Corporation. In order that the common people may construct houses in which they can lead healthy cultural lives, the Housing Loan Corporation was established by a special act in 1950.

Its aim is to supply funds for building houses to people who would find it difficult or impossible to find the necessary funds elsewhere.

Table 9. Principal Accounts of Government Financed Corporations Sept., 1955
(Unit: Billion yen)

	Loans	Securities	Loans from government	Capital
Japan Development Bank	366.4	8.6	127.6	246.2
Japan Export-Import Bank	31.8	2.7	8.0	35.0
Small Business Finance Corporation	41.2	0.2	22.7	17.2
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery Finance Corporation	79.3	2.7	34.5	46.1
People's Finance Corporation	42.0	—	18.6	20.0
Housing Loan Corporation	79.3	0.2	35.5	42.5

Special Government Funds

In this section only those special government accounts connected with finance which are operated by the government as financial institutions are considered.

Trust Fund Bureau. The postal savings handled at the post offices throughout the country are not applied to loans or securities by the post offices themselves but are put in trust of the special account called "Trust Fund Bureau" ("Deposit Department" prior to 1951) and along with funds in trust from such special accounts as Welfare Insurance they are applied to the purchase of government bonds, local bonds and to government financial institutions.

Postal Life Insurance and Postal Annuities. These two funds are types of life insurance and annuities and government enterprises which are handled by the post offices. The money collected in this way

was, after the World War II, put in trust in the Trust Fund Bureau, but since 1953 it has been operated independently from the Trust Fund Bureau. In general, the clients for loans are local public bodies.

Table 10. Principal Accounts of the Special Government Funds Sept., 1955
(Unit: Billion yen)

	Trust Fund Bureau	Post Offices Insurance and Postal Annuity
Loans	636.2	97.2
Securities	176.5	10.2
Fund in trust from Post Office Savings	479.2	—
Fund in trust from other than Post Office Savings	311.0	—
Others	816.2	230.1

XIII AGRICULTURE

Agriculture in Japan

Climate

The Japanese islands lie off the east coast of Asia and on the western edge of the Pacific, extending from north to south between the latitudes of 45°N and 31°N. The climate varies with the latitude and topography, and is also influenced by monsoon conditions produced by temperature differences between air currents moving east from the continent and north and west from the Pacific Ocean.

The rice crop year begins with the planting of rice during the rainy season, which extends from mid-June to early July each year. During this period the wind blows from the tropical ocean toward the continent, bringing humid air and heavy rains to all of Japan west of Ōu.

Typhoons, also a product of monsoon influences, are likely to occur during August and September, striking with particular force in western and southern Japan. These can cause heavy damage to agriculture, especially to rice, which begins to mature during these months. Japanese farmers traditionally estimate the most probable dates for typhoons as the "210th day" and the "220th day" from New Year's Day according to the lunar calendar, or about September 1 or 2, or September 10 to September 12. When these days pass without storms they look forward to good crops.

During the winter months, a cold, northwestern monsoon blows from Siberia, bringing moisture from the Japan Sea to the western coast of Japan. Blocked by the high mountain ranges running the length of the main Japanese islands it dumps heavy snowfall on the northwestern region. Winter crops of wheat, barley and oats, etc., cannot be grown in much of this area, and the growing season for summer crops tends to be rather short. Agriculture in much of the affected area is considered poorly developed.

In spite of the wide range in latitude covered by the Japanese islands, summer temperatures do not vary greatly. The mean temperature in July in Sapporo, in Hokkaidō, is only about 7°C lower than that in Kagoshima, in Kyūshū. This relatively uniformly high average summer temperature, combined with the development of rice varieties adapted to low temperatures has made possible the extension of rice culture areas throughout Japan.

In the winter, on the other hand, cold winds from the continent, and the influence of the cold Kurilean Current, produce very low temperatures in Hokkaidō and Northeastern Honshū. The mean temperature in January in Sapporo is 13.2°C lower than that in Kagoshima, so that the range in mean temperature is nearly twice as great as that in July. (Table 1).

Table 1. Mean temperature by months in Japan

Place	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.
Kagoshima	6.9	7.4	10.7	15.3	18.9	22.4	26.3
Osaka	4.1	4.3	7.5	13.2	17.7	21.9	26.2
Tokyo	3.0	3.7	7.0	12.6	16.8	20.6	24.4
Sendai	-0.6	-0.1	3.2	8.5	13.5	17.6	21.9
Yamagata	-1.8	-1.4	0.2	8.8	14.3	19.1	23.1
Sapporo	-6.3	-5.4	-1.5	5.2	10.5	14.9	19.3

Place	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual Mean
Kagoshima	26.8	24.2	18.9	13.7	8.9	16.7
Osaka	27.3	23.4	17.2	11.6	6.6	15.1
Tokyo	25.8	22.1	16.2	10.7	5.4	14.0
Sendai	23.7	19.6	13.7	8.1	2.4	11.0
Yamagata	24.1	19.4	12.5	6.5	1.0	10.6
Sapporo	21.0	16.4	9.9	3.2	-3.1	7.0

Topography

Most of Japan is mountainous and ill-suited to agriculture. More than 65 per cent of the total area of Japan has a slope of more than 15 degrees, and of the total area, only about 15 per cent is arable. Most of the small amount of level land is used for rice paddy. Wherever possible, hill-sides are terraced and planted to field crops or orchards, or irrigated and used as paddy. Because of the density of population, and the large number of persons economically dependent on agriculture intensive use is made of all cultivable land.

Agricultural labor force in Japan

If the years of exceptionally good and poor crops are excluded, Japan's average

yearly yield of rice is 108,234,600 hl., and that of wheat and barley is 32,470,380 hl. Annual requirements of these grains combined aggregate about 176,783,200 hl, indicating a yearly grain shortage of 36,078,200 hl.

Many factors, including especially Japan's shortage of foreign exchange, and the limited alternative employment opportunities for persons now in agriculture, combine to require intensive efforts to make up this shortage by increased agricultural productivity in Japan, rather than by importation of grain.

Agriculture is one of Japan's most important industries. Japan's total labor force aggregates about 36,000,000 of which more than 45 per cent is engaged in agriculture. More than 60 per cent of all women in the labor force are engaged in agriculture. These figures include part time farm labor, partly dependent on urban employment for its livelihood. (Table 2).

Table 2. Agricultural labor force in Japan, 1950

Item	Number	Agricultural labor as per cent of total labor		
		Total	Men	Women
Total population,	83,200,000			
Total labor force,	35,575,000			
Engaged in agriculture	16,132,000	45.3	35.8	60.4

Source: *3rd Yearbook of Statistics of Japan, 1951*. (The Prime Minister's Office)

The agricultural labor force varies seasonally from about 13,110,000 in February, during the slack season, to about 18,750,000

in June, during the rice planting season.

The total area of agricultural land in Japan is 6,543,737.63 hectares, of which

about 85 per cent is cultivated. The remainder is range and grassland. There are about 6,099,220 farm units in Japan, each comprising an average of 1.07 hectares of land, including 0.883 hectares of cultivated land and 0.188 hectares of grass and pasture land.

Of the cultivated land, about 0.496 hectares are paddy, 0.337 hectares are planted to field crops, and 0.0496 hectares are in orchards. More than half of the total

agricultural land is paddy, and rice is the mainstay of both farm income and the Japanese diet. About 35 per cent of paddy land, including most of that located in the southern half of Japan, can be drained and planted to wheat, barley, vegetables, or other winter crops, after the rice crop is harvested, so that the harvested area per farmer in these parts of the country is substantially larger than the total cropland area.

Table 3. Average cash income of Japanese farmers per farm family, from farm and non-farm sources (year)

Source of cash income	Average amount of cash income per farm family	Non-farm income as percent of total farm income
Farming	¥ 135,372	64.1
Other than farming	¥ 75,928	35.9
Total	¥ 211,309	100.0

Table 4. Production of selected farm crops in Japan and percent of total crop marketed

Crop	Percent of crop marketed
Millet (<i>Panicum italicum</i> L.)	10.7
Millet (Deccan grass)	19.9
Millet (<i>Panicum miliaceum</i> L.)	6.4
Corn	21.7
Buckwheat	17.7
Soybeans	40.9
Red beans	42.4
Green peas	38.7
Broad beans	39.5
White kidney beans	68.0
Peanuts	63.3
Rice	51.7
Barley	37.0
Rye	40.2
Wheat	46.8
Sweet potatoes	54.7
White potatoes	54.5
Tomatoes	70.9
Watermelon	71.6
Onions	66.4
Radishes	38.2
Turnips	24.9
Apples	85.9
Pears	85.0
Grapes	92.4
Tobacco	100.0
Tea	92.3
Flax	99.8
Reed for straw mats	83.1
Mitsumata (<i>Edgeworthia chrysantha</i>)	100.0
Rapeseed	58.6

Farm population and farm income

In 1951, 37,561,860 persons lived on some 6,099,220 farms in Japan. Of the 6.11 persons per farm family, 2.32 worked on their own farms, 0.77 worked elsewhere, and 3.12 were non-working dependents.

Because of the small area of the average holding, only 48.6 per cent of farm families supported themselves by farming alone in 1951. Thus, more than half of all farm families have some non-agricultural sources of income. The data of non-farm income are shown in Table 3.

A number of important crops are grown almost entirely for home consumption. Table 4 shows the per cent of total production of the major crops sold through commercial channels.

Land reclamation and improvement

Japan's population has increased tremendously since the end of World War II, placing heavy pressure on its food supply. At the same time a number of factors, including natural disasters such as floods and typhoons, and use of agricultural land for factories and other non-agricultural purposes, have combined to take land out of agriculture. To counteract these tendencies, intensive efforts have been made to re-

claim additional land for agricultural uses, to improve land now under cultivation by improved drainage and irrigation, better terracing, and other land improvement measures, and to protect farmland from natural disasters such as floods.

The reclamation program involves classification of land suitable for reclamation, and its designation as cropland, forest land suitable for exploitation for fuel and charcoal, pasturelands, etc. Settlers wanting to expand their holdings or settle on newly reclaimed land are screened and given assistance. As of March 1953, 500,828 hectares in total of new land was reclaimed and distributed to 755,000 settlers. An average of 1.09 hectares was distributed to new settlers on the mainland, and 3.67 hectares in Hokkaidō. The productivity of these new farms, usually low during the first few years of cultivation, is increasing steadily.

Land improvement

Emphasis has recently been shifting from reclamation of new land to improvement of

land already under cultivation. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry reports that 3.9 per cent of paddy land is insufficiently irrigated, 25 per cent is inadequately drained, and 17 per cent is depleted through continuous cultivation over long periods. It is estimated that a total of 68 per cent of all paddy land could benefit from some form of improvement effort. Much of the cropland other than paddy is also said to need improvement. Among the types of improvement possible are irrigation, open and covered drainage, soil improvement, straightening and adjustment of the boundaries of individual plots, building of agricultural roads, improvement of irrigation in paddy fields dependent on extremely cold water for irrigation, liming, etc. Of these, irrigation and drainage are the most important and require the greatest efforts. According to the Agricultural Land Bureau, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, irrigation and drainage facilities were installed or improved on a total of 1,050,251.4 hectares during the 6 years of 1946 to 1951.

Garden Crops and Industrial Crops

Garden crops

Japan is located in the temperate zone, covering the latitudes approximately from northern Morocco to southern France, and is under the influence of oceanic climate, being surrounded by the sea on all sides. These provides a favourable ground for the growth and rich variety of her vegetables, fruits and flowers.

Today, as it was in pre-war days, the domestic demand for most of these is supplied within the country. Further, some of these items are being exported to the United States and the European countries.

Vegetables

About 25 varieties of vegetables are on the table through the year in this coun-

try. Divided into 2 groups, i.e. those harvested in spring-summer period and those in autumn-winter period, the yield is shown in Table 5.

More than half of those vegetables are produced in the area surrounding the big consumer cities and supplied there. From the climatological situation of the country which extends from far north to far south, some of the seasonal crops, such as tomatoes and cucumbers from the southern warmer districts of Kyūshū and Shikoku in spring, and cabbage and Chinese cabbage from cool highland districts and northern Kyūshū in late summer and early autumn, are supplied to the large cities in the Mainland.

Of the spring-autumn crops, onions, green peas, broad beans, etc. are sown in the previous autumn, while the seedlings of tomatoes, cucumbers, eggplants, etc. are raised in the nurseries during the winter

Table 5. A. Vegetables harvested in spring-summer

Kinds	1953			1954			1955		
	Planted Area	Production	Planted Area	Production	Planted Area	Production	Planted Area	Production	Quantity; kg
Cabbage	11,120	179,062,500	12,585	210,877,500			21,699	424,417,500	
Onion	17,950	350,681,250	16,820	335,475,000			28,979	466,905,000	
Egg Plant	28,840	358,050,000	28,430	363,056,250			12,307	192,172,500	
Tomato	12,060	116,261,250	12,220	130,121,250			24,565	401,756,250	
Cucumber	23,150	282,772,500	24,050	293,032,500			28,731	422,006,250	
Pumpkin	28,610	321,048,750	27,640	306,645,000			4,255	56,190,000	
Oriental Pickling Melon	3,520	35,463,750	3,350	35,100,000			24,357	438,348,750	
Water Melon	24,595	281,013,750	23,610	283,383,750			13,359	79,065,000	
Pea	12,615	77,640,000	11,795	74,898,750			10,869	72,930,000	
Broad Beans	11,425	75,776,250	10,760	73,863,750			7,577	44,366,250	
Kedney Beans	7,480	37,777,500	7,190	36,333,750			9,243	67,920,000	
Bamboo Shoot	10,450	71,388,750	9,690	73,481,250					
Total	191,815	2,186,936,250	183,195	2,216,268,750			186,031	2,666,077,500	

Table 5. B. Vegetables harvested in autumn-winter

Kinds	1953			1954			1955		
	Planted Area	Production	Planted Area	Production	Planted Area	Production	Planted Area	Production	Quantity; kg
Radish	91,577	2,123,115,000	92,103	2,151,138,750			93,591	2,337,131,250	
Japanese Turnip	8,787	131,021,250	9,233	133,070,250					
Carrot	17,861	214,432,500	19,349	239,741,250			18,377	238,852,500	
Burdock	18,099	220,563,750	18,595	235,192,500			18,248	249,101,250	
Taro	39,352	494,865,000	39,501	490,248,750			40,661	496,222,500	
Indian Rotus	4,344	59,718,750	4,023	54,268,750			4,145	64,263,750	
Chinese Cabbage (Head)	27,858	506,006,250	30,179	572,355,000			30,397	587,017,500	
Other Leaf Vegetables	18,803	286,788,750	18,962	301,068,750			18,952	302,175,000	
Cabbage	9,808	169,106,250	10,443	180,401,250					
Spinage	12,208	113,512,500	12,298	114,543,750			14,787	155,965,000	
Welsh Onion	21,500	278,640,000	21,967	299,531,250			21,749	306,487,500	
Total	270,195	4,597,770,000	277,636	4,771,566,250			280,907	4,737,116,250	

protected from frost damage, and when frost-free season of late April or early May comes, they are planted on the field, where usually they are continuously harvested until mid-summer.

Since a few years ago, however, a new seedling frame of filmy plastic materials such as vinyl chloride made debut and rapidly came into wider use. It not only replaces glass frame for seedling nurseries but is favored in a new device of plastic tunnels sustained split bamboo arches to house the seedlings, protecting them from frost and keeping them warm. This enables the transplantation of seedlings to the field two to three weeks earlier than in the usual method. Subsequently harvest starts 2 or 3 weeks earlier, resulting in larger total yield.

Next big crops for autumn-winter season are radish and Chinese cabbage which are, in the Mainland, usually seeded in and around late August and are harvested around year end.

Other autumn-winter crops are usually seeded in September or October, and are harvested in late autumn, winter and sometimes next spring. The yields of these crops are annually increasing, surplus being sometimes seen locally and seasonally.

Some of these vegetables were used to be exported to Korea, Manchuria and northern China, which, however, ceased since the War. Today they are exporting onions to

the Philippines and Hongkong, ginger, red pepper and garlic to the United States, and the Philippines. The recent figures of export of vegetables are shown in Table 6.

Fruits

About 15 kinds of fruits are consumed by the urban people through the year. From the Japanese food habit which is still largely vegetarian and not much meat-eating, fruits are not so much for the table as they are eaten at tea break or by the sick people.

The number of fruit trees and the area for each kind of major fruit products are presented in Table 7.

Most of these fruits are produced all over the country, while apples and *mikan* or mandarin oranges have distinct localities, the former in Hokkaidō, northeastern part of Mainland, Nagano Prefecture which is a hilly district in central Mainland, etc., and the latter in the warmer district such as the southern Pacific coastal region west of Shizuoka Prefecture, Shikoku and Kyūshū Islands. The cyclic yield of these fruits through the year runs with loquat, cherry, peach, and plums in early summer, pear and grapes in mid-summer, and mandarin orange, apple, persimmon, chestnut, etc.

Table 7. A. Growing areas for major fruits
(1952-1953)
(Unit: Area; Hectare)

Kind	Year		
	1953	1954	1955
Mandarin Orange	34,503	36,317	39,402
Navel Orange	654	645	664
Chinese Citron	4,507	4,701	6,179
Citrus	1,765	1,805	2,797
Apple	39,461	42,149	47,123
Grape	5,554	6,442	8,241
Japanese Pear	7,934	8,469	10,909
Pear	595	585	770
Peach	6,545	6,932	10,185
Cherry	261	262	741
Quince	1,497	1,527	2,777
Japanese Apricot	1,964	1,825	8,271
Persimmon	7,666	7,934	31,120
Japanese Medlar	4,949	5,008	9,848
Total	117,835	124,601	179,027

Table 6. Vegetables exported in 1956

Kind	Quantity	Sum	
		kg	\$
Taro	12,189		182,500
Radish	92,921		743,300
Onion	13,397,272		44,933,300
Ginger	1,403		244,400
Red pepper	8,746		367,500
Other vegetables	30,363,756		150,177,800
Dehydrated radish	355,579		21,162,000
Bamboo shoot (dried)	20		8
Others (dried)	1,326,731		244,299,400
Melon	7,759		52,500
Water melon	1,112,835		6,788,900

Table 7. B. Productions of Major Fruits
(1953-1955)
(Unit: 1,000 kg)

Year Kind	1953	1954	1955
Mandarin Orange	315,269	558,677	460,699
Navel Orange	4,564	5,648	5,550
Chinese Citron	79,394	89,434	99,653
Citrus	20,063	23,809	22,275
Apple	475,886	448,059	390,019
Grape	49,234	53,325	71,769
Japanese Pear	87,950	96,836	121,159
Pear	5,948	6,244	7,830
Peach	43,990	60,821	78,833
Cherry	3,509	3,203	3,209
Japanese Medlar	18,698	23,498	24,398
Japanese Apricot	47,969	40,991	52,530
Persimmon	26,138	28,376	30,611
Chestnut	149,566	220,623	284,400
Total	1,328,178	1,669,544	1,652,935

Table 8. A. Fruits Exported in 1956

Kind	Quantity	Sum
	kg	\$
Mandarin Orange	11,183,609	200,496,900
Other Citrus Fruits	230,157	2,545,000
Apple	78,388	1,603,600
Grape	7,762,447	112,217,200
Pear	14,733	357,800
Chestnut	5,595,864	79,801,700
Walnut	31,605	1,528,300
Other Nuts	252	12,800
	38,234	931,900

Table 8. B. Canned and Bottled Fruits
Exported in 1956

Kind	Quantity	Sum
	kg	\$
Processed Citrus Fruits	41,615,812	1,505,280,300
" Peaches	1,174,881	40,261,100
" Pears	350,333	12,045,300
" Cherries	30,887	1,396,900

in autumn. Yearly increase in the growing area of these fruit trees is at such a tremendous rate in the post-war years that surplus production is expected before long.

The domestic consumption of fruits in Japan is easily expected to increase in the

future as well as the export of canned fruits to overseas. Pears and mandarin oranges were, together with above mentioned vegetables, used to be exported to Manchuria and northern China, and mandarin oranges to the United States before the War. Today the only export of fruits are mandarin oranges to Canada and apples and pears to the countries of southeastern Asia.

A synopsis of the export of fruits in recent years is given in Table 8. Canned mandarin orange is increasingly produced and increasingly exported.

Flowers

Flower growing in Japan is favoured not only by her climatic situation but also by her positive forced growing and controlled growing, including winter products from green houses and summer products from cool, high-altitude regions, that through the year the florist shops are flooded with flowers grown in the country.

The unit growing area per flower grower is rather small, and there is no statistics available. Investigations offer us, however, the figure for total area as roughly 2,975 ha., of which green house floor area is about 40.7 ha., and the simplified temperature-conditioned growing in vinyl covering, etc. has 129 ha. which is prevalent in Kantô Plain and to the south. From there come lilies, carnations, roses, sweetpeas, stocks in winter and Christmas flowers to decorate the homes and offices in the season.

Seeds and seedlings

Quantitatively, the seeds and seedlings for the vegetable, fruit tree and flower growing in Japan are sufficiently supplied within the country, relying on import only for new species and limited items of seeds such as some varieties of lettuce and celery in vegetables and new species in flowers.

F₁ seed production of vegetables and flowers is active in Japan. Quite a few cases are there of the export of F₁ seeds produced under the contract with some U.S. companies.

Today the vegetable seeds are exported to southeastern Asiatic countries and flower bulbs to the United States and European countries. The export of vegetables and flowers in 1954 is presented in Table 9.

Table 9. A. Vegetable and Flower Seeds Exported in 1956

Country	Quantity	Sum
	kg	\$
Formosa	34,244	3,310,000
Ryūkyū Islands	42,951	3,367,000
Korea	2,938	599,000
Brazil	17,806	3,419,000
U. S. A.	12,315	11,373,000
Hongkong	11,176	1,350,000
Hawaii	3,230	267,000
Union of South Africa	3,737	408,000
Others	70,411	12,846,000
Total	198,808	42,939,000

Table 9. B. Tulip Bulbs Exported in 1956

Country	Quantity	Sum
	kg	\$
U. S. A.	7,892,000	8,161,000
Others	1,440,000	2,106,000
Total	9,132,000	10,267,000

Table 9. C. Lily Bulbs Exported in 1956

Country	Quantity	Sum
	kg	\$
U. S. A.	3,026,000	21,158,000
Others	2,459,000	20,080,000
Total	5,485,000	41,238,000

Industrial crops

Leaf Tobacco

In Japan, cultivation of tobacco is a national monopoly under "Tobacco Monopoly Law". Sowing, growing, harvesting, drying and processing are all conducted under the supervision of Japan Monopoly Corporation, which help and instruct the producers technically. With the increase of consumption, the yield of tobacco is annually increasing, reaching, in 1954, 101,700 kg. from 64,632 ha. of cultivated area, which extends all over the country except Hok-

kaidō with specially larger production from Ibaraki, Fukushima, Kagoshima, Tochigi and Okayama prefectures. The major classification of tobacco cultivated in Japan will be into three, namely, native varieties, Virginia Leaf type and White Barley varieties, of which Virginia Leaf type occupies the largest area, i.e., 64% of the total area, while native varieties have 34% and White Barley varieties only 2%. The long history of cultivation of native varieties produced many local varieties, varying in their quality, yield and growing method. With *Daruma* Leaf, a representative variety, cultivated largely in Kantō region, the seed is sown in nursery beds in early March, set out in the field on mid May, with ridges 0.9–0.97 m apart and distance between plants in a row at about 0.3 m. Topped in mid July, harvested in mid July-early August, it yields average 2,000–2,150 kg. per ha. The large yield is not accompanied by good quality. Bright Yellow is the most widely grown variety of Virginia Leaf type. In Kantō region, it is sown in late February-early March, transplanted to the field in late May, with ridge width at 0.9–1 m, and inter-plant distance at 0.5 m, topped in mid July, harvested in late July- mid August, and fire-dried, yielding 1,600–2,100 kg. per ha. The southwestern warmer region produces better quality leaf than Kantō region, and the deeper southwest, the better is the quality. White Barley variety is limited to such northeastern prefectures, as Aomori, Iwate, and others. Sown in late March-early April, set out in the field in early or mid June, harvested in August, it yields 1,800–1,900 kg. per ha., but the quality is not very good.

Sugar Beet

Sugar beet is cultivated only in Hokkaidō. Its yield in 1954 was 41,265 kg. in refined sugar from 15,431 hectares of growing area. Since it is one of the strongest cold-resistant crops, and its leaves, stem, and beet pulp offer feeds of high nutritive value to livestock, the government puts much stress on its increase production with the view of improving and stabilizing the crop

farm management in Hokkaidō as well as furthering domestic sugar production. In 1953, "Temporary Measures for the Promotion of Sugar Beet Production" was enforced, providing various grants in aid of increase production of sugar beet, fixing the price for raw sugar beet and arranging the governmental purchase of beet sugar produced from it when necessary.

Strains grown in Hokkaidō are Hon-iku 48, 192, 398, 399, etc. which were bred between French Villmorin and German Kleinwanzleben. Recently, however, G, W 304, 359, 443, 476, etc. imported from the United States, which are more resistant to *Cercospora beticola*, Sacc, are gaining popularity. Sugar beet is grown in 6-7 years' rotation with soybean, red bean, rape seed, potato, flax, wheat, oats, etc. The standard fertilization requires 1,125-1,875 kg. of stable manure compost, 15.9 kg. of double superphosphate, 10.5 kg. of ammonium sulphate, and 15.9 kg. of Chile nitrate. Major disease damage is by *Cercospora beticola*, Sacc. and *Barathra brassicae*, L. For the prevention of these, Bordeaux solution (4 to aquatic solution of copper sulphate and quicklime) against the former, and lead arsenate against the latter are sprayed several times. 5 lb. of seed per *tan* is sown in late April—early May in a row in a ridge 0.5-0.55 m wide. Twice thinned after germination to leave 0.21-0.24 m of inter-plant distance. When it matures in late October, it is harvested with animal-driven harvester, tapped and sold to sugar manufacturing companies. Average annual yield per *tan* is about 2,400 kg.

Rape Seed

In 1955 rape seed yield was 269,520 kg. from 207,670 ha. of which 60% was winter crop in rice paddy and the rest 40% was field crop. The former is mainly from Aichi, Mie, and Shiga Prefectures in Tōkai-Kinki region, Fukuoka and Saga Prefectures in northern Kyūshū and Kanto Plain, while the latter is chiefly from southern Kyūshū, Northeastern region and Hokkaido. The yield of 1955 was ca. 88,940 kg. in terms of oil, almost all of which was used for food. Providing 37% of total 241,660

kg. of the annual demand for edible oil, it is a most important oil source in Japanese diet. As it is a very important winter crop for rice paddy and winter field crop, the government is encouraging its increase production and at the same time providing the measures for stabilizing its price, settling the bottom price and providing the measures for the governmental purchase by "Agricultural Products Price Stabilization Law".

The strains of rape seed now grown are *Brassica campestris*, L. and *B. napus*, L. Excepting the cases when early harvesting is specially required such as in winter paddy crop, almost everywhere, varieties deprived of *Brassica napus*, L. is grown. 2 kinds of cultivation method are adopted, transplantation method in which seed is sown in nurseries and later the seedlings are set out in the field, and the direct sowing method in which seed is sown in the field. Excepting the field crop for cold climate, the major part is cultivated by transplantation method. By this, seed is sown in nurseries in mid September, and the seedlings are transplanted to the field in mid November. 0.07-0.11 of seed is sown on the seed bed about one hundredth of the area of the field. The width of the ridge varies according to the difference of paddy or crop field, and the degree of irrigation. Usually it is 0.8-0.9 m for one row planting with interplant distance of 0.2-0.3 m. The standard fertilization is 15 kg. of N., 3.75 kg. of P_2O_5 and 3.75 kg. of K_2O for paddy field, and for crop field, the same with an extra amount of 3.75 kg. of P_2O_5 . Also it is important to add 1.125 kg. of compost. Harvest is done about 30 days after the falling of flowers, i.e., in Kantō region, mid June. Average yield of seed per *tan* is about 180 kg.

Flax, Hemp, etc.

Flax, ramie and hemp are produced in Japan. The first is used for sails, hoses, cloths for clothing, padding, shirts, mosquito-nets, sewing thread, thread for making padded reed mats, *tatami*, etc. Ramie serves similar purposes plus for fishing nets and whale catching. Hemp is used for

ropes for land use, harnessry, etc. besides it is used in large quantity inside the clog thongs.

Flax has long been cultivated exclusively in Hokkaidō. Only recently it was introduced into other parts of the country as pre-rice paddy crop, and is increasingly produced annually. The yield in 1954 was 5,070,000 kg. in terms of fiber from the area of 17,107 ha., of which 98% was produced in Hokkaidō. In Hokkaidō it is sown in late April—early May, and harvested in late July—early August. 7 years or so of rotation with beans, wheat, barley, beet, potato, etc. is practised. Flax is usually grown mixed with red clover. Average yield per *tan* is 400–500 lb. It is sold to flax manufacturing companies in dried stem.

Ramie is mainly produced in southern Kyūshū. The yield in 1954 was 3,574,500 kg. in terms of fiber from 3,164 ha. of cultivated area. Being perennial it is harvested for 6–7 years or more after planting, thereafter 3 times a year, with the average yield of 75–112.5 kg. in terms of fiber for the first year, 150–187.5 kg. for the second year, and 187.5–225 kg. for the third year and on. The farmers hackle it with a flaxcomb and sell it to the manufacturing companies as fiber.

The yield of hemp for the year 1954 was 11,812,500 kg. in terms of unrefined fiber from the area of 3,610 ha. which is mainly scattered in Tochigi, Nagano, Kumamoto, and Iwate prefectures. Since hemp contains narcotic ingredient, it comes under the restriction of "Hemp Regulation Law", and no growing is allowed except with the permission by prefectural governors. However, there has never been a single case of it being furnished for the manufacture of narcotics. Sown usually in late March—early April, it is harvested in late July—early August. Processing of hemp varies widely according to locality and purpose. To be used for cordage, harnessry, and inside the clog thongs and ropes, it is debarked, got rid of its wood part and processed into refined fiber. When used for the manufacture of *tatami* or padded reed mat it is prepared as unrefined fiber which is without wood part but with bark. Average

yield per *tan* is 75 kg. in terms of refined fiber and 150 kg. in terms of unrefined fiber.

Mint and Pyrethrum

Mint and pyrethrum have long been counted among Japanese agricultural products and especially her important items for export. Their yield, however, diminished since the War and their export is still far from recovering. Japanese mint is not Mitcham peppermint or spearmint, but is *Mentha arvensis*, L. and is grown for the production of menthol crystal. Its yield in 1954 was 150,000 kg. in terms of crude oil from the area of 3,333 ha. This extremely decreased production is attributable to typhoon and flood damages for the past 2 years as well as the heavy fall of its price. The 1955 yield, after remarkable increase production, may well be expected to reach 276,000 kg. Its main home is Hokkaidō, and Okayama, Hiroshima and Aichi prefectures. The cultivation method in Hokkaidō differs greatly from that in Mainland. In Hokkaidō, it is harvested once a year, and is cultivated continuously for 6–7 years after planting, while in Mainland, it is harvested 2–3 times a year and is planted on different lands every year. In Okayama and Hiroshima prefectures, for instance it is planted in mid or late December, and is harvested three times a year, in mid June, mid August and mid October. It is propagated by suckers. Cut at ground height, dried, packed in distiller and distilled with water steam, to produce crude oil. The yield of crude oil per *tan* is 4.2–6 kg. in Hokkaidō and 9–12 kg. in Okayama and Hiroshima prefectures.

The yield of pyrethrum, an important material for insect powder and agricultural drugs, was, in 1954, only 2,073,750 kg. from 4,890 ha., which is attributable, similar to the case of mint, to the typhoons and floods of the past 2 years and the price fall. Main homes of pyrethrum are Hokkaidō, Hiroshima, Kagawa, Ehime, Okayama, Wakayama, etc. The cultivation method differs greatly in Hokkaidō from that in other parts. In Hokkaidō, as in the case of mint, it is perennially cultivated for a continuous harvesting for 6–7 years, while in other

parts of the country, after only one cutting, the roots are dug up to be transplanted the next year. In Hiroshima and Gumma prefectures, it is seeded in the nurseries in late September—early October, set out in the field the next spring in late March—early April, and harvested in late May—early June the next year. Immediately after harvest, the roots are dug up to make room for other crops. The yield in terms of dried flower is 112.5 kg. in Hiroshima and Okayama prefectures, and 52.5 kg. at first cutting in Hokkaidō, which, however, decreases in later order of cutting year after year, when the renovation of plants becomes desirable.

Tea

The total area of tea garden in 1954 was 35,107 ha. whose produce was 153,750 kg. of *gyokuro*, 161,250 kg. of *kabuse-cha*, 225,750 kg. of *ten-cha*, 40,012,500 kg. of ordinary *sen-cha*, 10,548,750 kg. of *tamaryoku-cha* (curled leaf tea), 9,468,750 kg. of *ban-cha* (These 6 kinds are green tea.), 72,112,500 kg. of black tea and 45,000 kg. of other teas, amounting to the total of 67,830,000 kg. For 1955, the increase in total yield is es-

timated to be 15%. Chief homes of tea are Shizuoka, Kagoshima, Mie, Saitama, Ibaraki, Kyoto, and Nara prefectures.

Tea bushes are either grown collectively in a tea garden or in a row along the border of crop fields. Tea gardens can be started either by seeding directly to the proposed area or by setting out the young plants. The former is the traditional method and the latter was adopted recently for the breeding of superior varieties. The varieties are bred according to each specific purpose, on which experiments and researches have been voluminous.

The most popular tea bush growing is the formation of continuous ridge-like row about 75 cm in height. Profuse fertilization is the key of successful cultivation. Application of N, P₂O₅ and K₂O in a ratio of 1:0.5:0.5 will be required three or four times a year.

The picking of tea leaf buds is done 3 or 4 times a year. (For *gyokuro* and *ten-cha*, once a year) 95% of the processing of crude tea is mechanized and the rest 5% is by hand rolling. Crude tea is further refined into finished tea of each grade and type for export and domestic consumption.

Sericulture

Outline

Of some 10 chief silk producing countries of the world, Japan tops in the yields of cocoons and raw silk. The background is the climate which suits the growth of mulberry trees and silk worms, combined with the high level of technical skill attained through long history, experience and the aid from the advanced scientific researches of the past century, continuously pushed ahead through Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa eras. It is now easy for anyone in any place in the country to raise silk worms.

The peak of the Japanese sericulture was in 1930–1940 when the average annual production of cocoons reached about 397,500 tons. During the military actions in China Mainland and the World War II, under the

heavy wartime pressure which led the national agricultural policy to lay stress on the food production, the mulberry orchards were obliged to be changed into food producing cropland, and what small area remaining for mulberry trees was left in devastation. Accordingly the cocoon yield suffered a marked decrease until in 1947 it was reduced to 53,478 tons, the record low in 45 years of the history of the Japanese sericultural statistics.

Later with the enforcement of governmental 5-year plan (1951–1955) for the promotion of sericulture and the infiltration of various measures which accompanied it, the cocoon yield is steadily recovering. Table 10 shows the vicissitudes.

The cocoons thus produced by the farmers are reeled into raw silk thread at about 290

Table 10. Postwar Changes in Sericulture
(Bureau of Sericulture, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry)

Year	Farmers raising Silkworms		Mulberry growing area		Cocoon yield	
	Number of farmers	Index	Area (ha.)	Index	Yield (kg)	Index
1946	876,475	100	184,719.5	100	68,283,881.3	100
1947	819,850	93.5	170,974.0	92.6	53,477,988.8	78.3
1948	827,246	94.4	178,684.8	96.7	64,058,111.3	93.8
1949	813,837	92.9	171,720.8	93.0	61,936,275.0	90.7
1950	834,628	95.2	174,742.6	94.6	80,415,108.8	117.8
1951	829,737	94.7	176,837.2	95.7	93,394,023.8	136.8
1952	796,749	90.7	171,947.9	93.1	103,296,442.5	151.3
1953	809,858	92.4	173,554.5	94.0	93,090,240.0	136.3
1954	809,221	92.3	180,588.9	97.8	100,314,648.8	146.9
1955	808,520	92.2	187,291.1	101.4	103,075,447.5	151.0
1956	789,732	90.1	191,220.4	103.5	108,168,776.3	158.4

Note: In 1953 and 1954, nation-wide cold damage upon mulberry trees resulted in unexpected low in the cocoon production.

Table 11. Raw Silk Yield (1950-1954)
(Bureau of Sericulture, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry)

Year	Yield (a bale=132 lb.)	
	(Bales)	(lb.)
1950	176,993	23,363,076
1951	215,268	28,415,376
1952	256,687	33,882,684
1953	250,721	33,095,172
1954	257,915	34,044,780
1955	289,476	38,210,832
1956	312,787	41,287,884

spinning factories. The raw silk yield of these 5 years is shown in Table 11.

According to the investigation by Bureau of Sericulture, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, in 1954, of the total yield of raw silk, 257,915 bales (34,044,780 lb.), 75,986 bales (10,830,52 lb.) was exported, of which 60% was to the United States and 40% was to the European and other countries.

The remaining 181,929 bales (24,014,628 lb.) of raw silk is used for the domestic silk industry in the silk industry districts scattered all over the country. The products of silk cloth and silk goods exported was, in terms of raw silk, 15,287 bales (2,017,884 lb.). This means the silk fabrics for domestic consumption in terms of raw silk was 166,642 bales (21,966,744 lb.).

Status of farmers raising silkworms

The land of Japan, though beautiful in scenery, is poor in level land. The cultivated area, the basis of agricultural productivity is only 16% (4,800,000 ha.). On this small area, the agricultural population is 6,100,000 farm families. The average farm land per farmer is less than 1 ha. The average size of farm family is 6, of which 3 are labor population and the rest are the dependants. Thus the population living upon agricultural land is very large.

Farming upon this exceedingly small unit area with rather low labor productivity, farmers are obliged to look to the intensified, diversified farming, aiming at the maintenance of living rather than profitable agriculture.

Sericulture is introduced into this situation as a means of profitable allotment of family labor and a source of seasonal cash income. About 810,000 farm families or 13% of the total farm families are raising silkworms, and 145,700 ha. or 3.3% of the total farm land is used for mulberry bush growing. From this comes the semiannual harvests in spring and summer silkworm raising seasons, which totaled at about 112,500 kg of cocoons in 1955.

Only 0.6% of the total 810,000 farm families are devoted to silkworm raising only, and the rest 99.4% are raising them in parallel with crop farming or only as subsidiary.

So the gross income of most of the farmers with any size of sericulture is chiefly from farm crops with the additional income from silkworm raising and livestock keeping.

The percentage of the income from silkworm raising as against gross income per farmer in average in Japan is about 4.4%, while that in the prosperous silkworm industry districts of the country is as high as 17%. From the point of view of cash income, that from sericulture is almost 100% cash, while the gross income from other than sericulture includes a large portion of domestic consumption. This is the point that silkworm raising attracts farmers.

According to the 1954 Statistics, average size of a sericultural farmer is 124 kg. of cocoon yield and 22 ares of mulberry garden. In the districts of dense sericultural population such as Gumma and Yamanashi pre-

fectures, however, average cocoon yield per farmer is 200-225 kg, the highest record being 2,715 kg. per farmer.

The government, together with the farmers, is endeavouring earnestly for the recovery of sericulture which suffered a big blow during the War. This includes national measures in aid for the promotion of sericulture, transplanting overaged mulberry garden, enhancement of the efficient mulberry leaves production through the improvement of fertilization and management of mulberry trees. The well-equipped co-operative silkworm larva nurseries together with the mulberry gardens specifically allotted for larval stage are now being established one or several per community or per village or town, thus enabling collective raising during the larval stage of the worm, aiming at the rationalization of raising upon secure supply of feeds and economizing the cost of production. Its effect is recently showing itself markedly.

It might well be added that labor by the old, female or child population of the farm families are chiefly responsible for the raising labor.

Fishery

Outline

In the narrow Japanese islands hilly districts occupy a large portion of area making her arable land very small. On the other hand, the sea that surrounds her is rich in resources with cold currents and warm currents crossing each other, providing abundant fishing places. The average daily protein intake per capita of the urban population in 1954 was 24.3 g., of which 76% was taken from marine products, and so was 87% (or 16.5 g) of 19 g of protein by the rural population. All along the coastal line, fishing grounds are found everywhere, and about a million people (not including inland water fishery) or 252,000 fishing bodies are engaged in marine fishery. From the view point of Japanese national economy, the export of marine

products, whose weight and proportion in the whole national export is getting bigger now that she has some difficulty in the export of her silk products, is playing an important role in her overseas trade balance, much more so since it needs almost no imported material.

Total annual catch is about 4,900,000 tons, including inland water fishery, in 1954, of which chief kinds are sardine 12%, squid 9%, whale 8%, mackerel 6%, saury pike 6%. From the types of fishery, it can be broken down to purse seine fishery 14%, medium trawl operating east of 130° E 9%, whaling 8%, squid angling 8%, fixed net fishery 7%, mackerel-pike (stick-stake-dip) net fishery 6%, large trawl fishery operating west of 130° E 5%, tuna *haenawa* fishery 3.5%, small trawl fishery 3.5% and bonito angling fishery 2.6%.

Engaged in Japanese fisheries are ca. 210,000 small (less than 5 labor population) fishing families (85%), 20,000 middle- and small-size private enterprises (8.7%), 14,000 management communities, 800 unions, and 1,000 companies. There exist only a few large-capital fishery companies with high productivity. Seen from the amount of catch (in value) the largest portion falls on the private enterprises (33%), next on companies (25%), management communities (20%) and 20% on fishing families. Considering the tremendous number of the last, it is easily seen how small the individual family's catch is.

The total number of fishing boats is 431,000 (1,270,000 tons), of which 68% is non-motor boats less than 1 ton in average. The number of motor fishing boats is 139,000 (988,000 tons), of which 80% is small-size boats less than 5 gross tons. However, these non-motor boats are being motorized and the motor boats are being equipped with higher-powered engine and getting larger in type, year after year, throughout the fields of coastal, off-shore and pelagic fisheries. The improvement is especially conspicuous with the pelagic fishing boats. With the small fishing boats, too, incessant improvement such as replacing the inefficient electric ignition engines with small type diesel engines, or the boats with modern appliances such as radios and fish finders

Coastal and off-shore fisheries

Coastal and off-shore fisheries cover the sea surface within 20 miles from the coast and include varied practices such as purse seine, medium trawl east of 130° E, squid angling, mackerel-pike stick-stake-dip netting, large fixed netting and shell fish and sea weed collecting, producing 70% of the whole catch of the nation.

Purse Seine Fisheries

The fishing boats engaged in this are about 8,000 (97,000 tons) with 4,000 nets. This is the most important among the types of Japanese fishing, yielding 740,000 tons, which constitutes 14% of the total catch

of the nation. The main kinds of fishes caught are sardine, horse mackerel, and mackerel, which are overwhelmingly large in quantity. Purse seine type of fisheries catches schools of fish with nets cast and towed by either one or 2 boats. Small nets for coastal fishing and American type purse seine for bonito and tuna fishing on rough, off-shore fishing are operated by one boat. Purse seine fishing boats range from the tiniest ones less than 10 tons to American type boats of 100-200 tons, but the majority are wooden boats of 20-50 tons. Recent introductions of synthetic fibers for nets which eliminated the trouble of dyeing with preservatives and drying of nets, and the supersonic fish finders have accelerated the efficiency of fishing.

Medium Trawl Fisheries Operating East of 130°E

This type of fishing operates east of 130°E and makes almost all the ocean floor around the Japanese islands their fishing ground. With 2,100 nets and 2,300 boats totaling 77,000 tons, the catch amounts to 467,000 tons a year, which is 51% of the whole yield by purse seine fishing and 9% of the total national yield. This may well be entitled the mainstay of the off-shore fisheries.

Chief catches are flounders, Alaska pollock, Atka mackerel, sharks, etc., each from different fishing ground.

One-boat fishery and two-boat fishery are employed, the former is applied to almost all except the Pacific southwest and the Japan Sea western area. This has no net-spreading apparatus such as in other trawls, but rather the purse seine fishing techniques are employed. The size of the boats engaged herein varies with the fishing grounds, ranging from 10-30 tons (45%), 30-50 tons (30%) to 50-100 tons (20%).

Squid Angling Fisheries

This angling fisheries constitute the major part of diminutive size coastal fisheries, exclusive of the off-shore pole-and-line angling of bonito and mackerel. Among the various angling fisheries, squid angling is the most representative with 40,000 boats

engaged in and 383,000 tons of yield, which is 8% of the whole catch of the country.

Common squid constitutes about 90% of the total catch of squids, with the fishing places scattered all over the waters surrounding the islands, though the fishing season varies. The largest catch, actually more than 80% of the whole catch of squids, comes from the northern Pacific coastal waters of Hokkaidō and northern Mainland. They are angled with hand lines with jigs on board either non-motor boats or small size motor boats, 70% of which are less than 10 tons, by the light of fish luring lamps at night.

Mackerel-pike Stick-held Dip Net Fisheries

Almost all mackerel-pike fishing today is by this method. The fishing boats engaged in this are 1,700, the catch amounting to 293,000, which is approximately 10 times the yield of pre-war year, 1940. This is 6% of the total catch of the country. This large increase is due to the replacing of the old drift fishing by the efficient stick-held dip net fishing. This is to spread the net held on poles which are held out from the boat-side with the luring lights lighted above the net to scoop up the fish gathering therein.

Mackerel-pike comes down southward from Hokkaidō along the Pacific coast of Mainland in large schools for sprawling from September to December. With the short fishing season, but with light cost and large profit, mackerel-pike fishing draws any boats from medium trawls, bonito angling boats, purse seine boats, to squid angling boats, in short, most of the motor boats larger than 10 tons in north Japan, which convert themselves temporarily into mackerel-pike stick-held dip netting boats, operating frantically off the Pacific east coast of Hokkaidō and northern Mainland, among which medium trawls of 30-60 tons and tuna *haenawa* fishing boats and bonito angling boats of 100-150 tons constitute the major activity.

Fixed-net Fisheries

1,900 of the fixed nets are operating all along off the coast of the islands, set fixed

awaiting in the passage of the schools of fish to come induced into the nets. Yielding 330,000 tons or 7% of the national total, fixed net fishing is an important item in the off-shore fisheries. Size and structure of the fishing equipments are varied according to the fish to catch. Large fixed net for yellow tail, tuna, mackerel, horse mackerel, sardine, squid herring is the representative type, yielding 75% of the total catch by fixed nets, numbering about 3,500 nets. Because of its large cost and need for large number of people to operate it, fixed nets are mostly owned and operated by companies and management communities. The appearance of antiseptic, hard-to-consume synthetic fiber for the nets is a recent addition.

Pelagic fisheries

Pelagic fisheries is a large scale fishing operating far out on the sea from the coast from few weeks to scores of days. Mostly company managed, they usually freeze or put into cold storage their catch upon the spot. On board the factory boats the catch is immediately processed into canned food.

The damage by World War II was especially ruinous upon the pelagic fisheries, losing the major part of fishing boats and fishing grounds. Yet with the great effort of fishers and the governmental recovery plan based upon the belief on the importance of marine products to the nation, the rebuilding has been remarkable.

Pelagic Trawl Fisheries Operating West of 130°E

Pelagic trawl fisheries are operating on the vast continental shelf of East China Sea and Yellow Sea west of 130°E at present, with 400 nets and 800 boats amounting to 60,000 tons, yielding 267,000 tons, or 25% of the total catch by trawl fisheries. It plays an important role in pelagic fisheries. Chief products are sea breams, flounders, croakers, lizard fish, sharp-toothed eel, etc., most of which are consumed fresh and a part is processed into fish paste. A pair of the trawlers drag the net along the sea bottom scooping the bottom living fish. The

vessels are usually (80% and up) 100-200 tons in tonnage with the crew of about 25 men per boat. A voyage covers 2-3 weeks.

Skipjack and Tuna Fisheries

This operates on the enormous fishing ground out in the Pacific. The vessels engaged in are 1,800 of total 150,000 tons. The yield is 288,600 tons or 6% of the total. Usually the same vessels work for the 2 kinds of fish in alternate seasons, for skipjack lining in summer and tuna *haenawa* catching in winter, but a recent introduction is the large trawlers for sole purpose of tuna *haenawa* fishing and its increase is progressive.

In post-war years, the recovery in this line in pelagic fisheries was most quickly manifested, with the investment of large capital by the north sea fishery companies which lost its operating ground and of other capital switching to this. The second bouncing came with the enforcement of the Peace Treaty which effaced the restriction of the fishing grounds, and with the favourable turn in the export of the canned and frozen tuna to the United States. Larger vessels of 300-500 tons were constructed to go out farther in the Indian Ocean and mid and south Pacific, pursuing tuna, often immediate processing being conducted on board factory ships.

Whaling

Whaling is operated at present in Arctic, Antarctic and coastal fishing grounds. Coastal whaling is designed either for the capture of large whales off the coast of Hokkaidō and northern Pacific coastal sea off Mainland by 200-500 ton whaleboats, or for the capture of small whales in the same fishing grounds plus southern Pacific coastal sea by 10-30 ton whalers. Whaling in the Arctic and Antarctic is operated by factory ships yielding 11,330 heads amounting to 381,000 tons which is 8% of the total. Whale oil from this catch is mostly exported, and the meat is an important item in the people's diet. Antarctic whaling is the most important, yielding 241,000 tons which occupy 65% of the total.

Three large scale fleets of 30 catcher boats, scouting boats, towing boats led by 10,000-20,000 ton factory ships are operating in the Antarctic.

Whales caught in the Antarctic are fin whales, blue whales, humpback whales and sperm whales. The yield is 62,400 tons of whale oil, 400,200 tons of meat and skin and the rest 260 tons.

North Pacific Salmon Fisheries

North Pacific salmon fisheries which topped in the pelagic fisheries of Japan before World War II, suffered a severest blow losing the entire fishing grounds by the war. So, responding quickly to the enforcement of Peace Treaty, the fishing fleets resumed its exploit in the distant waters, and the number of vessels engaged in is increasing yearly. In 1955 14 fleets including 4,000-9,000 ton factory ships and 334 catcher boats and 62 survey boats operated, with the crew of 11,700 men, yielding 64,000,000 heads. The catch was immediately salted, frozen or canned on board. Most of the canned meat was exported.

Fish and shellfish culture

Fish Culture in Fresh Water Pools

Of the annual aquatic produce of 91,500 tons (including 34,700 tons of fish) from the inland waters, 9,000 tons are from fish culture ponds, reservoirs, and rice paddy. Japanese fish culture has both long history and superb technique, but now is hindered its development by the post-war depression of silkworm industry resulting in the diminished supply of pupa which provided main material for culture fish food, as well as the increased usage of chemical fertilizers and agricultural drugs which caused the contamination of inland waters. The chief produce are common carp, wild gold fish, eel, trout, *ayu*, mullet, gold fish, snapping turtle, bull frog, etc. Gold fish, as pets or for ornamental use, and rainbow trout and bull frog as frozen food are exported. Most widely cultured in Japan is carp, which is cultured in reservoirs, artificial ponds, flowing or still, or rice paddy, fed with silk-

worm pupa, mysis, wheat bran, rice bran, etc.

Elvers of eel about 30 g in size when they come upstream in spring are collected to be cultured in the ponds, fed on ground bait. They are periodically caught and sent to market, starting next autumn. For feeds, beside pupa, the low-grade sardine, herring, lockingtons, etc. are used.

Rainbow trout and brook trout are cultured in the similar way as in the United States and Europe. Their feeds are silk-worm pupa, mysis, rice bran and wheat bran.

Oyster Culture

Hanging culture, stick culture, and sowing culture are the three methods employed in various localities, among which hanging culture is the most important, the introduction of which almost tripled the yield of oyster 102,000 tons in shell is the current annual yield.

Chief producers of oyster are Miyagi, Iwate and other northeastern coastal prefectures, Okayama Prefecture and vicinity, and Ariake Sea district around Saga and Fukuoka prefectures, whose combined yield is 90% of the national total.

Seed oyster production is in the very limited districts. Overseas export and out-of-prefecture trade are active in Miyagi Prefecture, followed up by Kumamoto Prefecture, and the rest is very small. Hanging, stick, and sowing methods are employed, of which sowing method is used for the seed oysters for export and shipping outside the prefecture.

Seaweed Culture

Seaweed culture is the most important among the culture industries in shallow water in that they involve a great number of people engaged in and yield a large total amount, the managing bodies numbering 48,600 and the yield 43,000 tons a year. Horizontal type with coconut-palm nets and bamboo racks, and vertical type with bamboo and twigs are employed.

Since seaweed culture is a winter season operation, it is usually combined with other

fisheries, culture industries, or farming, among which farming is predominant.

Most of the seaweed cultured is dried into laver, which is relished by the Japanese.

Pearl Culture

Since late Mikimoto, Pearl King, started semi-spherical pearl culture 70 years ago, the Japanese pearl culture pursued the road of progress on the accumulation of endeavours and studies by numerous technicians. The experimental and research results indicate that the shells fitted for the pearl culture are *Pinctada mortensii* (Dunker), *Pinctada maxima* (Jamson), *Pinctada margaritifera* (dinne), *Pteria penguin* (Röding), *Hyriopsis schlegelii* (v. Martens), etc. Among these the most important is *Pinctada mortensii*, by which almost all of the Japanese cultured pearl is produced. Mie and Nagasaki prefectures are the centers of pearl culture.

Because of its importance as export item, the government in 1952 set the Pearl Culture Industry Law, providing various measures encouraging the pearl culture, resulting in the remarkable extension of fit areas for pearl culture and the increase in the number of people engaged in which, in 1954, 1450 far exceeds 300 in 1935-1936, the pre-war peak, its yielding 17,000 kg. Immediately after the war the industry suffered a big setback from the decrease production of natural mother shells and materials for the culture, which are now overcome by growers' own success in culturing mother shells enabling them to proceed with their own production plan. To overcome the shortage of material and the investments, researches provided them with the method of culture of pearls large in size and superior in quality, at low cost. Some of them are, the use of chemicals to stimulate the formation of pearl membrane, and the replacement of old wire-net baskets for pearl shells with the new synthetic fibers, eliminating the wire-net baskets' disadvantages. To promote the progress in culturing techniques, recently the National Pearl Research Laboratory was established in Kashikojima in Mie Prefecture. In

Tokyo and Kobe there are the National Pearl Inspection Stations, supervising the pearls for export, evaluating them in the light of the standard set for color, luster, thickness of layers, magnitude, spheric perfection, blemish and stain.

In 1954 the export of cultured pearl was 12,154 kg (7.4 million dollars) to all over the world, about half of which was exported to the United States.

Processing and utilization of marine products

Of 1,229,000 tons of all the processed marine products of Japan, 1,096,000 tons are foods, 104,000 tons are fertilizers, 29,000 tons are fish oil. Among the foods are dried products (80,500 tons, 7.4% of the total), salted and dried products (75,500 tons, 6.8% of the total), boiled and dried products (107,000 tons, 9.8%), salted products (104,000 tons, 9.4%), smoked and dried products (271,000 tons, 25%), frozen products (233,000 tons, 21%), and cured fish, fish meal, fish paste, etc. Most of the processed products other than frozen or canned ones are produced by the small scale manufacturers and as subsidiary of petty fishers. Most of these are for the domestic consumption, while dried squids which provides nearly 65% of the total dried products are exported to China and Southeastern Asia, as well as consumed at home, constituting an important item in the marine products exported.

Ice Manufacture, Refrigeration and Cold Storage

In view of the promotion of coordinated self-supply of food resources and heightening of the utilization of marine products, as well as aiding the development of oil manufacturing cooperatives, in the post-war years, the Government has been acting to help financially the equipment of refrigeration and cold storage. Under the favourable effect of these and the recovery and development of fisheries and marine products export, this line of industry has achieved a remarkable progress. Daily capacity of ice manufacturing is 23,000 tons, that

of cold storage is 2 million cubic meters, and that of refrigerating is 7,000 tons, as of January 1, 1955. Ice yield for 1954 was 4,100,000 tons, of which 55% was used for the production of ice.

The yield of frozen fish meat and shell meat for the year of 1954 was 233,000 tons, of which mackerel-pike was 26%, tuna 14%, squid 13%, sardine 10% and locking-ton 9%. Frozen tuna is exported to the United States in large quantity.

Canning Industry

Canning industry in Japan from its start, envisaged the foreign trade, and so does still today. Canned foods are yet beyond the average people's living standard which is still low when seen internationally, and cannot be expected to find enough domestic markets. Among the canned foods, canned marine foods occupy a large ratio, i.e., 70% in yield, and 90% in export. Prior to the War, canned salmons (red salmon, salmon, cherry salmon, and king salmon) and canned crab from north sea fisheries, held a vast market in Europe. With the loss of north sea fishing ground after the War, and the restriction of import by European market, the enterprise suffered hard times in management. Recently, however, with the reopening of north sea salmon and crab fisheries and the slacking of restrictions in European markets, more favourable vista is gradually opening to them.

Salt; Demand and Supply

In the processing of marine products, salt is an important requisite. But salt manufacture in Japan is under the natural disadvantages, yielding only a poor quantity. 80% of the domestic demand (2,700 tons) is supplied by imported salt. To overcome this situation, efforts are made for the improvement of salt-manufacturing techniques to increase domestic salt production, while the Salt Monopoly Law has been set to protect the frail domestic salt producers and to coordinate demand and supply of salt.

50% of the domestic demand is for the sodium industries. Soda ash and caustic

soda are exported to China, Hongkong, the Philippines, Formosa, India, Ceylon, Brazil, etc. besides they are consumed at home.

Next in demand are for home use (18%) and for manufacturing (17%) including *miso*, soy sauce, and aquatic products processing.

The aquatic products processing (23%) comes second only to soy sauce processing (39%).

Among the aquatic products processing, the largest portion (50%) goes to salted products, followed by transport of fresh fish, boiled products in soy, salted and dried products and boiled and dried products.

Livestock Industry

Outline

Of all basic staple crops, rice produces the highest yield in terms of calories per unit of land. Because of the density of population and the small size of individual farm holdings, Japanese agriculture, like that of most Asiatic countries, depends heavily on rice. Rough and hilly land, which in Europe would be used for grazing, is terraced and irrigated for paddy in Japan, or used to grow other crops for direct human consumption. Until recently, only well-to-do farmers kept livestock, and most of these kept draft cattle and horses only. For these reasons, and because of

Buddhist injunctions against the consumption of animal meat, the Japanese diet has consisted almost entirely of grains and vegetables, supplemented by fish.

Japan's livestock industry is, therefore, still in its infancy in comparison with that of the United States and most of Europe. As shown in Table 1, less than 4 per cent of all farmers had dairy cattle in February 1954. The average number of head per dairy farmer was only 1.57. A very much larger number of farmers, 36.3 per cent, maintained an average of slightly more than 1 head of draft-beef cattle. The holdings of other types of livestock are similarly very small.

Table 1. Livestock on farms, total number, and number per livestock farmer, February 1, 1954

Kind	Number	Number of owners of livestock	Average number of head per owner	Number of owners as percent of all farmers
Dairy cattle	356,000	225,000	1.57	3.7%
Draft-beef cattle	2,540,000	2,218,000	1.15	36.3
Horses	1,022,000	855,000	1.20	14.0
Sheep	733,000	486,000	1.51	8.0
Goats	532,000	471,000	1.13	7.7
Swine	833,000	590,000	1.14	9.7
Poultry	41,805,000	4,262,000	9.8	69.8

The total number of farmers as of February 1, 1954 was 6,105,000.

Efforts are now being made to encourage animal husbandry, in order to improve the incomes of farmers and to diversify the typical Japanese diet. In 1952 a special law to encourage diversified farm establishments was passed.

Consumption of milk, meat and eggs has increased rapidly in recent years. The number of dairy cattle maintained has

climbed from 260,000 in 1944 to 356,000 in 1954. Similar increases have occurred in numbers of goats and poultry kept.

The number of horses maintained has declined sharply, however. Several factors have contributed to this trend. The most important is the drop in military demand for horses following the end of the war, which caused a sharp drop in the price of-

ferred for horses. In addition, the greater adaptability of draft cattle for use on Japan's small farm holdings has led to shift to draft cattle for farm purposes. The recent introduction of small farm machinery such as hand tractors has intensified this shift.

The small size of the average farm holding explains the extremely small number of livestock per farm indicated in Table 1. Most farmers have access to very limited amounts of livestock feed, and must gear their livestock management to the resources available. The loss of Manchuria as a source of animal feed, combined with increased emphasis on livestock production in Japan, has led to an increase in yearly imports of feed concentrates from 100,000 tons in 1939 to 400,000 to 500,000 tons in recent years. Some 1,300,000 hectares of grassland, now underutilized or not used at all for grazing or forage could provide the basis for an expanded livestock industry, however. Improved management and use of this land is an important Government objective.

The government's program for improving livestock management also includes maintenance of 15 national breeding farms located throughout the country. In addition, a National Institute of Agricultural Sciences, together with eight Regional Agricultural Experiment Stations, engage in research in cooperation with other agricultural institutions, and conduct short courses and other educational programs.

A program of major importance is increased artificial insemination of farm animals. In February 1955 there were 2,300 artificial insemination centers, both governmental and private, and 8,300 donor animals. During 1954, some 240,000 dairy cows received artificial insemination. The program has also been extended to draft and beef cattle, horses, swine, sheep and goats.

Dairy cattle

The dairy cattle population decreased sharply during the war, but has made a remarkable recovery since the end of hos-

tilities. Between 1941 and 1955, the number of head maintained has increased from 150,000 to 400,000. Milk production increased from 389,000 tons in 1941 to 10,000,000 tons in 1955. The high price of milk and milk products somewhat limits the expansion of milk consumption, however. Costs are high because of the heavy dependence on purchased feeds. In addition, the sparsity of cattle population makes milk collection expensive, and many of the present milk processing plants are too small for efficient operation.

Efforts to reduce barriers to increased production and consumption of milk are being made under the provisions of the "Dairy Farming Promotion Law", promulgated in 1954. Under this law, districts especially suited to dairy production are designated, and efforts are being made to increase the density of cattle population in these areas, and to improve grassland and the production of forage crops. These measures are designed to increase the amount of milk produced per milk processing plant, so as to permit greater efficiency in the dairy industry, and the sale of milk at lower prices to consumers.

At the present time, the majority of Japanese dairy cattle are Holsteins, but some Jerseys have been introduced into the intensive dairy areas from the United States, Australia and New Zealand.

Draft-beef cattle

Unlike many other countries, Japan produces almost no cattle for beef only. Almost all animals slaughtered for beef have been used previously for draft purposes. The quality of the beef is excellent, because of the care and skill exercised in fattening the animals after they have ceased being used for draft purposes.

The original Japanese draft-beef animal is believed to be descended from the Zebu of India. Around 1900, these animals were crossbred with imported Simmenthals, Brown Swiss, Shorthorns and Devons, and the breed has been constantly improved.

They are now docile in nature, small in size and well adapted to use on the characteristically small Japanese farm plots. In addition, they produce superb beef. Beef produced in Western Japan around Kobe is especially relished for *sukiyaki*.

As noted above, beef-draft cattle have tended to replace horses of Japanese farms, and the number produced has increased as the number of horses maintained has decreased. A tendency is now appearing, however, for cattle of this type to be replaced by dairy cattle, and a continued rapid increase in draft-beef cattle is unlikely.

Horses

Exclusive of military horses, there were about 1,400,000 horses in Japan in 1933. A continuing decline in both number and quality has accompanied improvements in alternative transportation methods. At present horses remain important only in Hokkaidō and northern Honshū, where the farm units are large enough to make possible efficient use of horses as draft animals.

Sheep and goats

Most Japanese sheep are descended from Corriedales imported from Australia and New Zealand before the war. The predominant strain among goats is Saanen. The average Japanese livestock owner maintains only one or two sheep or goats. The number did not decrease markedly during the war, because these animals could be maintained without feed concentrates. Since the war the population of both sheep and goats has been increasing.

Swine

Most Japanese swine are Middle Yorkshires. In some areas Berkshires predominate. The number of swine kept decreased sharply during the war because of the difficulty of obtaining feed concentrates. Although the swine population has recover-

ed to about the pre-war level, no great increase above present levels is expected, because of the shortage of locally-produced feed.

Poultry

About 70 per cent of all Japanese farmers keep poultry. Flocks are small, however, the average number being only about 10 birds. Only 17 per cent of farmers keeping chickens have more than 50 birds. The commonest breed is White Leghorns, followed by Barred Plymouth Rocks, Rhode Island Reds, and Nagoyas. National and Prefectural poultry breeding farms produce improved breeds of chickens, and conduct continuing egg-laying tests for the improvement of the poultry industry.

Dr. K. Masui and his associates in 1925 discovered a method of determining the sex of baby chicks. Each year Japan sends 40-50 technicians trained in this skill to the United States and other countries.

The production of milk, milk products, meat, eggs and hides for the year 1954 is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Production of Animal Products in Japan, 1954

Product	Production (in ton)
Total fluid milk produced	921,100
Sold as fluid milk	412,900
Other products	
Condensed and evaporated milk	48,700
Powdered milk other than skim	14,700
Dry skim milk	4,200
Butter	6,800
Cheese	800
Meat (carcass weight)	
Beef	88,000
Horse meat	24,000
Pork	73,700
Eggs	6,129,790 (number)
Hides (Raw, salted)	
Cowhide	8,700
Horsehide	1,900
Pigskins	8,300

Veterinary medicine

History

Immediately after the Meiji Restoration, European veterinary science was introduced into Japan. A governmental decree was issued in 1871 concerning the prevention of Rinderpest which was then plaguing the whole world. In 1877 when Komaba Agricultural School was founded the first veterinary course was opened therein. Vicissitudes were seen in the governmental organizations and laws, but the veterinary science in Japan continued a steady and striding progress until it reached the present level which is no lower than those of the advanced countries.

Present Status

Organs for veterinary administration may be divided broadly into 2 fields, animal hygiene and public health. In charge of the former are Animal Hygiene Section and Pharmaceutical Affairs Section in Bureau of Animal Industry, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. The functions of the Animal Hygiene Section are: 1) prevention and control of animal diseases, 2) hygiene and sanitation of domestic animals, 3) treatment of reproductive disturbances, 4) artificial insemination, etc., advancing the techniques and promoting the studies in these fields, and at the same time issuing licences of veterinarians and horseshoers, all contributing to the aim of developing animal industry in Japan. Under its jurisdiction come Animal Quarantine Section which is working for the prevention of the entry of animal diseases from overseas, and Pharmaceutical Affairs Section which is working for the control and regulation of animal drugs and veterinary tools and appliances. In Japan only those who passed the national assay given by this Section can handle the biological products for animal use. In prefectural, metropolitan or Hokkaidō governments, these functions are placed in charge of the respective Section of Animal Industry, under which about 500 Livestock Hygiene Service Centers are working throughout the country. In the

field of public health, Milk and Meat Hygiene Section in the Bureau of Public Health, Ministry of Welfare, controls the hygiene of the slaughterhouses, milk plant, etc., and the hygiene of food of animal products. It is also in charge of the prevention of hydrophobia.

There are 14 agricultural colleges which have veterinary schools of 4 year course, whose graduates are eligible for the national assay for veterinarians. The licence for the veterinarians are conferred by the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry to those who passed this examination. At present the country has 18,000 veterinarians.

The research organs for veterinary science, other than above mentioned National Institute for Animal Health and those veterinary courses in agricultural colleges are: 1) National Institute of Agricultural Sciences and 2) Departments concerned in Agricultural Experiment Stations where they include studies in the line of animal reproduction; 3) National Institute of Health; 4) Institute of Public Health, of Ministry of Welfare; 5) Institute of Infectious Diseases, Tokyo University, where zoonoses are studied; 6) Nippon Institute for Biological Sciences; and 7) Kitazato Institute for Infectious Diseases, where researches and some production of biological products are being conducted. Their researches cover a broad field of bacteriology, virology, parasitology, pathology, biochemistry, gynecology, obstetrics, surgery, etc., each holding high level. One of the examples may be Lapinized virus by Dr. J. Nakamura. The scientific societies publishing those results are: 1) Japanese Society of Veterinary Science, with its Japanese Journal of Veterinary Science and 2) Japan Veterinary Medical Association, an association of veterinarians, issuing monthly journal.

List of Official Diseases of Domestic Animals
and the Number of Occurrences in 1954

Influenza			0
Infectious encephalitis	B.E.O.	S	6
C.S.		E	182
Rabies	B.E.O.C.S.H.	H	98
Anthrax	B.E.O.C.S.	B	110

Blackleg B.O.C.S.	B	20
Brucellosis B.O.C.S.	B	28
Tuberculosis B.C.	B	945
Piraplasmosis B.E.		0
Trichomoniasis B.	B	186
Equine infectious anemia E.	E	6010
Equine paratyphus E.	E	425
Hog cholera S.	S	514
Fowl cholera A.D.		0
Newcastle disease A.D.	A	496,067
Pullorum A.D.	A	176,187
Foulbrood M.		—

In this country there has been no occurrence of rinderpest (B.O.C.S.), contagious

pleur pneumonia (B), foot-and-mouth disease (B.O.C.S.), hemorrhagic septicemia (B.O.C.S.), trypanosomiasis (B.E.), anaplasmosis (B.), glanders (E.), pseudofarcy (E.), sheep pox (O), scabies (O), and fowl pest (A.D.).

Note: B=bovine E=equine O=sheep
C=goat S=swine H=dog
A=avian D=duck

1. Hydrophobia of dogs is regulated by hydrophobia prevention act.
2. Foulbrood was newly added to the official diseases in 1955.

Forestry Industry

Outline

Forestry is a vital element of the Japanese economy, as can be readily seen from the fact that forests cover a total area of 61,608,150 acres or about 68 per cent of the nation's entire land area totaling 91,005,250 acres.

The importance of forestry must be even clearer when it is considered that the nation's cultivated areas cover 13,342,900 acres or only 15 per cent of the total land area.

Hokkaidō is the most wooded region with its forests accounting for about 29 per cent of the nation's total, followed by Tōhoku, Chūbu, Kyūshū, Chūgoku, Kinki, Kantō and Shikoku districts in that order.

The Japanese islands stretch from north to south, spanning a great number of latitudes. This means a wide variety of trees, ranging from the species typical to the frigid zone in the north to those peculiar to the torrid zone in the south.

When the nation's forests are classified by ownership, 50 per cent is in the possession of private individuals, while 31 per cent is owned by the state.

In the timber resources, however, state-owned forests account for as much as 52 per cent of the nation's total. The proportion of state-owned forests in Japan is high as compared with other countries.

That is, from the standpoint of ownership, Japanese forests can be divided into those in Government's possession and others, which can further be subdivided into the properties of public bodies; shrines and temples; and private individuals.

Administration of forestry

In the case of state-owned forests, the rate of deforestation is required not to exceed that of the growth of trees, and the felling of trees must be accompanied by afforestation to insure the preservation of forestry resources.

In 1947, a special account was established to govern the state-owned forests on a systematic basis. At the same time, the Government promulgated a set of regulations for the declared purpose of conserving and increasing state-owned forestry resources to forestall natural disasters and to promote the public welfare.

As for privately-owned forests, the Forestry Law of 1897 was revised in August 1951 in a move to check the then widespread trend of random deforestation, to maintain a high level of timber productivity and to help prevent landslides and other natural calamities.

A main feature of the amendment was the establishment of the forestry planning system, under which the central or local governments map out an over-all plan on

forests and are also empowered to direct forestry owners to comply with the plan.

This system is based on the following four principles.

1. Complete deforestation of forests of young trees is prohibited.
2. Periodic thinning should be carried out to aid in the growth of young trees.
3. Complete deforestation must be followed by afforestation within 2 years.
4. Complete deforestation is also banned on steep slopes.

In the case of state forests, the country is divided into 545 districts for the sake of efficient administration. The administrative plan for each district is drawn up in accordance with the over-all basic program, approved by the Central Forestry Council, and is carried out by 14 Forestry Bureaus and 338 Forestry Stations scattered throughout the country.

As regards private forests, 2,073 instructors are stationed in various parts of the country to give guidance about forestry administration.

There is also a system of protective forests designed to forestall natural disasters in order to protect the general public as well as to secure water resources. These forests are administered with government subsidies under the supervision of the Agriculture-Forestry Minister.

The National Forest Experiment Station in Tokyo is conducting research on all phases of forestry industry. There are also experiment stations established by local public entities.

A total of 23 universities and 76 upper secondary schools have a separate course in forestry.

Meanwhile, owners of forests have banded together to form forestry associations to promote their common interests in accordance with the Forestry Law.

Supply and demand of forestry products

Lumber

In the prewar period of 1901 through 1905, the nation's lumber consumption

averaged only 30,000,000 *koku* (1 *koku* equals 10 cubic feet) annually.

However, the figure continued to rise sharply in step with the nation's phenomenal economic growth. The lumber consumption thus increased to 70,000,000 *koku* in 1934 and to more than 80,000,000 *koku* in 1938.

At the same time, Japan had to step up its import of lumber, because the internal forestry resources naturally could not keep pace with such a steep rise in consumption. The import thus hit an all-time high of 11,600,000 *koku* in 1928.

After that, however, the import declined to a mere 2,600,000 *koku* in 1938. On the contrary, the lumber export, which registered only 2,000,000 *koku* in 1936, suddenly rose to 12,340,000 *koku* in 1939.

This inevitably led to excessive, random deforestation.

Lumber consumption increased to 94,000,000 *koku* in 1941 and finally exceeded 100,000,000 *koku* in 1944.

In 1945, when the World War II ended, the figure dropped to 65,000,000 *koku*. After that, however, the rapid development of peacetime industries served to push up lumber consumption again, and the figure now stands at 120,000,000 *koku*.

In 1955, 7,375,000 *koku* of lumber in total were imported, which was broken down into 6,655,000 *koku* of *lauan*, 603,000 *koku* of American lumber, 59,000 *koku* of Soviet lumber, and 58,000 *koku* of others.

Despite such a large amount of import, supply fell about 40,000,000 *koku* short of demand, and this deficiency was made up through excessive lumbering.

Firewood and Charcoal

Charcoal consumption, which stood at 1,724,000 tons in 1930, started to rise sharply about 1937, and reached an all-time high of 2,948,000 tons in 1940.

But production dropped to 1,159,000 tons in 1945. The Government clamped a strict control on the distribution of charcoal in an attempt to relieve an acute shortage of this important fuel.

As a result, production recovered to 1,882,000 tons in 1948, thus enabling the Government to lift the state control.

At present, supply and demand are balanced at a level of 2,100,000 tons.

As for firewood, production averaged 10,433,000 m³ up to 1936, but hit an all-time high of 17,388,000 m³ in 1940.

Output declined to 10,433,000 m³ in 1945, but has since recovered to about 12,000,000 m³.

Recent state of lumber industry

In view of the dire shortage of lumber, the Government worked out a comprehensive program to stabilize supply and demand in August 1951. Since then, a series of active measures have been taken to encourage the use of substitute material and to step up imports of foreign lumber.

New foreign techniques have been introduced to foster new industries capable of putting available lumber to fuller use.

Pulp and Paper Industries

World War II dealt a severe blow to the pulp and paper industries, as they were deprived of most of their plants in air raids and through Japan's loss of overseas territory.

Pulp output dipped to 200,000 tons in 1945 or only 27 per cent of the 1934 level.

After that, however, production continued to rise by leaps and bounds, and reached 1,600,000 tons in 1954 or far in excess of the prewar high.

Meanwhile, paper production also sagged to 462,000,000 pounds in 1945, or only 19 per cent of the 1934 level.

But the paper industry staged a spectacular comeback, and its output increased to 2,690,000,000 pounds in 1954.

Pulp wood consumption amounted to 23,310,000 *koku* in 1954.

In the past, pulp wood was mostly made from needle-leaved trees. In recent years, however, broad-leaved trees have been increasingly used as a result of the develop-

ment of new techniques. In 1954, the pulp wood made from broad-leaved trees amounted to 1,850,000 *koku*.

Lumbering

Immediately after the last war, there was a sudden outburst of demand for lumber. This naturally increased the number of lumber mills, which reached 38,607 in 1949 (total horse power: 741,000).

However, the figure dropped to 33,240 (686,000 horse power) in 1954, because of a shortage of wood. Production totaled about 70,000,000 *koku* in the same year.

There has also been a marked increase in the export of wooden boards, particularly those made from Hokkaidō trees and imported lauan.

Flooring

The number of flooring plants, which stood at 223 in 1948, dropped to 122 in 1950, but again increased to 172 as of August 1955.

Production amounted to 1,800,000 *tsubo* (1 *tsubo*: 3.95 square yards) in 1954, and tends to go up.

Plywood

Plywood production has followed a steep upward curve since 1953 because of increased demand from abroad.

In 1955, a total of 223 plants turned out 1,000,000 million square *shaku* (1 *shaku*: 1.25 feet) of plywood, of which 6,500 million square *shaku* is estimated to have been exported.

About 85 per cent of exports are destined for the United States and Britain.

Of the total production, about 80 per cent is made from imported lauan. But the proportion of domestic wood is expected to rise hereafter.

Splinter Boards

The production of boards, made from splinters, has only a short history in Japan, and only four companies are engaged in this industry.

At present, their output amounts to only 15,000 *tsubo* monthly.

The 4 companies, however, are striving to increase their production capacity to meet rising demand for this type of boards, used for the interior of furnishings and buildings.

Fiberboard

The fiberboard industry is also a new one, and its full-scale production got under way in 1954.

Of 26 plants in total engaged in this production, only six can make hard fiberboard, the rest turning out soft fiberboard.

Monthly output is about 150,000 *tsubo*, and the proportion of hard fiberboard tends to increase under the impetus of a steady rise in demand.

Composite Wood

The manufacture of composite wood in Japan has not yet reached the stage of industrialization, and only two firms are making houses with this wood on a trial basis in an effort to popularize the new product.

However, shipbuilding and vehicle plants are making this wood for use in their products.

Saccharification of Wood

Japan falls behind Western powers in the industrialization of this technique.

However, systematic basic research since the end of last war has already laid the groundwork for industrialization. But many difficulties still lie ahead, since the project requires a great deal of fund.

Special forestry products

The output of special forestry products, such as mushrooms and vegetable wax, suffered much from unfavorable weather conditions for two consecutive years in 1953 and 1954.

However, the Government intends to improve the financial condition of farmers by encouraging the production of these items in view of the mounting demand for them both at home and abroad.

Brewage and Fermented Foods

That brewed beverage, *sake*, fermented soybean paste, *miso* and fermented soy sauce, *shōyu* are the unique Japanese products in the field of brewage and fermented foods. They occupy an important position among the foods and drinks of the Japanese, loved by the people for long generations. Their process of manufacture, which has been handed down through their long history, is still strictly observed, and their quality remains the same as it was, and is accepted by the people, enjoying a great popularity.

The uniqueness of this brewed drink, *sake* and fermented foods, *miso* and *shōyu*, accredited to the Japanese, rests in that they make use of the yeast of mold for their fermentation and ripening. This utilization of yeast of mold is a common practice in the Orient. But when it reached Japan in ancient time, a remarkably improved pro-

cess was established, perhaps due to the high-temperature, high-humidity climate fit for the growth of mold and the people's delicate dexterity in handling the mold.

Sake (rice wine)

This is brewed from rice, golden in color, transparent, and has sweet flavor and characteristic aroma. The alcohol percentage is approximately 15%. *Sake* is loved by the Japanese, and is usually a must at popular ceremonial occasions, such as marriage, funeral, ancestry worship, etc., the earthen wares at the altar being filled with newly brewed *sake*.

The brewing of *sake* needs governmental permission and is conducted under its supervision, since *sake* tax comprises an important item in national taxes. Its yield in 1953 was about 3,100,000 hectoliters.

Brewing of sake: Polished white rice is steamed, inoculated with *kōji*-mold, which is cultured until the whole becomes a ball of mold. This is called *kōji*, a base of all Japanese fermented foods and beverages. The mycological aspect of the mold is *Aspergillus Oryzae*. In the *kōji* where it propagates, strong Taka-diastase is produced. Water is then added, and together with additional fresh-steamed rice, it is made into mash. In which starch is converted into fermented sugar. *Sake*-yeast works to change this sugar into alcohol, and raw *sake* is produced. In the brewing of Japanese *sake*, the unique process is the combination of sacchrification with Taka-diastase in *kōji*-mold and fermentation with *sake*-yeast. Another unique process is *soe-jikomi* or by-treatment which is practised to heighten the alcohol level, sometimes up above 20% by adding *kōji* and fresh-steamed rice several times during the course of fermentation. The mash where fermentation is completed is put into cotton bags, about 5 liters per bag, which are placed one upon another, applied a hydrolic press lightly to ooze out what is raw *sake*. This is blended, bottled or run into cedar casks and is marketed. Since aged *sake* is not esteemed, the product is usually consumed within 2 years.

As described above, Japanese *sake* is purely brewed from rice alone. Since rice is the Japanese main diet, and in the food situation of recent years, no sufficient quota is available for *sake* brewing, it is encouraged to substitute it with the alcohol from sweet potato or molasses in the brewing of *sake* to economize rice, or to produce synthetic imitation. It seems the people have learned to like these low-price brewages.

Miso

Miso, fermented soybean paste, is used in most of the Japanese homes every morning prepared as soup. It is a paste manufactured by fermenting soybean with *koji*-mold. There are 2 kinds of *miso*, sweet and salty, the salt content ranging from 7% to 15%. The paste is dissolved in water, usually cooked with some vegetables and is

served as *miso* soup. This is a universal food among the Japanese, more being consumed by rural population than urban. From the nutritional point of view, it is an important protein source and salt source in the Japanese diet. Average daily consumption per capita is approximately 30 g. Though *miso* manufacture is a big national industry, its actual production is conducted in the traditional, old-fashioned factories, scattered all over the country, most of them is home size industry. *Miso*, together with *shōyu* which is described in the following paragraphs, can be bought at market anywhere in Japan.

Shōyu

Shōyu, known to the Europeans and Americans as soy sauce, is a dark reddish brown liquid seasoning, salty with flavour. It is indispensable in the kitchen as well as on the table. Analytically, it has in its composition about 18% of salt, and 1-1.3% of nitrogen, the source of the flavour. The larger the latter content, the higher is its grade. The Japanese need not place salt on the table, since enough intake is assured from *miso* and *shōyu*, their constant companion at meals.

Processing of Shōyu

Steamed soybean is mixed with parched wheat, which is inoculated with a specifically fit *kōji*-mold, cultured until the whole turns a *shōyu*-mold cake, to which saline water is added. Put into wooden casks, this is then kept still for fermentation. The components of soybean and wheat decompose into a soluble mash. This, as in the case of *sake*, is put into small cotton bags, piled up, pressed to filter out the liquid, which is raw *shōyu*. This is then pasteurized, bottled or run into wooden casks and marketed. Average monthly consumption of *shōyu* per capita is about 1 liter in Japan. Compared with the manufacture of *miso*, *shōyu* manufacturing is larger in scale. There is even a factory producing more than 10% of the country's total yield. In 1954, total amount of about 1,725,000 kg pf *shōyu* was exported to various parts of the world.

XIV MINING INDUSTRY

General Review

Outline of mining industry from geographical viewpoint

Geologically, Japan can be divided into four sections. Both of its eastern and western halves, separated by the Fossa Magna, have Inner and Outer Zones facing the Japan Sea and the Pacific Ocean, respectively.

Each of these sections has a different geological history—hence, a rich variety of mineral resources.

Most metal ore deposits are igneous in nature, while nonmetallic ore deposits are the results of either igneous activities or deposition. Fuel deposits have been formed under special circumstances of deposition.

Japan's mineral resources are thus marked by their rich variety. But the size of each deposit is not very large—an unfavorable factor for the mining industry.

Among mineral resources which can be counted upon to meet the domestic requirements for the time being, are such metallic minerals as copper, pyrites and zinc; and nonferrous minerals of sulfur, limestone, gypsum and *rōseki* (pyrophyllite).

Two fuel resources—coal and natural gas—are also deemed sufficient for domestic needs.

The remarkable development of Japan's iron-steel industry has been made possible

by the import of iron ore and other raw materials. The importation of these materials will be needed to us even in future.

The same holds true with aluminium, petroleum and chemical fertilizer industries.

Japan ranks first in Asia in both production facilities and technical level of these industries. This, however, tends to pose various problems in connection with Japan's limited mineral resources.

The modernization of mining equipment and the elevation of labor productivity are 2 momentous factors that cannot be ignored if Japan's mining industry is to grow further.

Another important thing is that the Government must take effective measures to put mineral resources to full use.

Development of mining industry

Before the Meiji Era (before 1867)

In 668 A.D., oil and asphalt, produced in the Niigata district, were presented to the Emperor. This is the oldest event recorded in Japanese history that suggests the existence of the mining industry.

In 700 or thereabouts, gold, silver, copper, antimony, mercury and tin are discovered. The Taihōrei, a law decreed in those days, included regulations on the

mining industry, and copper coins came into circulation.

In 745, the *Daibutsu*, the grand statue of Buddha, was constructed in Nara with 528 tons of refined copper.

In 796, iron sand was collected in the Okayama region as material for swords.

The discovery of the Miike coal field in northern Kyūshū came in 1469, while a gold mine was found in Sado Island in 1601.

In 1664, 1,500 miners were digging silver ores at Ikuno.

Japan's gold output in 1630 amounted to 714 kilograms with Sado producing 51 per cent, Kagoshima 40 per cent, and Izu 6.5 per cent.

For a period of 164 years from 1601 through 1764, Japan exported 116 tons of gold and 4,200 tons of silver in total.

Meanwhile, 325,018 tons of copper was exported during the days of the Tokugawa Shogunate from 1601 through 1857.

1867-1899

In the early days of the Meiji Era, Japanese mines were almost entirely dependent on manpower alone. The situation in those days was similar to that which prevailed at European mines about 300 years ago.

However, the Government carried out positive measures to introduce advanced mining techniques from Europe and the United States. This laid the foundation for the phenomenal development of the nation's mining industry.

The Japan Mining Law was promulgated in 1873 to place the development of underground mineral resources under strong state control. At the same time, 78 mining and geological specialists were invited from Britain, the U.S., Germany and France.

In 1877, Tokyo University instituted courses of mining and metallurgy, whereas the year of 1905 saw the establishment of training organs for mining technicians in Kyōto, Akita, northern Kyūshū and other areas.

In 1862, a mining method using explosive was first introduced at the Yurrap lead mine in Hokkaidō.

Meanwhile, the adoption of the pyritic smelting system in 1906 developed the Kosaka silver mine into an important producing center of copper, gold and silver.

Motive power, both steam and hydraulic, used for mining totaled only 5,300 horsepower in 1890, but jumped to 260,000 horsepower in 1908.

1900-1945

In the period from 1900 through 1917, Japan's mining industry made epochal strides under the impetus of increased demand both at home and abroad resulting from the outbreak of World War I.

This, however, was followed by a slump from 1918 through 1931 because of declining demand, worldwide economic panic and disarmament.

In the years from 1932 through 1945, the nation's mining industry expanded by leaps and bounds in connection with the development of the Asian continent and the rapid growth of the munitions industry.

In the iron-steel industry, 6 firms were amalgamated in 1934 into the Japan Iron Manufacturing Co.—a giant steel maker then accounting for 70 and 50 per cent of the nation's pig iron and steel production, respectively.

The year of 1941 was marked by the founding of the Imperial Oil Co., which put Japan's oil industry on a secure basis.

In 1943, the coal and iron ore imports ceased to come in. This was followed by the establishment of the Munitions Ministry, which designated five key industries—iron-steel, coal, light metal, aircraft and shipbuilding.

Most gold mines were ordered out of operation by the Government, and their equipment was transferred to other important mines.

This resulted in the coal and iron ore production hitting a new high in 1944.

However, a sharp decline was noted in the production of aluminum because of the suspension of raw material imports. By the time World War II ended, it became difficult for aluminum and other mines to keep up production.

1945-1957

Japan's mining industry came to a complete standstill for a time with the end of World War II.

Indiscriminate mining during the war sharply cut down Japan's mineral deposits, and the mines were in bad repair.

With the fixing of the exchange rate at ¥360 to the U.S. dollar, the mining industry started to recover under the impetus of favorable world economy.

A jump in the export of ceramic ware worked as a spur to the development and surveying of nonmetallic mineral deposits.

The outbreak of the Korean War in 1951 rendered it possible for metal mining industry to stage a rapid comeback. Its production index almost reached 100 or the same as that of the basic year of 1936.

In 1954, the index rose to 117. But this was still lower than the comparable indices of other heavy industries which ranged from 200 to 300.

Present Condition of Mining Industry

Production and workers

Coal mines rank first both in the amount of production and the number of employees, followed by metal and nonmetal mines in that order. The detailed percentages for 1954 are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Japanese Mining Products and Workers (1954)

Metal	Product	%	Workers	%
Metal	42,660	14	70,091	15
Non-metal	16,732	5	36,438	8
Non-ferrous metal smelting	68,354	20	17,806	4
Coal & lignite	193,047	60	341,734	72
Crude oil & natural gas	4,251	1	5,018	1
Total	325,044	100	471,087	100

Metal mining industry

In the nonferrous mining industry, major enterprises (with capitalization of more than ¥10 million and more than 1,000 workers) account for as much as 70 to 80 per cent of the total production.

In the ferrous and nonmetallic mining industry, however, minor enterprises lead with about the same percentage.

This, however, can be considered the most suitable pattern of management for Japan's present mining industry from the

standpoint of both techniques and finance.

The proportion of major and minor enterprises in 1954 is given in Table 2.

Table 2. Mining Products in Major and Minor Enterprises (1954)

Metal	Major enterprises	Minor enterprises
Gold	73.6	26.4
Silver	87.9	12.1
Copper	88.4	11.6
Lead	75.6	24.4
Zinc	83.4	16.6
Iron sulphate	89.5	10.5
Tin	70.6	29.4
Antimony	0.0	100.0
Mercury	0.0	100.0
Arsenic	46.1	53.9
Iron	65.0	35.0
Sand iron	24.4	75.6
Manganese dioxide	0.0	100.0
Manganese	33.9	66.1
Chrome iron	14.2	85.8
Tungsten	6.8	93.2
Molybdenum	20.6	79.4
Titanium	9.8	90.2
Coal	68.3	31.7

When viewed in terms of the value of production, copper ranked first in 1954 with 35.2 per cent, followed by iron sulphate (19.4 per cent) and zinc (11.7 per cent). Table 3 indicates the production value of each metal in 1954.

Nonmetallic mining industry

In the production value of nonmetallic minerals in 1954, limestone led with 43 per cent, followed by refined sulphur (20 per cent) as is indicated in Table 4. The total value is about 40 per cent of that of metal minerals.

Table 3. Production Amount of Metals
(1954)

Metal	Production (1,000 yen)
Copper	15,009,484
Iron sulphate	8,256,084
Zinc	5,013,298
Iron	2,879,810
Gold	2,654,539
Anglesite	1,946,068
Lead	1,628,877
Manganium (metal)	1,328,877
Silver	1,286,206
Others	2,658,267
Total	42,659,510

Table 4. Production Amount of Non-metal Minerals
(1954)

Mineral	Production Amount (yen)
Limestone	7,326,088,000
Refined sulphur	3,378,762,000
Agalmatolite	1,280,394,000
Silica	1,015,148,000
Gypsum	920,592,000
Quartz sand	571,609,000
Fire clay	564,654,000
Dromite	480,683,000
Others	1,194,054,000
Total	16,731,984,000

Production cost

The average production costs of main minerals in 1954 are given in Table 5.

Table 5. Production Cost of Major Minerals
(1954) yen/t

Mineral	Production
Copper (content)	188,691
Zinc (content)	33,832
Iron sulphate (concentrate)	3,101
Sulphur	15,203
Limestone	261
Electrolytic copper	266,043
Crude lead	113,568
Crude zinc	110,639
Coal	3,673

Materials and motive power

Table 6 shows the amount of main materials and motive power used by the metal and nonmetallic mining industries in 1954.

Table 6. Consumption Goods in Mining Industries
(1954)

	Unit	Metal mining	Non-metal mining
Timber	Koku	610,778	119,144
Cement	t	15,412	8,635
Dynamite	t	5,850	3,143
Coal	t	56,677	159,012
Oil product	Kl	14,695	9,758
Electricity	1,000 Kwh	617,591	81,877

Table 7. Number of Workers in Mining Industries (1954)

	No. of mines	Miner (in side)	Miner (out side)	Part-timer	Office workers	Total
Metal	676	26,047	30,043	5,430	8,571	70,091
Non-metal	1,012	5,105	23,765	3,283	4,284	36,438
Coal	668	187,202	94,934	9,508	38,816	331,128
Lignite	350	2,992	6,832	0	982	10,606
Refineries	47	0	13,725	1,702	2,379	17,806

Workers and labor productivity

The number of workers in each mining industry as classified by the type of work is given in Table 7.

Table 8 lists the monthly production amount of crude minerals per each worker as classified by the type of mineral deposits.

Table 8. Productivity by Deposits
(1954, per man per month)

Types Deposits	Miners (inside)	Miners (Total)
Metal veinora	32.5	15.9
Metal astratified	27.6	12.9
Metal, lumpore	55.1	22.7
Iron open pit mining	—	32.5
Limestone open pit mining	—	366.1
Coal	18.2	12.0

Engineering

Prospecting and research

Electric and chemical prospecting techniques for metal ore deposits have been put to wide use with considerable success.

As regards coal and oil deposits, seismological and gravitational prospecting methods are popular. Radioactive logging is used for trial oil wells.

Geochemical survey method has been all but established for oil and natural gas fields.

Full-scale research has got under way on how to detect and utilize a large amount of inflammable gas oozing from coal fields. This has much to do with the problem of safety at coal mines.

The quality of mineral materials for the ceramic industry is determined by various modern methods, such as differential thermal analysis, electron microscopes and X-rays.

Meanwhile, concrete plans are afoot to explore undersea fuel and metal resources in the continental shelf.

Mining

The shrinkage method is in wide use at the mineral ore deposits. Holes dug for mining are filled later to insure safety.

The glory hall system has been adopted at more than 100 limestone mines since 1943 to facilitate mining and ore loading. About 60 per cent of Japan's limestone output is turned out by this method.

At many collieries, wooden puncheons have been replaced with steel ones called Kappe to boost mining efficiency. Production at undersea coal fields account for more than 12 per cent of the total coal output.

Oil wells are bored in an oblique manner from land to the undersea area in search of still untapped fuel resources.

Ore separation

Heavy fluid separation has come into wide use as a preliminary process for flotation. Truck mills (mobile ore separators) have been effectively set up at mining centers with the Government support.

Table 9. Benefication Ability in Mineral Ores (1954)

Benefication Method	Ability t/month	Copper ore %	Iron sulphate %	Gold and silver ore %	Lead and zinc ore %	Sand iron %
Gravity concentration	183,344	42.8	20.2	10.5	6.6	5.0
Floating separation	777,908	76.0	4.8	2.8	12.5	0
Magnetic separation	396,491	10.0	25.0	0	0	45.0

The proportion of each separation method is indicated in Table 9.

Table 10 shows the average yield rates of separation.

Table 10. Net yield in Benefication (1954)

Kinds of ore	Net yield	Raw ore	Concentrated ore	Ratio
Copper	89.7	1.20	13.62	11.4
Lead	80.7	1.01	61.25	60.6
Zinc	83.0	3.95	49.51	12.5

Table 11. Comparison of Prices of Important Metals Between Japan and U.S.A. (Dec., 1954)

		Japan (A)	U.S. (B)	(A)/(B) %
Electrolytic copper	1,000 yen/t	275	238	115.5
Electrolytic lead	"	130	119	109.2
Electrolytic zinc	"	121	91	133.0
Distilled zinc	"	116	95	122.1
Electrolytic tin	"	782	692	113.0
Antimony	"	255	226	112.8
Mercury	"	117	117	100.0

In the coal mining industry, the water separation method with the recovery percentage of only 66.4 per cent accounted for 74.5 per cent of the production in 1954.

This is one of the factors responsible for high production cost.

Refining

Metal refining costs more in Japan than in the United States. New techniques have been successfully introduced for zinc, lead and copper smelting.

Refining costs in Japan and the U.S. in December 1954 are compared in Table 11.

Utilization of untapped mineral resources

a. New techniques have made it possible to make iron from pyrrhotite and iron sand on a commercial basis.

b. Titanium is being extracted from iron sand. In 1954, production amounted to 700 tons.

c. Potassium is being extracted from jarosite, contained in limonite, to make fertilizer.

d. Phosphatic fertilizer is being produced from serpentine.

e. The carbide industry using limestone is making prodigious strides.

f. New chemical industries are cropping up with natural gas as raw material.

g. Germanium has been extracted from the byproducts incidental to the manufacture of coal gas.

XV MANUFACTURE AND INDUSTRY

Outline of Industry

Industries producing those commodities upon which the life of the Japanese directly depend have a long historical background and have been developed through the ages as handicrafts. It was not until about 1880 that it started to take on the form of modern industry, and the modernization was brought about by the introduction of techniques from the various European and American nations. Modernization of Japanese industry was, thus, about a century late in getting started when compared with Western nations.

Western industrial techniques in every field were introduced, which formed the base on which Japan's industrial modernization was carried out. At the turn of the 20th century, Japanese industry was primarily light industry and textiles accounted for about 50 per cent of all industrial output. In other words, cotton spinning was the core of the industrialization even in the light industries, and it enabled Japan to enter the world market by the export of the products of the cotton textile industry.

The important role being played by the light industries gave way thereafter to progress and gradually heavy industries began to encroach upon and take over the top position of importance. By 1930, tex-

tiles had slipped to 30 per cent of the entire industrial output, to 20 per cent in 1935, and to 10 per cent in 1940. In contrast, the metal and machinery industries which accounted for less than 10 per cent of the entire industrial output in 1900 gradually expanded and by 1930 it accounted for 30 per cent, in 1935 40 per cent and in 1950 reached 50 per cent.

As a result of the defeat of Japan in World War II in 1945, all of Japan's enterprises were thrown into utter confusion and it has taken some 10 years thereafter to return to normalcy. At present, in the industrial field, light industry which manufacture consumers' goods accounts for about 26 per cent, heavy industries for producers' goods about 50 per cent, and others about 24 per cent of the total industrial output.

In spite of the later start that Japan had in modernizing its industry, the tempo once started was very highly pitched and it now manufactures everything which is produced in western nations. Even with the most modern industrial items, Japan is producing it a year or so later. This is due to the Japanese being very open-minded and receptive of foreign techniques, and are very eager to improve and adopt it to conditions to suit Japan.

Home Industries

Home industries are varied and many, but they all have the common characteristic of having started out from some form of handicraft.

These crafts originated as a means to produce the necessary consumers' goods within one's own home and family. With the progress of society and the diminishing of the necessity for self-production in the homes, handicrafts developed as a secondary calling to supplement the income of the lower income bracket families. Handicrafts are easy to get into since the production techniques are not too complicated and a great amount of initial capital outlay is not required. Being a supplementary occupation, any member of a family with spare time—the young, the old, men and women alike—is able to participate. Straw goods such as sandals, mats, bags and bales which are usually made on farms, and home sewing and artificial flowers made in the city areas are some of the representative examples of supplementary or secondary occupations. Even busy men are able to utilize the evening hours in these crafts. On farms, there are slack seasons every year. In a single crop district where the slack season is usually long, the farmers go out as *sake* (Japanese rice wine) brewers or go to Hokkaidō as cod and salmon fishermen. When there is no opportunity for such secondary or supplementary occupation or where the slack season is short, they become farmer-artisans. There are, of course, many possibilities of different combinations of trades depending solely on the compensation. If the industrial field is more lucrative, the people begin to specialize in the crafts, leaving the farm to the family's care. Should the family be unable to cultivate and plant the rice fields, they dispose of the land and concentrate their efforts on the crafts which started out as a supplementary or secondary occupation. In the opposite situation, the farmer gives up his industrial occupation and concentrates on farming.

In the case of farm womenfolk working in nearby factories, they take leave from the factory to help the farm during the busy planting and harvesting seasons. With most dependents of a household, these side occupations may take up much of their time and may even be considered as their main occupation. In comparison with full-time factory employes, they are comparatively free to work, rest or quit whenever they want.

In these secondary occupations, there is always an agent who supplies the material and buys up the completed product. These agents sometimes indulge in other activities such as renting out handlooms and other tools and equipment, with or without charge. When the demand is greater than the supply, the agents endeavor to increase the number of the home workers and act as an employment agent of a sort.

One of the representative home industries of this type is the woven silk industry including such as the splash (*kasuri*) weave of Isezaki. Handlooms are loaned or rented out. The looms used here are not the wide (36 inches) looms but they are the narrower (12 inches) looms. The materials used by the craft workers were in the past supplied without cost to the worker and only the agreed labor charge was paid upon collection of the product on a piece-work payment basis. In this system, the worker at times tended to cheat on material and weight and yardage shortage in the finished product was common. Recently, to overcome this risk, the workers are forced to buy the material (accounting only and no transfer of money is made and is carried by the agent in his accounts as a loan or advance without interest), and the products are bought up at the agreed price at which time the cost of the materials is adjusted. This system is becoming more common, since there is the possibility of shifting losses from adverse market fluctuation in material costs onto the workers.

When these handicrafts go beyond being a side occupation and become the main occupation, the entire family is mobilized for production. If they become concentrated in a certain area, they become completely alienated from farming and begin to take the form of industrial production centers. At the same time a high degree of division of labor results.

Taking the silk weaving industry as an example, it may be divided into the sale and repair of implements for hunk dyeing, twisting, boiling-off, sizing, warping, drafting, carding, card punching, card lacing, veed, spooling, reeling, handling of parts for the various machinery, and buying and selling of silk wastes, which are all engaged in by specialists of the various branches of work and services. The machinery maker only engages in making machines, and weavers do not have to concern themselves with the various preparatory steps leading to the actual weaving work.

The woven products are, of course, purchased and collected by merchants and they do not do anything else. They are the wholesale houses. The wholesaler orders the design that he wants and may, when necessary, make cash advances of loans for the materials to be used by the worker in making the product or sell the materials outright to the craftsman with the agreement to adjust when the finished product is delivered.

There are some handicraft makers who do not depend on these wholesale middlemen, but this is an exception and not the rule. An example of such an exceptional case is the Wajima lacquer makers. The maker of the lacquerware go out themselves to all parts of the country to sell their ware. When an order is secured he returns to his workshop, makes the goods to fill the order, and this time goes out to deliver the goods as well as to get the next order. This creates a complete cycle of operation and it could continue on and on. In extreme cases, almost half a year is spent as a travelling salesman.

It is a simple matter to mechanize a handicraft industry when the home industry takes on the nature of a full-time opera-

tion, but provided it is technically possible to make the conversion. In silk weaving, the hand-powered looms and other implements and tools has been discarded for power machinery. In the case of silk weaving, some products for domestic consumption are still woven by handlooms, but all of the export material is woven by power looms. The use of jacquards is also widespread. Power looms are generally being used in the weaving of all other materials of cotton, chemical fibers, linen, etc.

In the field of woodcraft, all lumbering machinery (circular, band and chain saws, planers, scrapers, etc.) have been introduced and used widely. The majority of potter's wheels are run by power. Bambooware is woven by hand but the splicing of the bamboo is done by machinery.

There are certain crafts which cannot be mechanized and these are necessarily still done by hand. The workers are not considered as being engaged in part-time occupation, but are specialists whose skill steadily progresses and become finer and finer. The art of the Nishijin tapestry is a good example. A small wall hanging about a foot square may take over a week to finish. Lacquer work is also in the same category of artistic endeavor.

Handicrafts which are mechanized or require fine technical skills demand more labor than can usually be supplied from within a family. So a few extra hands are employed to meet the requirements. The employment of labor from outside the family has created a new problem of labor control and administration.

There are cases among groups engaged in the same industry in which, say, factory A has employed a few laborers from outside the family circle. It is then governed by the Labor Standard Law. A neighboring factory B has no outside laborers and all of the workers are members of the immediate family. The Labor Standard Law does not apply in the case of factory B. Factory B, having the advantage of not being subject to the labor law and consequently having no wage problems, is prone to be more flexible in its cost accounting which results in a wide gap between the

prices quoted on the same product by the two factories, all other conditions being equal.

The level out this irregularity, a provisional labor standard has been set up just recently, and, furthermore, an orientation movement on the principles of cost accounting has been initiated by government and civilian interests.

When demand justifies mass production, home industries are bound to lose ground to modern factories. Cotton textiles, except for special domestic consumption, are all manufactured by up-to-date factories. The only field left for handwork here is when the design constitutes the main value or demands the bulk of the effort in the finished product. Even in this case, many of the special handicraft makers have become affiliated with the large textile firms as subsidiaries, or sub-contractors. Since the inspection of the mother factory is stringent, these small handicraft makers have recently become inclined to emphasize uniformity of quality more than their special objective of producing materials of special design work.

Electric motors and machineries have tread much the same path in their development in Japan. During the Meiji Era, most of the electric motor and machinery work developed as repair work in small workshops and hardly any assembly work was done. With the coming of the Shōwa Era, however, the people began to engage in machine tooling and assembling of machinery. At first, precision was lacking and the finished product could only be classed as poor. In recent years, the small individual plants have come under large modern electric motor and machinery factories and the performance of these products have suddenly become better and better. Among the better known products that Japan has learned to produce are bicycles from before the beginning of World War II, and sewing machines and cameras in the postwar era.

It is noteworthy that the change from handwork to machinery took place in all industries with the initial introduction of the first machinery. The manufacture of stainless steel flatware and other metalware

was one of the earliest to turn from hand labor to machine production.

A very important characteristic of home industry in Japan is that production of one product has been developed in various parts of the nation. This was possible because of the very simple nature of home industry to begin with and the proximity and availability of raw materials needed for these simple home industries. Production areas which eventually ran out of nearby sources of raw material have not suffered as would be expected because of the rapid development of transportation which made it possible to draw materials from distant sources. While transportation and communication were in their infant stage, the production methods, the materials, quality and design of the same product differed in the various production areas, and special characteristics were very much evident in the final products of each different area. Today, these differences are gradually fading as the dissemination of modern techniques has tended to bring about uniformity in products.

Finally, a classification of the representative home industries seems appropriate. They may be classed into the classical group which has much tradition behind it and the modern group of crafts which has developed through necessity arising from modern ways of living. The former group includes dye work, pottery, lacquerware, bamboo-ware, and the like. With the exception of lacquer and bambooware, much of the others can now be classified in the latter group in view of the modernization of production methods, while some crafts have become wiped out as home industries by the mass production methods of modern factories. The making of dyes is an example of classic home industry converted to modern production methods. Of the more prominent home industries still remaining today, the silk weaving industry is representative. Its products are mostly of narrow width (for Japanese *kimono*), and the dyes used come from small home dye industries which have survived modernization. Nishijin tapestry mentioned above is a good example, as are the Isezaki splash weave, Ibaraki Prefec-

ture's *Yūki-tsumugi*, Ōshima Island's *Ōshima* weave, and Kyoto's *Yūzen*. In materials other than silk, Kagoshima's *Satsuma* linenware is well-known, as is Niigata Prefecture's *Echigo* linen sheetings. In cotton fabrics, Ōsaka's *Kōchi* weave, and Aichi Prefecture's *Aichi* weave are outstanding. The banana-tree fiber cloth, *Bashō-nuno*, of the Ryūkyū Islands is another of the more peculiar weaves remaining as a trade to this date.

Lacquerware making is still almost completely a home industry. Kyoto, Kanazawa, Wajima, Yamanaka, Takaoka, Wakamatsu (Fukushima Prefecture), Hirosaki, Tokyo, Shizuoka, Takayama, Kainan and Takamatsu are all famous production centers. Lacquerwares known for their special techniques are: *Kara-nuri*, *Nanako-nuri* of Hirosaki, *Shunkai-nuri* of Noshiro, *Kamakura-bori*, *Kongo-nuri* of Shizuoka, *Kimma-nuri*, *Zonsei-nuri*, *Tsuikin-nuri* of Naha, Okinawa, and others.

In ceramics, insulators and sanitaryware are products which were started after the Meiji Era and most of them is made by large factories. Home industries in pottery produce Japanese style dishes, bowls, plates and decoration pieces. Cheap porcelain figurines are being exported from Kanazawa (Kutani-ware), Mashiko of Tochigi Prefecture (Mashiko-ware), Seto, Tajimi of Gifu Prefecture, Kyoto, Inbe of Okayama

Prefecture and Karatsu, Arita and Imari of Saga Prefecture.

There are also many known production areas of wooden and bamboowares, among which are Odawara of Kanagawa Prefecture for its Hakone-ware and Beppu of Ōita Prefecture for its bamboo basketware.

Morioka of Iwate Prefecture is known for steel kettles, Takaoka of Toyama Prefecture for copperware (vases, etc.). Home industries of fine decoration pieces have lost their prominence and importance because public demand for decorative and expensive work has fallen. They have become spread out through the nation from necessity to survive and the few that remain still thrive in Tokyo and elsewhere.

Home industries which have developed along with the progress of modern industry are numerous, but it is expected that those engaged in making machinery parts will become the core of the industry. A good field seems to remain in costume jewelry and accessories. The design and pattern changes so frequently that production by machinery is almost impossible. The continuous changes and advancement in design make it prohibitive to manufacture by machinery since each change would mean heavy investments in new molds and constant changes in procedure. Artificial flowers are also another field which will probably continue to depend on the home industries.

Metal Industry

Outline

Japan's metal industry as a modern industry has a relatively short history. It began at the end of the 19th century, but increasing efforts were made during the next several decades to bring it up to the standards of the advanced Western nations.

At about 1920, immediately following the end of the World War I, the metal industry with the other industries of Japan, which had to a degree caught up with the rest of the world in modernizing its fa-

cilities and methods, began to prepare for the next jump in industrial progress. By 1930, various improvements had been made and production and research facilities had been expanded to a point where it could be said that it had finally reached the same level as in the advanced nations and the products as well as research work had reached a very high level of attainment.

The disastrous defeat in the World War II brought destruction to the production facilities and together with the overloading and neglect in maintenance during the war caused the industry to fall far behind. With

the end of the war, news from the advanced Western nations again began to flow in, and the improvement and rationalization of production facilities and methods became the by-word in the trade. In the following 10 years, great effort has been made toward this end.

Ferrous metal industry

There has been a strong demand for the standardization of the quality of products from the tradespeople during the last war. The movement to realize this started with new zeal in 1946 when the nation was still in the throes of post-war confusion. The old Japan Engineering Standard (JES) was replaced by the more comprehensive and accurate Japan Industrial Standard (JIS). The stringent standardization of industrial products did much to improve the quality of goods in the post-war period.

Raw materials for the iron and steel industry came for the most part from neighboring Asiatic sources up to the end of the war. The supply from these nearby sources was cut off in the confusion that followed the ending of the war. Japan was forced to look to distant nations of the world for supplies and at the same time was being hurt by the high cost of these materials which was due to the higher freight for the longer haul. Within a few years, news of the progress of metal industries began to seep in and the Japanese makers were taken aback by the advanced facilities and methods which the foreign nations had developed and possessed during the war and in the short post-war period.

The metal industry immediately began its program to improve and rationalize their facilities and production methods backed by strong financial support by the government. Needless to say, the industry made enormous strides to finally achieve its present position.

Among the improvements, the use of oxygen in open hearth furnaces must be noted first. Japan had been feeling the need to do something about the lack of sufficient supplies of good quality iron ore

and coal when the use of oxygen was first heard of from U.S. sources. It took little time to bring this new technique in for study and adoption. All of the iron and steel mills now have their own oxygen plants and oxygen is being used in refining and in the fuels to improve smelting efficiency.

Automatic control and precision instrument operation are becoming widespread and the larger makers have facilities on a level with the best of European and American makers.

As to the kinds of steel produced, Japan is making full use of her wartime experience in the manufacture of special steels by the open-hearth method. Pushed by large special demands by the shipbuilders for a strong, weldable, high tensile strength steel, efforts were made to produce high quality steel and the products developed at that time are now being used in ship plates, rolling stocks and in construction work in voluminous quantities.

The rationalization of the steel making enterprise has spread to the rolling mills and has led to the replacement of obsolete rolling facilities with modern equipment which have come off of domestic drafting boards or been imported to improve the efficiency of strip mills in the production of volume quantities of steel sheets and to increase the mass output of steel pipes with continuous electric or forge welding machinery. These continuous mills have created the demand for ingots larger than those used up to that time and has led to the makers installing large size blooming mills to improve the quality and reduce costs.

In this manner, the steel industry, which went through the stages of rationalizing and modernizing equipments, have shown immediate results in the form of greater productivity. Despite the smaller number of blast furnaces in operation, the annual output in 1954 was 4,600,000 tons which exceeds the prewar record. The output of ordinary steel was 5,600,000 tons which also is a high output.

However, reliance by the mills for raw material supply from overseas has kept the

cost at a level higher than in other nations although every modern technique and equipment is being used. To bring the cost down to the level of other countries will require even greater effort.

Special steel production in Japan belong to the comparatively small enterprises, and because the demand has slipped since the end of the World War II, the makers have experienced considerable hardships. Among special steels, stainless steel field has shown the most progress. After the World War II, the manufacture of ferro-nickel steel reviewed in Japan with the demand created by the rehabilitation of the chemical industry. Research work advanced also and many stainless steels of special characteristics were developed. Other special steels such as cutting and bearing steel which had to be imported before the war are now being produced at home. Even the well-known magnet steels developed by Dr. Honda (the K.S. steel) and Dr. Mishima (the M.K. steel) have seen several improvements in their compositions and production quantity exceeds that of the prewar level. Although the building of jet engines has not been started in Japan as yet, there are demands for gas turbine engines and the research for heat-resistant steel is intense and production of this type steel could be started as soon as the demand arises. It is noted that production facilities of special steels are far behind the modern facilities boasted by the makers of ordinary steel. Rehabilitation of the special steel industry should come abreast of the prewar level very soon since the Senzimir 12-high mill has already been imported and the various makers have put in new rolling equipment and oxygen plants. Special steel production was the highest in 1944 with 1,630,000 tons, but in 1954 it had dropped to a mere 500,000 tons.

In the field of cast irons, literature and reports after the end of the last war have been received on high strength cast iron, the globular graphite cast iron, and mechanite cast iron and research on these have been very active. With the importation of these new techniques, the Japanese by research and experiment have added their

own improvements and production is also very active.

As a point of interest, precision casting must be especially noted. This is being applied in both iron and steel casting and research work is also very intense and widespread.

The first-rate mills have been comparatively quick to bring in technical knowledge from the United States in the post-war period. They have endeavored to increase production and the mills of today present a completely new appearance.

Powder metallurgy is a relatively new industry in Japan and its beginning came a little behind its invention in Germany and the United States. It had made considerable progress during the last war. In the postwar period when the demand for machine tools had fallen down, research work for its application in mining tools, drilling bits in construction work, punch dies, etc. was carried out early and at present the industry puts out very high quality products. Furthermore, as its field of application, and working techniques improved, many new sintering alloys were developed and now products which were formerly made exclusively by the more advanced German and American industries are being produced domestically. The O.P. magnet, a product of this field, is a Japanese invention and is noted for its light weight and high magnetic properties.

Non-ferrous metal industry

Japan has had a relatively good source of non-ferrous raw materials. There is considerable variety, but lacking in quantity and Japan is dependent at present on imports.

In the copper alloy industry of the post-war era, the point to be noted most is that research work during the last war has borne fruit in the continuous or chain-process casting method. The majority of the foundries, be they first or second rate, have adopted the use of ingots produced by the chain-process method and are putting out high quality rolling material.

The light alloy industry has also adopted the continuous casting process. Japan has no domestic source for aluminum ores, but with cheap electric power available here it has been able to refine aluminum at costs similar to the United States with imported ores. It might be mentioned that high purity aluminum (Purity over 99.995 per cent) is produced by Japan almost exclusively. Since the end of the war, production of aircraft has not started and light metal alloy production is almost restricted to rolled aluminum alloy sheets and castings. The equipment of the aluminum industry is quite modern and rolled alloy sheets are being used for many purposes. The quantity used in shipbuilding, railway rolling stock, construction work, etc. is increasing year by year. The production of aluminum foil has doubled in the postwar period, and with the improved rolling methods and technique the rolling equipment has taken on a completely new appearance.

We must next point out the tremendous progress of precision die-casting in a wide variety of fields.

It may be said that precision die-casting was first adapted to light alloys. With the objective of reducing the weights of machinery and construction and building materials in general, there is no limit to the expansion of the applicable fields of precision diecasting. Today diecasting is applied in the manufacture of all industrial products, and because it simplifies the manufacturing process, the products made by this method have greatly increased of late. It is one of the industries which holds great future promise.

Among the diecasting products, we are able to count zinc alloy castings which uses high purity zinc as a base metal.

Other metal industries

Titanium is one of the materials which Japan has in large quantities and much has been expected of it from the early days of the development of the metal industry in Japan. With the completion of study of the Kroll method, the production of sponge titanium has increased through the

years, and at present Japan is second in production behind the United States. There still remains some difficult problems in the use of domestic ores, and very serious and organized research work is being carried out to solve the problems. Also, experiments on applied use of titanium is progressing rapidly and some rolled material is reported to be already in use in certain fields.

Research activities

Interest is also being drawn recently to the vacuum melting method of metals and research is being made actively. Production is, however, very small by this method in comparison with Britain, the United States and Germany. The method is applied to copper, nickel and magnetic alloy melting and is adapted primarily in the field of communication equipment manufacture.

As to the research work being done in the metal industry, all of the makers have fairly large scale research laboratories. Of the government-sponsored research organizations, the Metal Research Laboratory of the Tohoku University in Sendai, Miyagi Prefecture, is famous and have announced many fine results of its researches and experiments.

Research is also being made to improve on the melting furnaces which is hampered by poor material when compared with the United States, Britain and Germany. In order to overcome the handicap of low quality raw materials, the Yawata Steel Co. is experimenting with a low shaft kiln and the results of the experimental use of this kiln is awaited with keen interest.

Research work on globular graphite cast iron, mechanite cast iron and other hard steels are being performed at all of the many experiment and research organizations and its findings have been important and valuable.

As for special steels, as mentioned before, research has been carried out by the various makers and excellent quality high tensile and heat resistant steel is being manufactured. The same can be said for machine tooling, bearing, magnetic and

stainless steels. Research is going on in many governmental as well as private laboratories of the factories which have done much in the manufacture of high quality products. Theoretical study is also very active.

The study of the effects of gaseous elements, especially nitrogen gas, in the manufacture of metals is also widespread.

Practical and theoretical research is also being actively made recently on precision die-casting and non-destructive testing.

In metal research work, the influence of Dr. Honda remains to a great extent and his many disciples are spread throughout the nation in universities and private research laboratories. This is a very singular feature.

As mentioned before, one of the more famous research organizations in metals is the Metal Research Laboratory of the Tōhoku University. Some of the more outstanding work done at this laboratory include: titanium alloys, metal physics, study relative to crystal plasticity, and the study of the theory of phase transforma-

tion of metals. Further, the laboratory has imported equipment for the production of liquid helium and the 20-high Senzimir rolling machinery from the United States and much is expected from the results of experiments derived from the use of these equipments.

There are many technical study groups and societies in connection with the metal industry among which are: The Japan Institute of Metals, the Iron and Steel Institute of Japan, the Casting Institute of Japan, the Mining Institute of Japan, The Japan Welding Society, the Light Metals Society, etc. These groups usually hold two regular meetings annually in the spring and autumn, and the reports made at the meetings usually number as much as 100. The reports made at the Japan Institute of Metals number over 200. The interest and enthusiasm of the various metal study groups are very great and it may be said that both in quantity and quality of their probings into the problems of the metal industry and science is on a par with the most advanced nations of the world.

Present Position of Electric Motor and Communication Industries

Electric motor industry

The sources of electric power in Japan are hydraulic and heat power. The development of power has been eye-opening in recent years. There are nine electric power companies—Hokkaidō, Tōhoku, Tokyo, Chūbu, Hokuriku, Kansai, Chūgoku, Shikoku, and Kyūshū electric power companies spread throughout the various districts of the nation—the Electric Power Development Co. and prefectural government corporations which generate and supply electricity.

In 1955, hydraulic power developments generated 7,500,000 kw and heat power plants 4,400,000 kw for a total output of 11,900,000 kw. There was some electric power generation by internal combustion

generators. This figure is 2.6 times the 4,500,000 kw output of 1930. The length of overland high tension circuit lines accordingly increased to the present 60,000 kilometers plus some 3,200 kilometers of underground lines.

Of the recent electric power developments, there are the 165,000 kw Shinano River project which started operating in 1939, the 350,000 kw Sakuma Station on the Tenryū River, the 300,000 kw Oku-Tadami Plant on the Tadami River and the 225,000 kw Togoura project. In order to supply the growing demand for power, heat power plants are also being planned. The 318,000 kw No. 1 and 300,000 kw No. 2 plants of the Kansai Electric Power Co. in Amagasaki, Hyōgo Prefecture, the 200,000 kw Nagoya Plant of Chūbu Electric Co., and the 178,000 kw Tsurumi Station of the

Tokyo Electric Power Co. are some of the larger existing heat power generating plants.

The larger generators needed for these massive power plants are being made by domestic makers. The 13,000-volt, 72,500-KVA output hydraulic electric generator of the Kansai Electric Power Co. was made by Tōshiba and Hitachi, and the 13,200-volt, 81,000-KVA output hydrogen-cooled steam turbine generator for the New Tokyo Power Station of the Tokyo Electric Power Co. was made by Hitachi. Of the large capacity transformers, a 275 KV, 99,000 KVA capacity oil-cooled units have been made and delivered to the Kansai Electric Power Co. by Tōshiba and Mitsubishi. Recently a 154 KV-160,000 KVA oil circulating air-cooled nitrogen sealed transformer has been delivered to the Chiba Heat Power Plant of Tokyo Electric Power Co.

As for transmission circuits, the move is toward making them as automatic as possible, and for their maintenance, helicopters are being used for their mobility and micro-wave pulse multi-communicating lines are being adopted. The Shin Hoku-riku Line (Maekata-Naruide-Shinaimoto) carrying a voltage of 275,000 is the highest in Japan. There has also been considerable progress in the assembly of electric motors, especially in response to the needs of the steel rolling mills. A 5,000-kw, 50/120 rpm., 750-V, maximum emergency torque 300% main rolling D.C. engine for the Ilgner set used in large cracking mills and for cold rolling use, five 1,500 hp to 4,000 hp electric motors have been set up in the Hirohata Mills of the Fuji Steel Co. The rolling speed of this mill is 5,000 ft. per minute for width of 50 inches. A 2,000 kw revolving converter is being used by the Japanese National Railways as is a mercurial current adjuster of 1,500 V and 3,000 kw which is the largest single unit now in use.

Induction electric motors are being used widely by the steel mills, cement, chemical, and paper factories, construction and at power plants. The larger ones include one of 5,000 hp-428 rpm for steel making (Fuji Steel), a 3,000 kw-3,600 rpm one for air-blower (Hitachi) and a 350 kw, 450 rpm.,

21-ton thrust load capacity hard axle electric motor.

With the use of Silica plastic in the H class insulated heat-resistant electric motors, the weight in comparison with the B class insulators has been greatly reduced, and, for example, a 4 kw output motor's weight has been reduced to one half.

In 1953, there were 90,000 single-phase and 124,000 3-phase induction motors made. In the same year, a total value of 86,000 million yen was manufactured of all types of heavy electric motors including transformers.

Electric communication industry

The telephone and telegraph service in Japan is being operated by the Japan Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (DDK). In 1953 a five-year plan was set up and progress is rapidly being made toward the goal of 200,000 new subscribers and extension of 350,000 kilometers of long distance lines annually. At present, there are about 2,900,000 private lines, 36,000 public telephones and about 8,000 telephone exchanges. All of the exchanges in the larger cities are completely automatic but in the middle-sized and smaller cities, the switchboard is still in use. In the large cities, new multi-unit exchanges with 20,000 to 40,000 lines have been put up and the step-by-step automatic method is gradually giving way to the crossbar system.

In telegraphic facilities, there are at present about 11,000 cable lines, 15,000 cable offices and they are being used for the transmission of audio-messages, printing, pictures and photos. New relaying and exchange machineries are widely used. With the spreading use of printed matter and photo wireless service, DDK has been renting out closed wireless circuits to the press and other companies.

As for international telegrams, the Kokusai Telephone and Telegraph Co. is in touch with the main cities of the world for 24 hours every day and handles message and photo sending. This company was organized in 1953 and it has gradually grown until now it handles a total of about

3,260,000 incoming and outgoing cables and about 180,000 overseas telephone calls annually.

Radio broadcasting was officially begun in 1926 as a public enterprise under the name of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) and since 1951 private broadcasting companies were authorized and have since become very active in the field of broadcasting.

Transmitting power varies from 150 KW to 50 W, and broadcasting stations number 170 stations under NHK and private commercial broadcasting firms number 39 with 60 stations under their networks.

Broadcasting is paid for by the public in the case of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, and it is estimated that at present there are 13,000,000 listeners contracted but the actual number of receiving sets is estimated to be around 25,000,000 since many of the families have two or more sets in the family.

NHK also broadcasts daily overseas and these overseas broadcasts are made in 13 different foreign languages to the United States and European countries.

Television service was started in 1953 by the Japan Broadcasting Corp. with stations in Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya and by 1958 stations in Hiroshima, Fukuoka, Sendai, Sapporo will be telecasting. At present, there are about 200,000 television set owners. By 1958, the network is expected to be expanded to 32 stations and television service will cover the entire nation. Commercial television companies were also started in 1953 and presently there are two companies. Television in Japan is still in the black and white stage but color television research work is being carried out and it should not be too long before telecasting will be started in the color media.

Besides the above communication, police, railway, local self-government, self-defense forces, ship, fishing fleet, weather, and press have their own private communication networks.

As for communication equipment, the very superior type 4 is being widely used as a telephone receiver while in switchboards the common battery telephony type,

automatic type and crossbars type and automatic and hand operated private branch exchangers are being made. For communication means, the open wire carrier telephony, non-loaded cable carrier telephony, co-axial cables, wireless, etc. are being manufactured.

Micro-wave communication has made very long strides, and at present between Tokyo and Osaka there exists one of 360 channels of 4,000 MC variable cycle system and is being put to practical use. In the future this is expected to be expanded to 2,000 channels, and is presently being used for relaying television broadcasts. Micro-wave cable communication is being spread out throughout the nation and it will not be long before Tokyo-Sendai-Sapporo and Tokyo, Osaka, Fukuoka will be linked up.

Radio tubes used in communication if being made almost entirely domestically including the large-sized metal tubes used in the broadcasting stations and ultra-short wave, micro-wave, Klystron, Magnestron tubes, etc. are also in practical use.

Japan's annual output of communication equipment and low-voltage appliances, electric wires and cables is 128,500 million yen and quite a large quantity of it is being exported. The export amount reaches about 3,600 million yen per year representing about 77 per cent of the total export of electrical equipment and facility including heavy electrical motors which amount to 4,700 million yen. This has been possible because of the activeness of production in Japan as well as the improved overseas market conditions. As examples of the monthly production capacity, Japan makes about 70,000 telephone receivers, 35,000 lines through automatic switchboards, about 1,500 hand-operated switchboards, 200,000 radios, and 3,500,000 radio tubes monthly.

Plant exports are also becoming expanded. Communication system plans, power stations to Southeast Asia and the Near East have been very active. Hitachi, Ltd. has delivered a 10,000 kw steam turbine dynamo to the Mazura Power Station in India, and Tokyo Shibaura Electric Co. has also delivered one 3,000 kw steam turbine

dynamo of 40 Kg/cm² steam pressure, temperature 435 degrees C as a part of main machine for the Montgomery Power Sta-

tion of Pakistan.

In closing, a list of the more prominent Japanese makers are listed for reference.

Maker	Capital (in million yen)	Products
Hitachi, Ltd.	4,000	Heavy electric machinery, communication equipment.
Mitsubishi Electric	4,400	"
Sumitomo Electric Industry	2,400	Electric lines, cables
Fuji Electric	1,000	Heavy electric machineries
Nippon Electric	1,000	Communication equipment
Matsushita Electric	1,200	Electrical appliances

Textile Industry

Outline

The ancient Japanese made their clothes and other fabrics mainly of fibrous materials such as hemp, ramie, wisteria, arrow-roots, and also from yarns of domestic and wild silkworms. But the introduction of new technique from the continents enabled the production of such magnificent material as witness the treasured Imperial possessions made over 1,000 years ago which are preserved at the Shōsōin Temple in Nara.

The cultivation of the cotton plant began in the early part of the 17th century, and soon it became the principal material for clothing. Woolen textiles, however, did not become popular until the early part of the 20th century when European style clothing was first introduced in Japan.

It was the latter part of the Tokugawa Period (1867) when modern textile industry was first introduced in Japan, but its development was so fast that in 1897 it had grown up to the point where the quantity of cotton yarn exported had exceeded imports. With the growth of the modern cotton textile industry the production of domestic cotton gradually rose, but it was also found that the short thick fiber grown in Japan was not suitable for spinning fine yarn and that the climatic conditions were also bad. After the peak production of 48 million pounds in 1887, it fell rapidly. Thereafter Japan's cotton industry has been looking for the supply of raw cotton from

China, India, Egypt and the United States.

The long period of industrial depression extending from 1920 to 1930, had serious effects on the industry, but efforts to rationalize management and improve productivity paid off by bringing about low cost production in the medium and lower grade products. Female workers averaging 17 years of age with about three years experience were chosen and were kept in dormitories under a rational form of living and clever labor control. Modern machinery and equipments with safety and automatic devices enabling even the unskilled to operate with efficiency were produced to meet the requirement of low cost production.

As a result, the products soon found a ready market not only in Asian countries but much farther afield. Since 1933, Japan has held the world's premier position on the export of cotton goods with the peak of 2,730 million square yards which in value was close to 50 per cent of the total Japanese exports. Together with the large amount of raw cotton imported, the cotton industry was considered the most important of Japanese trade.

It was not until 1876 that the woolen textile industry was introduced to Japan, and although there were many ups and downs in its progress it gradually developed. In about 1930, it reached the point where it could not only meet the domestic demand but showed hopes of becoming a promising export industry, although there was no

domestic production of raw wool and supply was dependent on imports.

Silk

Silk has always been regarded by Japanese as superior clothing material, and ever since Japanese ports were opened to foreign trade, silk has been exported. It held the premier position among Japan's export trade until it eventually lost its place to cotton fabrics in 1929. In 1934, the silk production reached its peak of 100 million pounds of which 67 million pounds were exported to the United States and other countries, chiefly as material for women's silk stockings. Spinning industries using inferior cocoon or waste silk wool developed side by side with ordinaly silk spinning and production was the highest in the world in 1937 despite the quantity produced was not more than 17.5 million pounds.

Hemp

Ramie, Manila hemp and other fibrous raw material industries are collectively called the hemp industry in Japan. Hemp, linen and ramie are used for clothing as well as fish nets, fire hoses, sail cloths and sewing threads, while the coarser hems are used for the making of gunny bags and Hessian cloth. Flax is the only raw material which Japan is able to self supply. The combined production of linen and ramie yarn was about 24 million pounds before the War which was used mostly by the military and the government.

Chemical fiber

In 1918, the first chemical fiber manufacturing company was established and the manufacture of viscose rayon was commenced. The quality was not good and processing it presented a number of problems because natural silk processing methods and techniques were used at the time. But the cheapness of the product interested the public. Later with the gradual advancement of techniques, the product improved boosting demand and in turn

brought about increased production. Following the introduction of viscose rayon, copper ammonia artificial silk was brought out in 1931. By 1937 the output had reached 336 million pounds representing 28 per cent of the world output and occupying first place in international production standings. The manufacture of rayon staple and test weaving was commenced in 1932 and with the Manchuria and China incidents, the demand for self supply of raw fiber as the substitute of cotton and wool became pronounced. The increased production of rayon staple was pushed as a government policy and by 1937 production had soared to 175 million pounds being 28 per cent of world production and it became one of the principal fiber materials during the World War II. The acceleration of production was too fast for improvement of manufacturing technique and it was inevitable that rayon staple became synonymous with cheap poor quality goods.

Along with the increased production of rayon filament and rayon staple, the production of rayon pulp also rose but it was scarcely able to keep pace with filament and staple fibers. Out of 616 million pounds used in 1937, only about 20 per cent was supplied domestically.

Development of textile industry

The position of the textile industry since the outbreak of the China Incident in 1937 is as follows:

1. With the spread of the incident, the export market became restricted.
2. Difficulty of securing raw material became severe.
3. The mobilization of the national strength for military operation tended in many ways to suppress peace time industries, such as the textile industry.

Thus, the production fell every year and by 1941 when the War broke out the facilities, workers and materials were forcibly diverted to the war purpose and the textile industry was all but extinct at the close of the War. Table 1 shows the comparative figures of principal equipments operated at

Table 1. Changes in Principal Machinery Equipments held by Textile Industry

Machinery	Unit	1937	1945	1955
Cotton spinning machine	1,000 spindle	12,165	2,064	8,015
Staple fibre spinning machine	"	—	43	1,970
Worsted card spinning machine	"	1,549	398	1,219
Woolen card engine	No. Card	684	425	1,286
Cotton & staple fibre spinning machine	Power loom	363	136	355
Silk and artificial silk spinning machine	"	356	134	188
Woolen fabric spinning machine	"	29	10	24
Silk spinning machine	1,000 Basin	281	28	48
Viscose staple installation	Ton/day	677	300	821
Viscose artificial silk installation	"	851	153	330
Acetate fabric installation	"	—	—	19
Nylon fabric installation	"	—	—	35
Vinylon fabric installation	"	—	—	29
Vinylidene chloride installation	"	—	—	10

the peak year of 1937 and at the end of the War in 1945.

The reduction in production was even greater than the loss in equipments as can be seen from the fact that the total production of all kinds of yarn in 1945 was but 6.5 per cent of the average annual output of the 1934-1936 period and only 2.6 per cent of all kinds of fabrics produced in the same period in terms of square yards measurement. This was mainly due to the shortage of raw material and also to the postwar confusion. The nation which had once boasted the world's prime textile industry had been thrown into a state of textile hunger.

From 1945 to 1952, Japan was placed under the occupation of the Allied Army and even such peace time industry as textiles was not permitted unrestricted reconstruction during the first half of the occupation period. During the latter half, however, the restrictions were removed and with the nation recovering gradually from the effects of the defeat in war in 1945 the production of yarn and fabrics almost recovered to the level of the best prewar period between 1934 to 1936. The last column of Table 1 gives the summary of equipments as of May 1955.

Generally speaking, at the outbreak of the China Incident, Japan had some of the newest facilities and textiles that the world had. During the World War II and also after the War, research had been neglected

and even new ideas from foreign countries were not available.

It must be also considered that the overseas buyer had been trying to improve his own textile industry. Postwar reconstruction and rehabilitation should have been done with a view to not merely reconstruct up to the prewar level but efforts should have been made to keep abreast of world progress with newer and better equipments to relieve the altered condition of the country.

Those who had realized the folly of following the prewar idea of low cost production of low and common grade articles for export are preparing new equipments to face the new situation and those who had merely restored the damaged prewar plant are fast realizing their mistake and are bringing their plants up to more up-to-date lines. Nowadays there are new cotton mills where one female weaver can look after 1600 to 2400 spindles which is a high figure in comparison with world standards. Another outstanding feature is the marked improvement in the dying process which was the weak point in prewar textile industry.

As a result of the war, the nation has come to realize that the only way to peace and prosperity is to cooperate with other nations. Supplying the world with sufficient quantities of industrial goods at reasonable prices is the means of future existence although the selection of the type

and quantity of commodities exportable remain a problem. The preponderance of textile export in the past has often been criticized, and steps are being taken to moderate this. It is however difficult to foretell how soon it will be when the place of textile as the prime export commodity will be replaced by some other kind of commodity. The textile industry which presently has about one million workers (1954) exported 6.51 million dollars of goods representing 40.1 per cent of the total export. On the other hand, the country had to import 63.6 million dollars of raw materials (26.6 per cent of total imports) which was of some concern in the balance of import and export. The barter system is being practised to relieve the situation, but this tends to force exports unnaturally and is not very desirable. The countermeasure to beat the raw material

problem is in increased production of chemical staples which is fortunately making a marked progress. The processing technique is also showing good advancement to give the textile industry a rather bright outlook. The success of acetate and synthetic fiber now under research will add to the optimistic predictions.

Finally, the situation of Japanese textile industry can be summarized as: (1) Importation of production technique. Low cost production of superior products by improved technique and research. (2) More stringent test and inspection under JIS on all export goods to alleviate unfair competition in overseas markets. Establishment of the registration system at Color Design Center to eliminate infringement of design. Legal provisions on quality standard to safeguard the consumers' interests.

Ceramic Industry

Outline

Ceramics covers the major part of inorganic chemical industry including cement, glass, porcelain enamel, refractories, industrial bricks, industrial carbon, abrasives, silicon carbide heat-resisting elements besides pottery, porcelain and earthenwares. It is one of the most important industries of Japan.

Beginning with its early development through the various periods of clayware known as *jōmon*, *yayoi*, *iwakabe*, etc., the present day chinaware is the technique acquired from China and brought back during the Kamakura Period (1228), by Katō Shirozaemon and originated in his kiln in Seto. Development was quick during the Muromachi and Momoyama periods when tea ceremonies were the fad which naturally encouraged the development of chinawares. Later in the Momoyama Period about 350 years ago, a number of porcelain workers were brought over from Korea as a result of winning the war against them. One of them (Ri Sampei) found good

quality white pottery clay in Arita of Kyūshū and began to make porcelainware there. With the newly acquired technique, porcelain making sprung up in the various places of Arita, Seto, Kyoto, Kanazawa, etc. In the Tokugawa Period (1603-1867), an attempt to make glass was made and later followed by refractory bricks, sewer pipes and porcelain enamelware.

Thus, with imported culture from continental countries, and its own people's adaptability, Japan developed its own ceramic industry. From the Meiji Period (1868), a sudden evolution in social and economic conditions of the country came through the introduction of European and American cultures, and the ceramic industry began to develop along a new line. Model plants were set up for making common bricks, sewer pipes, etc., which were in demand by construction projects which were in progress, and the industry which was still in the shape of a home industry began to develop into a full factory industry. Several institutions to train workers to im-

prove technique (including the predecessor of the present Tokyo Institute of Technology) were established, and today they have reached the stage where the industry is abreast of other countries, especially in porcelain, plate glass, cement, fire bricks

and the like. The products have shown marked improvement in quality and the output has grown sufficiently to supply domestic needs and also exports.

The following table shows the progress made during the past 10 years.

Year	Porcelain	Refractories (ton)	Plate glass 100 Sq. Ft.	Glass wares	Cement (ton)
1945	62,693	538,871	408,266	29,509	1,175,914
1946	173,608	175,651	764,782	31,754	927,140
1947	167,752	297,520	1,192,552	63,612	1,232,270
1948	266,029	390,382	1,714,633	106,210	1,842,657
1949	296,372	524,225	2,831,291	145,890	3,271,204
1950	264,039	567,724	3,782,941	228,567	4,451,104
1951	338,247	865,449	4,668,849	334,969	6,531,951
1952	307,108	736,347	5,415,438	345,137	7,095,743
1953	319,463	688,306	5,825,508	356,674	8,740,773
1954	342,429	673,232	6,164,774	412,672	10,640,319

Proceeding briefly on to the respective field in ceramic industry, we first take up porcelain and earthenwares. As stated earlier, the history of Japanese porcelain and earthenware dates back to the period when the technique was first introduced by Chinese and Koreans, and labor developed into the field of fine arts producing articles as seen today and much appreciated by the world.

Porcelain

Porcelain and earthenware factories were only slightly damaged by the World War II and the increased demand for home consumption and the industry was one of the first to recover after the war. It produced more than 340,000 tons in 1954, one half being dinnerware, followed in order by porcelain insulators, toys, ornaments, tiles and sanitarywares. The annual exports have gradually increased to approximately 43 million dollars, mostly to the United States, Canada, Central America, and Southeast Asia. The name of Noritake china in dinnerwares is well known, and there are others such as Sango chinaware which are equally well known for their wares. High firing porcelain, porcelain insulators for various special purposes, spark plugs, tiles, sanitarywares, etc. are produced by several noted specialized makers

such as Ōkura Tōen, Japan Insulators, Japan Special Porcelain Industry Co., Tōyō Tōki, Ina Seitō, Dantō, Saji, Takashima, etc. All of the modern factories are completely equipped from crushing of raw material to preparation of body, proportioning of composition, forming and firing. Thus, Japanese porcelain is of special value in the more practical industrial uses as well as in art works.

Glass

With the increased demand, the sheet and plate glass industry has made a marked progress as shown by the two major manufacturers, the Asahi Glass Co. and the Nippon Plate Glass Co. who together operate 10 tank furnaces, and are equipped with the most modern glass making equipments second only to the United States in production. After filling the domestic requirements, about 13 per cent of the total production is exported, mostly to the Asian nations as far away as India besides Canada and the U.S. Apart from plate glass, the most outstanding is optical glass which has become recognized throughout the world for its extensive variety and excellent quality. Among glasswares and articles, bottles represent 80 per cent of the total glass production, dinnerware and dishes 5 per cent and light bulbs and tube glass about

15 per cent. Factories are not as large as for plate glass but there were more than 300 small or medium sized factories with a total output of 410,000 tons in 1954. Approximately 20 per cent were shipped to the U.S., Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Formosa and Korea. Besides the above, glass for industrial arts and crystal glass are drawing notice in overseas markets for their high quality.

Refractories

The production of refractory bricks is largely governed by the demand of iron and steel makers who use over 70 per cent of the entire output. Recently, however, the increased construction of cement rotary kilns, thermal electric plants, plate glass furnaces is increasing demands. The import of new technique from the U.S. and elsewhere, has markedly improved quality and at the same time reduced costs.

Since 1949, a point worthy of mention in the refractory industry is the rapid development of basic refractories, especially chrome-magnesite refractories. What did not exceed more than 0.05 per cent of the total production in 1950, soared to 6.82 per cent in 1954, contrasting with silica refractories which boasted 32.8 per cent of the total in 1949 but fell to 16.8 per cent in 1954. This phenomenon was due to the marked improvement in the ability of silica refractories and the replacement of a portion of it by chrome-magnesite refractories. At the same time, the quality of the refractories, such as high aluminous bricks, carborundum bricks, carbon bricks, castable refractories, plastic refractories, refractory coating, ZrO_2 refractories, TiO_2 series refractories, etc., have improved considerably. Although Japan has become highly proficient technically, the almost total absence of good raw material such as high aluminous material, magnesite, etc., and the demand to turn out superior products has lead to the forced importing of special raw materials. The advent of jet engines had opened up a fresh field for the use of ceramic coating which has now reached the phase of practicality. Cement

and other materials in connection with atomic power plants is being fully investigated.

Cement

The cement industry of Japan was begun by Utsunomiya Saburō in 1872, and the first Portland type cement was in the market in 1875. Having neither equipment nor ready technical knowledge, the product at that time was poor in quality as can be expected, but with the research and the supply of good material, improvement has been gradual until it finally reached its present level. The increase in the consumption of cement after the war is astounding, as can be seen by the productive capacities of 110 rotary kilns in 40 factories turning out 10 million tons per year. This is fourth (excluding the Soviet Union) in the world's cement production nations. Still not content, the industry is endeavoring to bring their plant more up-to-date with such equipment as the long kiln, airquenching cooler, air slide conveyor, dust collector, basic brick lining, etc. At present, not only domestic requirements are filled but over a million tons are exported to Korea, Formosa, Southeast Asia, Australia and New Zealand.

Miscellaneous

We have endeavored to give within the limited space, a broad outline of the ceramic industry. It may be noted that the development has been fast in each field of the industry, and that their utility values, not only in the line of industrial art and daily needs, but as the indispensable material in construction, machinery, kiln building, electric insulators, etc., are increasing. As an industry, ceramics may be said less spectacular than some others and the remarkable development that it has achieved is apt to go unnoticed. Nevertheless, the unceasing research in science and technique continues with the object of improving the quality and reducing the production cost, and also the development of new field to which ceramics can be usefully applied.

Chemicals and Chemical Industry

Outline

Due to the limited supply of necessary raw materials, the development of the chemical industry in Japan has been very delayed in comparison with other industries. Consequently, the output of the principal industrial chemicals was insignificant until about 1930. From then, however, the demand of certain chemicals for munitions manufacture induced a more rapid development of the industry and synthetic ammonia, ammonium sulphate and other organic chemicals began to be produced in quantities.

A certain quantity of sulphur, limestone, bituminous coal, etc. are found in the country as natural resources, but industrial salt necessary for the production of soda has to be relied on imports from China, Egypt and India, since salt cannot be economically produced in quantity in Japan while the raw materials of potassium compounds are almost non-existent.

Apart from munitions purposes the principal requirement of industrial chemicals in Japan, which is essentially an agricultural country but with sterile ground, must have a good supply of artificial fertilizers. For this reason, ammonia and sulphuric acid industries has become to occupy the major position in the chemical industry. A comparatively good supply of electric power combined with more or less sufficient limestone at hand has created the start of carbide industry, and incidentally, provided the opportunity for the development of organic chemical industry in which acetylene is a necessary substance.

The large population and insufficient supply of natural fibers for textiles naturally led to the development of artificial silk which uses carbon disulfide, caustic soda and ammonia, and has made them all important in Japanese chemical industry.

Annual Production of Heavy Chemicals in 1954

Sulphuric acid (50° Bé)	4,871,101 t
Ammonia	695,024
Nitric acid	88,648
Caustic soda	458,656
Soda ash	303,848
Chlorine acid (35%)	208,598
Chlorine	52,457
Calcium carbide	572,747

Sulphuric acid industry

Sulphur is one of the more abundant resources in Japan and is found in several districts as iron pyrite and native sulphur. Yanahara in Okayama Prefecture, and Matsuo in Iwate Prefecture are the major producing districts. The greatest amount of sulphur is used for the production of sulphuric acid. Most of the sulphuric acid plants is under the control of fertilizer companies, and is consumed as material for ammonium sulphate and calcium-perphosphate. The surplus is sold as the industrial sulphuric acid. As the important makers of sulphuric acid, Nissan Chemical Ind. Co., Tōyō Kōatsu Ind. Co., Shōwa Electro-Chemical Co., Niigata Sulphuric Acid Co., Sumitomo Chemical Ind. Co., etc. should be mentioned. They are, at the same time, the manufacturers of artificial fertilizers.

The principal system in the production of sulphuric acid is the lead chamber process, although the catalytic process is also used to a fair degree. Both use iron pyrite and native sulphur as raw materials. With a view to conserve the sulphur resources, zinc blend is beginning to be used in the zinc industry as a substitute.

Ammonia and
nitric acid industry

The Haber-Bosch process for synthesis of ammonia was first began in 1930. Prior to this, the production was either by the calcium cyanamide process, or as the by-

product of coke making. The synthesis ammonia production is believed to have originated with the use of electric power following the development of hydro-electric generation, but the primary use of the ammonia produced was for the production of ammonium sulphate and artificial silk by the Benberg system. Later, with the demand for nitric acid in munitions manufacture, the requirement of material increased which led to the birth of several factories for synthetic ammonia. Among the principal factories where the zinc synthesis system is used are the Tōyō Kōatsu Kōgyō Co., Shōwa Electro-Chemical (Denkō) Co., Nissan Chemical Ind. Co., Sumitomo Chemical Ind. Co., Asahi Kasei Co., Nittō Chemical Co., Tōa Gōsei Co., Ube Industries, etc. Several different systems of synthesis are in use, but I.G., Uhde, Claud, Fauzer, Tokyo Industrial Laboratory and American systems are the better known. The characteristic of the Japanese system is the frequent use of hydrogen gas and electrolytic hydrogen made possible by the low cost of electric power.

As stated earlier, the principal uses of ammonia are for the production of sulphuric acid and nitric acid by oxidation, and some for use in refrigerating compressors. In recent years, the quantity of ammonia used for the production of fertilizer and plastics is on the increase as seen from the following table:

Products of Synthetic Ammonia in 1954

Ammonia sulphate	2,074,651 t
Aqua. amm. and liquid ammonia	62,770
Urea	124,836
Nitric acid	88,684
Ammonia nitrate	37,780

Soda industry

The soda industry plays an important part in supplying material to such industries as glass, soap and artificial silk, and is the major chemical industry. The principal material salt is produced enough only for table use and practically all of it for industrial use has to be imported.

Asahi Glass Co., Tokuyama Soda Co., Nippon Soda Co., Tōyō Soda Co., etc. are the principal soda makers with a total output of 304,000 tons of soda ash and 458,000 tons of caustic soda, of which half is produced by the ammonia soda process and the other half by the electrolytic soda process. Owing to the relatively low cost of electric power, many of the plants being built are adopting this system. Where electrolytic system is employed, chlorine gas is a by-product. 52,000 tons of it is disposed of as liquified chlorine and used for the manufacture of bleaching powder, and for the synthesis of nitric acid which in turn produces 208,000 tons of nitrogen. The main use of nitric acid is for the production of mono-sodium glutamate for seasoning of food, but the quantity required for this is small and there is the fear of over-production if a general conversion to electrolytic system takes place.

Carbide industry

It is only natural that the carbide industry is bound to prosper if electric power soda ash is abundant. The annual production of calcium carbide is about 572,700 tons which is mostly consumed in the manufacture of calcium cyanamide acetylene. However, Japan lacks good anthracite coal. If coke is to be used, the quality suitable for the production of carbide must be imported as in pre-war days from Viet-Nam. This difficulty is now partly overcome by the use of Canadian or American coal mixed with coke.

Since the carbide industry is one of the greatest consumers of electric power in Japan, it stands to reason that the acetylene synthesizing industry is highly regarded. It also explains the reason why the plastic and synthetic fiber of the vinyl group occupy an important place in industry.

Organic chemicals

The production of organic chemicals has close bearing on steel making, and the carbonization of coal to gas industry,

although, synthesizing of methanol is mainly the product of synthetic ammonia factory belonging to the high pressure chemical industry. Benzene is produced either as a by-product of the carbonization of coal or as synthetic benzene using acetylene as material. Most of the benzene was being consumed as material for the production of dyestuffs until the great demand for nylon caused a shortage of phenol leading to a demand for the increased production of benzene. Although the shortage is being supplemented at present by imports, it is hoped that future requirement can be met by petrochemical sources.

Production of Organic Chemicals in 1954

Pure benzene	33,212 t
Crude benzene	19,517 ..
Methanol	50,311 ..
Ethanol (excluding spirits)	36,481 kl
Acetic acid (synthetic)	26,081 t
Acetone	3,758 ..

The synthesizing method of methanol has been in use for a considerable time, and

was adopted by such manufacturers as Tōyō Kōatsu, Sumitomo Chemicals, Edogawa Chemicals, etc. The gas produced from coke is used by the companies, but since the development of natural gas in Niigata Prefecture in 1952, the appearance of methanol factories using natural gas is creating interest. Methanol, besides being used as a solvent, is used in the production of formaline for the requirements of the plastic industry.

Acetic acid generally is produced by synthesis from acetylene as material, and used mainly for the manufacture of cellulose acetate, film, plastic and acetate silk in the cellulose group. Incidentally, it indicates the direction in which the acetylene chemical industry is developing and much is expected of it with the vinyl industry. The acetone solvent is mainly synthetic acetylene. In Japan, 2 or 3 factories are making it by acetone-butanol fermentation. In recent years, the petrochemical industry is producing acetone from propane and it is hoped that in the near future a radical change will be seen in the industry.

Shipbuilding

To maintain economic balance and stability of livelihood of the nation, Japan must rely on foreign supply not only such industrial raw materials as iron ore, coal and oil but even rice which forms the staple diet of the nation and there is no other way but to improve overseas trading. Since Japan is surrounded by seas and all imports and exports must be sea borne, it has long been the national policy to maintain high tonnage of vessels.

The shipbuilding industry has been one of the key industries of the country. The history of Japanese shipbuilding if traced to the days of the ancient wooden crafts, goes back as far as 600 A.D. when ships navigable in open seas were built for trade with the Chinese Continent. The construction of steel ships, however, lagged far behind European countries, and did not commence until about 1890. Even then the work was done under unfavorable condition

with practically no facilities and scanty materials. Construction of any sizable ships were, therefore, not possible. And the urgent requirement of tonnage for the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars depended on ships from abroad. By this bitter experience, the construction of shipyards started in some parts of the country. The world's tonnage shortage during the World War I, led to Japanese playing an important role in supplying allied countries with ships, and brought about unparalleled activity in shipbuilding circles. Later, benefitting by experience and ceaseless research, the largest type of vessels were within the ability of Japanese shipbuilders. Before World War II, Japan had a merchant fleet of 6,300,000 gross tons. 30 per cent of this tonnage was supplied to the navy for service.

The last war caused the loss of practically all of the tonnage held except for 1,500,-

000 gross tons of war-time standard ships, half of which were not in fit condition for use. The severe blow of losing in the war were not only suffered by maritime circles but also by all of the industries of the country. The national economic was on the verge of collapse. Even shipbuilding, which had received comparatively light damages to their facilities, was no exception, and the building capacity of 800,000 ton per annum stood idle.

To relieve the serious food problem in the chaotic postwar period, and to obtain the protein needed by the nation for consumption, the first move was to construct fishing crafts, followed by the small coastal service vessels in very restricted numbers which was far from being enough to revive the industry.

The recovery of the economic condition which followed, however, brought a new dawn to the industry. It opened the ways to the construction of larger sea going vessels, including orders from overseas countries which showed a marked growth since 1949. By the latter part of 1953, the new tonnage contracted to overseas owners had almost reached the peak in the world ship construction. At present, with sufficient materials on hand, shipbuilders have work to last, at least, for the next 3 years.

Record of Shipbuilding since 1946

(unit: G. T.)

Fiscal year	Domes- tic	Export	Total
1946	130,191	—	—
1955 Apr.-Dec.	228,419	236,349	464,768
1947	125,499	—	125,499
1948	172,935	840	173,775
1949	132,618	10,500	143,118
1950	270,130	98,240	368,370
1951	452,380	20,110	472,490
1952	376,123	164,953	541,079
1953	406,526	254,511	664,037
1954	280,419	149,843	430,392

In order to keep abreast of continental shipbuilders and to make the contracts profitable undertakings, the essential point is the maintenance of superiority in technical quality, low cost and better contract

conditions. The greatest determining factors are the improvement in welding technique and greater turnover of building berth. Consequently, all the builders are planning to re-equip their yards to meet the requirements.

Welding technique had made a marked advance during the period of the last war. The riveting work which once was the symbol of a shipyard is being completely replaced by electric welding. Electric welding, which revolutionized shipbuilding technique, naturally has influenced the nature of equipments, such as the increase of welding equipments, building of weather proof welding facilities, installation of large capacity cranes, etc. The fact that approximately 30 per cent of the colossal amount of outlays made for reconstruction during the past 10 years was expended in 1955 alone which shows the extent to which the shipbuilders are paying their attention to the modernization of the yard for increased output.

There are some 24 shipyards capable of undertaking large construction in Japan. They are found in the vicinity of Tokyo, the Inland Sea, the heavy industrial district of northwest Kyūshū. The total number of berths available is 87, 15 of which accommodates vessels of over 23,000 tons. The number of workers is 150,000 which shows that shipbuilding is one of the key industries of the country.

All of the machinery necessary equip ships with main engines, auxiliary machinery, electrical machinery, radio apparatus, navigation equipments, etc. are manufactured in Japan. The fact that main and auxiliary engines are made by shipbuilders is one of the features of Japanese shipyards. This is attributed to the fact that when the shipbuilding industry began to make a rapid advance just prior to World War II, the engineering quality of land machinery was not yet on a par with the shipbuilding standard which demands a much greater safety factor, durability and weight restriction. Shipbuilders, to maintain their reputation, had to work in co-operation with the foremost makers of the world, after spending much money and time

in the study of shipbuilding technique, the yards have become able to build ships equal to the world's best.

Here, the credit must be given to the part played by such organizations as the Kaiji Kyōkai (The Maritime Association) and Shipbuilders Association towards developing Japanese shipbuilding to what it is today. As a ship classification society, Kaiji Kyōkai was established in 1900, and today it is recognized worldwide together with Lloyd's and American Bureau of Shipbuilding, and other recognized organizations of other countries. The Shipbuilding Association began as a technical society in 1897, and the quality of their research is valued highly amongst technical circles.

Besides the above, as technical and research organization, mention should be made of Research Institute of Ministry of Transportation, 4 research sections attached to national universities, and the research

departments of practically all shipyards where technical investigations are being made night and day.

The technical advancement as the result of cooperation of these organizations and the reduction of cost through modernization of equipments, make possible the early delivery of efficient vessels. So, it is not without reason that the shipbuilders of Japan are favored with voluminous contracts from overseas shipowners. Today the amount of export ships represent 10 per cent in value of the entire Japanese exports.

Shipbuilding may be said to be the representative composite industry requiring full technical knowledge and use of a large variety of articles for the construction of machinery and equipments. Therefore, shipbuilding activity is of concern to all because it affects the development of several hundreds of kindred industries.

Civil and Construction Engineerings

Outline of the construction industry

Parallel with the postwar reconstruction and the progress of development projects, the construction work in Japan has made astounding progress both in volume and quality. It is especially noticeable in the mechanization of construction work. The establishment of the registration system of contractors with local and national governments and the importation of technical knowledge have helped to make it a modern industry.

According to the 1953 statistics (Japan Statistical Yearbook published by the Statistical Bureau of the Prime Minister's Office, and Constructional Yearbook published by the Ministry of Construction), out of the total public income of 5,984,000 million yen, 265,000 million yen representing approximately 4.4 per cent is accounted for by the construction industry. Out of 3,222,792 industrial establishments, 206,172 being 6.4 per cent were connected with the construc-

tion industry. Again in number of workers, 1,150,616 (6.5 per cent) out of the total 17,528,310 industrial workers (excluding agricultural workers) belonged to construction work.

The trend of construction industry, of course, is influenced by the prevailing construction business trend, but public works of the state or local public organizations are the main influencing factor. The total amount of money expended in 1953 for civil and construction engineering of all kinds reached approximately 200,000 million yen, and if 55,000 million yen for the national railway reconstruction, 90,000 million yen for electric power development (excluding local government works) expenditures are added, the total rises to approximately 350,000 million yen. Although these works are undertaken either by the principals themselves or by contractors, railway and electrical power development are practically all assigned to contractors. In the field of construction, the proportion of work by the principal and by the contractor is about 30 per cent to 70 per cent

respectively. The contract work is let to 2,607 contractors registered with the Ministry of Construction or 57,955 registered with the prefectural government.

The principal material consumed in 1953 for general construction work, excluding those by railways and electric power development work, are in approximate figures, 2 million tons of cement, 226,000 tons of steel, 636 million board feet of timber and 42,000 kilolitres of oil.

The outstanding feature in postwar construction work in Japan is the advancement of mechanization. Following the importation of various construction machinery, the reproduction of relics of these machines progressed. Japan-made machinery now incorporates special features to fit the needs of domestic construction methods. The production has increased to such an extent that a portion of the products are being exported. The variety of machineries covers practically all requirements in modern construction work and among the heavy machineries are included: bulldozers, tiredozers, power shovels (including drag line), scrapers, motor graders, tractor shovels, dump trucks, tower excavators, crushing plants, cable cranes concrete finishers, etc. There are also various kinds of tampers, tire rollers for ground preparation, surface vibrators, horizontal vibrators for concrete work, portable asphalt plants, Jumbos, trenching machines, etc. Besides the above, there are machines which are typically Japanese designed to suit their own constructional system. Among these are bulldozers, motor graders, dump trucks, road rollers, etc. which have been exported to South America and Southeastern Asian countries and are very popular.

Next, we will briefly outline each field of the construction engineering industry.

Sand prevention and erosion control

Due to the extreme hilliness of the country, practically all of the rivers and streams start in the mountains and most of them run into the sea. Not only due to severe grade of the river bed but the sudden

change in the direction of flow and river bed formation cause many washout damages. Consequently, through the ages protective measures have been taken at all mountainous and hilly districts to safeguard the hillsides from damage. This is locally called *sabō* or sand prevention, and is similar to sand prevention dams and bank protection work seen in the Alpine countries of Europe. The origin of *sabō* in Japan is not clear, but work done in 1656 is on record. It would seem, the work of sand prevention dams finds its origin in the piling up of boulders from river beds to protect the bank, which later developed into wet masonry and concrete dams and even to arch dams.

River improvement work

The rivers in Japan are rapids in most cases and as such provide many problems on control work which is made more hazardous by the melting snow in the uplands, the rainy season and the autumn typhoon season. Furthermore, the scanty reservoir capacity of the narrow rivers in the hills, and excessive use of water (electric generation, irrigation, etc.) cause dryness during the dry winter season and drought in summer, plus, on the other hand, floods in heavy rain are necessary evils which Japan has to face. As may be seen from the foregoing, the highflow coefficient (ratio of maximum flow to minimum flow), high specific volume of flow or sharp flow curve, high gravel content, etc., are characteristics of all Japanese rivers. For rivers like these, flood prevention measures have been going on for a long time. Records show the dredging of the Uji River in Osaka 323 years ago. The principal work done in river improvement since the Meiji Era has been done in the direction of the improvement of the river beds based on the idea of minimizing the effect of floods by increasing the sectional area of rivers, shortening and straightening the flow or by providing flood control channels to lead the water more directly into the sea. In recent years, however, the steps have been to control the volume of flood by constructing a dam and

reservoir in the upper streams where flood water can be stowed momentarily, and at the middle and lower streams, reservoirs have been constructed for a further control of the flow. Since the control dams can be utilized for both irrigation and electric generation, several plans and constructions are in progress as multipurpose dams. In the improvement work of riverways, not only the increase of sectional area, but consideration has been given to stabilize the river bed. Also large scale systematic dredging by tower excavators to control sand and gravel carried down by the river stream is under way. The problem of still water in the lowlands and in dykes is awakening the countrywide attention parallel to a highly developed land utility scheme, leading up to the work of pump drainage and construction of tidal gates.

Going on to the execution of river improvement works, the outstanding feature is the same as in other branches of engineering. Large scale projects are undertaken very efficiently by mechanization and a more general use of concrete and ferro-concrete in place of stones and timber used formerly. As has been previously touched upon, the course that river improvement works should take seems to lie in the direction of unifying the planning and working of entire rivers paying regard to erosion and flow control and water utility problems.

Electric generation and dams

Japan is blessed with many rivers which are suitable for electric generation. The Keage Power Station (2000 HP) built in 1891 utilizing the drainage water from Lake Biwa is the forerunner of the development of water power. Since Shitsugawa River Power Station at the Daihō Dam site on Ujigawa River was built in 1923, the reservoir dam type and control reservoir type electric power generation have been constructed. In 1952 a total of 6,829,000 kw has been developed but in 1954 it was reported that there still existed 22 million kw of undeveloped power sources. The water power development since the War has been taken up as an important national project

with the goal of reaching 3,340,000 kw during the 6 year program from 1955 to 1960. These developments include mainly dam construction, and show a marked progress over the prewar standard as to the capacity, types and number, design, construction and selection of materials, speed of construction by mechanization, improvement in quality and reduction of cost. The construction of flood control dams as multipurpose dams which can be used also for electric power generation as explained in the part on river improvement is a feature of postwar development. The gravity type dam occupies the top position in dam construction with heights as much as 150 meters as in the case of the Sakuma and Okutadami dams. There are also several arch dams planned and constructed as seen by the Kamishiiba Dam.

In the field of execution of work in concrete dams, the use of AE agent and mixing of fly ash, concrete mixing in batcher plants and pouring by cablecranes are all contributing towards quality improvement and work efficiency. Furthermore, multipurpose dams are being planned and built as irrigation dams scientifically in the form of rock-filled earth dams.

Water cause and irrigation

Irrigation in Japan has long supplied river of reservoir water to rice paddies. In recent years, however, a more extensive use is being made of multipurpose dams and reservoirs after the construction of large scale earth dams.

Ports and harbors

Ports and harbors of all kinds, including open and closed commercial and industrial ports and fish harbors total more than 3,000 along the coast in 1952 handling 8,320,000 vessels, 81,890,000 passengers and 209,000,000 tons of cargo. After the War, port and harbor service had to be improved to meet the increase in size of cargo vessels and quick despatch of the vessels. The major

construction works executed are the No. 7 Pier of Kobe. Breakwater work at Amagasaki, No. 3 Takashima Pier of Yokohama port and the unloading pier at Nagasaki fish harbor. The latter is of particular interest since it adopted the sand pile system of construction. The construction of an artificial island in Ariake Bay of coal mining from under the sea is also of special interest.

Coast and erosion prevention

As is characteristic of an island country, Japan has an extensive coast line of 25,641 kilometers being almost 70 per cent that of the United States of which 3991 kilometers are protected by embankments. These protective measures have not drawn much attention in the past, but since the war control of disaster by typhoons, earthquake, land depression, coast line recession due to erosion, has been taken up as an important problem in land protection. A drastic reconsideration of civil engineering works in connection with coastal improvement work was called for. The principal work now in progress include protective embankments, landslide prevention, dyke building, flood gates on lakes, etc.

Cities

The majority of the important cities of Japan suffered war damages and their reconstruction work has been one of the largest postwar problems. The number of cities destroyed is 119 representing 2,300,000 houses over a total area of 180,000,000 *tsubo* (1 *tsubo* equals about 36 square feet). Most of the destroyed cities are being reconstructed along a new city planning system. In large cities, car parking is a new source of worry due to the sudden increase of vehicles. There are other problems, such as the construction of super highways and satellite cities, to relieve the conjection of the large cities.

Highways

The length of the highways in Japan is very long in proportion to the area of the

land but it is also notorious for its poor quality. Out of 9,204,859 meters of class I highways, more than 60 per cent is untreated on the surface and 27 per cent is surfaced. There are 0.4 per cent of road unsuited to motor traffic. To make the road problem more acute, the number of automobiles which was 100,000 in 1930 has increased to over 1,000,000 in 1953 and still increasing. 3 important basic regulations have been established after the War: Amendment of Highway Regulation Law (1952); Establishment of Toll Roads Law (1952); and Fuel Oil Tax for Road Maintenance Fund Law (1953) to assist highway construction. The fuel law has not only secured the means for road maintenance but has been the basis for the five-year plan on road construction as shown by the fact that current construction work on the principal roads have been possible because of the new law. The new Tokyo-Yokohama Highway and the Chitose-Sapporo Highway (Hokkaido) are outstanding examples of new highways while the Kammon Tunnel joining Moji and Shimonoseki and the Osaka-Kobe-Shikoku road are good examples of toll roads. Other high speed toll roads and highways are being built or planned.

In connection with the more technical aspects of road building, the establishment of a new standard considering the speed, size and weight of the motor vehicles is of note. With the advance of soil dynamics and its generalization, the tamping method, road planning to suit the soil, investigation of the stability of the soil, etc. have been taken into consideration. Mixing of AE agent in concrete, greater quality control, mechanization especially in soil tamping, soil consistency, surface finishing mechanization all go hand in hand to advance designing technique and quality. The big problem remaining is how to completely rebuild the inferior roads, construction of high speed roads, and a greater adoption of modern road building technique and mechanization.

Railways

Construction of the main railways in Japan began in 1868 and was practically completed in 1926. In the Shōwa Period beginning 1926, the principal work has been the construction of local and branch lines in conjunction with industrial development, short cuts and improvement of the main trunk lines (laying of double tracks, electrification, etc.). Due to the many mountains throughout Japan, many tunnels had to be built for which imported machinery and technique has been used coupled with Japan's peculiar techniques. With the increase of population and the concentration of economic power in the large cities, improvements of the lines and the stations and other facilities had to be made. Switching yards had to be increased or built to maintain a smooth flow of both passenger and cargo traffic.

The Shimonoseki-Moji rail tunnel connecting Honshū with Kyūshū built in 1944 is notable and is the first successful under-sea tunnel of Japan. Immediately after the end of the war, the work was concentrated to rehabilitation but from about 1950 the work turned toward improvements including electrification of the main lines, and the construction of branch lines for industrial development. Electrification has made a marked progress leading to research work on electrification on an AC current. Attempts to speed up the train schedule by reducing dead load has been tried on the Tōkaidō trunk line with good results. Otherwise, for permanent right of ways new materials and working system, application of P. C. concrete railway sleepers, manganese steel crossings, rejuvenated rails are now being used extensively.

Many new private railway lines have been laid from 1926 to 1932. Many extensions have been made running into principal stations especially in the Tokyo and Osaka areas.

Bridges

Although bridge construction should be treated separately from highways and railways, they are treated here for convenience.

Highway Bridges

There are still a considerable number of wooden and stone bridges reminiscent of the olden times all over the country. The number of bridges over local main roads is approximately 120,000 with the extended length of 1,560 kilometers of which one half is permanent bridges. Owing to the scarcity of materials, no new construction was as done during the war and up to 1950 when some active work began. There are some improvements seen on the construction work due to the importation of new technique and the Japan's own research work. Special mention should be made of the welded bridges. Practically all of the girder type bridges are of welded construction. On the other hand, for economy, the system of construction combining a ferro-concrete floor with a synthesized girder has been designed and built with good results. Furthermore, the construction of box girders with trellis girders has recently been designed and is about to be constructed.

As for materials, the use of high tensile steel is being taken up for actual construction. Since the importation of the prestressed concrete technique, one or two examples of P.C. concrete bridges exist and are fast increasing in number. The completion of the Saikai Bridge, internationally known for the long span between supports, exemplifies the outstanding postwar road bridge construction.

Railway Bridges

The steel railway bridges of the early period (1868-1912) were all patterned after foreign design, and not until 1912 to 1926 was a design of our own attempted. It was not until after 1926 that Japan has been able to execute anything in the sense of modern bridge construction. There are no

radical differences in the construction of railway bridges to those of highway bridges, except in the matter of loading and spanning systems.

Concrete bridge for railways have made

rapid progress since 1931, employing the arch, larch, and flat slab systems. Recently, pre-stressed and synthesized girders have begun to be used as in the case of highway bridges.

Architecture

Architecture of the past and its technique

Wood has always been used as building materials from ancient Japan. It was also the case in Europe but there it gradually turned to using bricks and stones. Such a transition did not take place in Japan until quite recently. It is not clear why this is so but it is most probably due to the reason that Japan had good quality timber and timber was thought to be much safer than bricks or stones against earthquakes which the country frequently suffered. Another reason is that the climate is comparatively mild, especially in the southern district where the capital cities were situated in the olden days and there was no particular need for protection against the cold weather.

In any case, all Japanese buildings, either they be temple, palace or just plain dwelling were built of wood in the lintel fashion composed of pillars and beams up to the pre-Meiji Era when the European style of architecture was just beginning to find its way into the country. The construction technique, however, was of extremely high order. There still remain several good examples of outstanding wooden structures of the various periods including the Hōryū-ji Temple of Nara which is known throughout the world as the oldest wooden building. That these buildings survived the periodical and destructive earthquakes and typhoons every autumn through several centuries is proof of the high degree of construction technique.

Abundance of rain is another feature of the Japanese climate. It has helped to advance the art of baking roofing tiles out of necessity to weather the elements. And

there are also several examples of roofs covered with copper sheetings. The art of metal working was highly advanced as can be seen by some exquisite examples of ornamental work in old buildings. The use of lacquer for room fixtures is also noticeable and it characterizes the excellent craftsmanship in wood carving. The use of plaster between pillars also gives some indication of the skill in this art.

Post-Meiji Era architecture

Coming into the Meiji Era there was an onrush of Western civilization into Japan and architecture also received its influence. The early European style buildings were of wood but brick buildings made rapid progress as can be seen in school and public buildings. Some of the examples still exist today, although practically all of them were destroyed in the big earthquake of 1923.

During the Taishō Era (1913-1926), steel and reinforced concrete construction was introduced to make the construction of many-storied buildings possible. The techniques were, of course, imported from the United States and Europe, and had several faithful adherents amongst our architects and younger students who laid the foundation for present day architecture. The fact that Japan is noted for its earthquakes has made it possible to make a study of seismic-proof construction and establish many facts and theories which are considered most advanced in the world. In modern Japan after the Meiji Era, the mode of living has gradually changed towards that of European and American ways requiring higher buildings of 8 to 9 stories in the heart of the large cities.

As a result of the War, all of the cities composed of wooden buildings were de-

stroyed, causing a great shortage of homes. Part of the reconstruction of buildings was done by the state and the typical Japanese houses of paper and wood are gradually being transformed to concrete apartment houses of 3 to 4 stories.

Architecture today

Architectural Style

The wooden construction of the pre-Meiji Era had the well known characteristics of steep sloping roofs and extended eaves with a wide space between pillars and sliding screens or doors between them. With steel or reinforced concrete buildings, the popular Japanese style found in wooden buildings is no longer possible and can only be found in special houses such as tea houses or inns built for people who still cherish the traditional way of living. The prevailing style of public buildings in the heart of cities may be called the international style similar to most modern buildings in Europe or the United States.

Building Materials

The materials used in present day construction are extremely varied and new materials are being added to suit new requirements. Steel and cement which are the principal building materials are available in large quantities domestically, likewise light alloys such as duralmin and aluminum. Concrete blocks and piles, precast pillar, beams and slabs are also sufficiently available.

Large size plate glass of good quality is now available and is freely used in buildings. The quality of plywoods has improved as the synthetic resin base adhesives and drying method have improved. There are many varieties of internal dressings including those of cement base, asphalt base, plastic base, etc. Both oil and synthetic resin base dressings are being used as painting material.

Construction

As explained earlier, Japan is subjected to earthquakes and any construction method which does not withstand the strain of the

quakes will not be accepted. Brick and stone have therefore gone out of use. Buildings of over five stories are built of steel and reinforced concrete, and up to that height in reinforced concrete although from an economic viewpoint, there are examples of using light steel construction for two to three story buildings.

The damages from typhoons are also by no means small which also supports the use of steel or reinforced concrete for construction to combat the elements. Cities which still have many inflammable wooden frame houses are a fire hazard and the problem of fireproof buildings which can be built on an economical basis is an urgent one. A good substitute for reinforced concrete is concrete blocks although at the present stage they are still economically beyond the reach of the general public. Whatever the construction, if it is to be earthquake proof, the framing will have to be stronger than the buildings in countries which do not have frequent earthquakes. Consequently the cost of building will be higher.

Execution

In a country abounding in man power, the development of mechanization in any field is apt to be slow although modern construction makes it imperative to rely on construction machinery. Structural work uses little of standard factory-made parts and it will take some time before building materials can be standardized even for the building of small houses. The system of delivering ready mixed concrete to the building sites in special cement mixed trucks has been adopted extensively in the large cities.

Building Equipments

With the increasing number of modern buildings, equipment and facilities have been improved. Steam heating and air conditioning systems are used in the buildings which have been built recently. With the advent of the taller buildings, the elevator industry is getting its share of business. Sanitary equipment has shown improvements in the large cities with the gradual completion of sewage and water

supply systems. Fluorescent lighting is being increasingly used for illumination. The cost of these equipments and facilities amounts to as much as 50 or 60 per cent of the construction cost of the building.

The above brief account is only an outline of the construction work in Japan. Taking the various factors and the natural calamities into consideration, the construc-

tion technique has made satisfactory progress. It is regretted that there still exists a large number of temporary wooden buildings which are fire hazards owing to the weak financial position of the country.

In a densely populated nation such as Japan, city planning and construction offer administrative organs and technical groups many problems still to be solved.

Machinery Industry

Outline

Odd as it may seem, the development of the machinery industry in Japan has its origin in the policy of strengthening the country by military power which was established at the time of opening the country to foreign powers early in the Meiji Era. The first step in achieving the object was to equip the key industries with machineries so munitions can be produced without relying on foreign supply. Fostered by government subsidy, the development was fast as seen in the iron and steel industries. The pace was accelerated gradually from about 1900 to 1940. In 1940, the amount of output was 50 per cent of the total industrial products in value although this was the unnatural result of producing military equipments and can by no means be taken as the normal course of economic development.

Notwithstanding the war damages, the number of machine tools left was said to be 67,000, approximately 40 per cent of the 1.66 million that the United States was said to have possessed. The quality of the machinery gathered for the war purpose was mostly old and inefficient and unfit for the purpose of postwar reconstruction. With the Korean War in 1950, a new situation was created and for a few years, receiving the influence of wholesale domestic investment on factory equipments, the machinery industry once more showed signs of activity. The 1956 production reached about 50 per cent of the total industrial products which after supplying the domestic require-

ment left a quantity for export. Prewar exports were limited to Manchuria, Korea and Formosa and amounted to only 7 per cent of the total exports of the 1934-1936 period but later gradually increased until it was 15 per cent in 1953. The principal export items are ships, rolling stocks, textile machineries, sewing machines, cameras and bicycles.

We shall endeavor to give a brief description of the machinery industry in general, excluding electric machinery and shipbuilding which are dealt with in separate chapters.

So wide is the range of products made in Japan that it would be difficult to find any item made in other countries which is not made here. The loss of certain production facilities in the war has probably played a good part in adjusting the unnatural expansion made in the past, and enabled a more healthy start with newer and better equipments and technique imported from overseas. The increased domestic demand is assisting the industry to maintain a correct course, and the result of the effort is reflected by the returns made in 1954.

The following figures are values in Japanese yen currency.

Automobiles	161,600 million
Industrial machinery	140,000 million
Basic machinery	52,100 million
Sewing machines, cameras	33,100 million
Rolling stocks	31,900 million

The basic machinery referred to above include metal working machinery, machine tools, all kinds of tools, bearings, etc.

Automobiles

The history of automobile making in Japan begins in 1936 when vehicles were made for military purposes. After the war, the production was restricted until 1949, but from about 1951 the production began to increase until in 1954, it was first in production value in the machinery industry. This is due to the increase in domestic demand for cars, and by the transfer of facilities and workers once engaged in aircraft industry to the automobile industry. The increase in the production of commercial vehicles, trucks, buses and small cars has been phenomenal. Cars for private home use have not increased in the same ratio although a small number of them are now being exported. The greatest number of export vehicles are diesel trucks which are receiving a good reputation for their durability and superior carrying capacity.

Industrial machinery

Metal working machinery and machine tools are principal items, but represent the field in which comparatively slow progress has been made, and consequently more technical importation was found necessary during the reconstruction period, but since 1955 this necessity is gradually becoming less.

Sewing machines

As in the case of automobile industry, the experience in aircraft precision work has proved valuable. The standardization

of parts is well maintained to make the system of mass production possible. In 1954, 1,438,000 were produced and 1,803,000 in 1955 which was second to the United States in sewing machine production.

Cameras

Cameras are another industry which has made a rapid progress since the War. In quality and efficiency, they are said in every way comparable to those of West Germany. Abundance of good raw material to make a superior grade of lens and the ready market found for the article are given as the reason for the unusual development of this industry. Taking the 1950 production index as one, the production for 1953 was five, and in 1955 it was eight. Approximately one million cameras were made in 1955.

Watches

The production of clocks dated back to 1892 and small watches to 1922, and satisfactory progress has been kept to this day. About ten per cent of the output is being exported.

Railway rolling stock

The railway rolling stock industry started in 1890, and like many others abnormally expanded during the War. The prewar record in production has not been reached yet. In 1954, it just reached 84 per cent of the 1936 production which is in marked contrast to all other industries which have completely recovered in the last ten years with about 25 per cent exports to their total output.

Paper and Pulp Industries

Being blessed with good timber resources and a plentiful supply of good water, Japan has the requisites for the development of the paper and pulp industries. The paper manufacturing has been continuously pro-

gressing since its first introduction in the year 600 although it was not until 1872 that it became a modern industry.

Pulp production was considered by paper makers as being incidental to paper mak-

ing. With the sudden increase in the demand of pulp as material in the production of artificial silk, a specialized factory was constructed in 1937, and at once began to be thought of as a promising industry.

The pulp industry in Japan commenced its development with everygreen trees from Hokkaidō and Sakhalin Islands. The loss of the latter as a penalty of the War and the urgency of conservation of evergreen trees led to the use of broad-leaf variety of trees which at the same time changed the production process.

The annual output of pulp which was about 3,000 million pounds in 1941, dropped to 400 million pounds in 1946 due to the war loss of major plants and equipment. The recovery was quick, however, as seen by the fact that the 3,600 million pound production in 1954 was increased to 4,100 million pounds in 1955, surpassing by far the highest prewar record. In 1955, 11 per cent of the material used was broad-leaf trees. Presently, about 15 per cent of the pulp produced is consumed for the production of chemical fiber which is about 80 per cent of the total domestic requirement of pulp while the remaining 85 per cent is more or less used for paper making.

The production of paper increases in the same ratio as the increase of pulp production—4,300 million pound production in

1930 dropped to 550 million pounds in 1946, then quickly recovered to 4,200 million pounds in 1954 and 4,800 million pounds in 1955, representing about five per cent of the world output. Approximately 63 per cent of the total product goes to the production of foreign variety paper and 27 per cent is consumed for cardboards and 10 per cent for Japanese type paper. Japanese paper is mainly the product of family industry, and is consumed domestically.

The export of paper has not risen as yet to any great extent. Only 170 million pounds were exported in 1955 which is only 3.6 per cent of the total production. Shipment is mainly to Eastern countries, and much is anticipated in the future.

The annual consumption of paper per capita is extremely low. It was only 46.8 pounds in 1954, which is only slightly higher than the world average of 42.3 pounds per capita and is only 10 per cent of the average consumption by Americans and Canadians. This fact is most encouraging for the Japanese paper industry as it may reasonably be expected the future will show an increase in the domestic demand. This, with the prospect of increased exports, makes the Japanese paper industry one of the most promising of the industries.

Miscellaneous Goods

There are various kinds of daily necessities such as toys, bamboo goods, metal tableware, fountain-pens, musical instruments and rubber goods. Their exportation amounts to big figures; \$219,822,000 in 1954 and \$ 282,643,700 in 1955, occupying about 15 per cent of the total sum of

the exportation from Japan. Among these goods, the export of metal toys occupies considerable part (\$47,452,700 in 1955) and bamboo goods come next, followed by metal tableware. These miscellaneous goods are manufactured by many small scaled enterprises.

XVI PUBLIC ENTERPRISE

Electric Power

As the principal source of power and as a raw material, electricity has been playing a most important part in the development of our industry, and it still is. It not only keeps abreast of the increased demands of modern industry, but it has been the backbone of the period of transition from light to heavy industry. This can be seen as the industry advanced through World War II and the Korean War up to the present and the use of electric power increased as Japan's industry began to emphasize heavy chemical industry. Today, electric power has replaced coal which was the main source of energy. Before the World War II, electric power demand increased at the rate of 10 per cent annually regardless of business condition, and it is interesting to look back on how it has fared in comparison through the confusion of the post-war period and to speculate on its future.

Postwar development history

Up to 1949 there were no new electric power development projects started. Efforts were concentrated on the rehabilitation of power facilities which had worn down during the war, and minor prewar projects unattended during the War was being carried out on a very small scale. But the sudden postwar changes in the situation brought about a sudden increased demand.

Although rigorous controls were placed to tide over the crisis, the power shortage began to be a very deep and serious problem.

In December 1949, the release of ¥10,-100 million from the international collateral fund was obtained and 4 years after the end of the War, Japan was able to tackle the development work in earnest.

From fiscal 1950, industrial activity took a steep curve upward as did the electric power industry and in the 1949-1950 period a reorganization of the electric power industry took place to solve the critical shortage of electric power. But the negotiations with the then General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers took considerable time to the detriment of the development program which at one period was compelled to cease work which further left ill effects on the power problem. The exceptional drought in the autumn of 1951 made it imperative to exercise a strict control on the use of power which all but paralyzed the activity of industries. Nevertheless, with the gradual relief in the situation, the annual output increase which had been only 70,000 kw up to 1950, began in the 1951 fiscal year to advance into the stage of a full-scale power development.

In fiscal 1952, the Power Development Promotion Law was enacted to solidify the base of power development project. The

Electric Sources Development Corp. with government financing was created along with the nine power supply companies to carry out a long-term power development program. Furthermore, 1952 marks the year in which the government had set the program to develop 5.12 million kw under a five-year program extending to 1957.

The fact that a 1.10 million kw increase, excluding small units under 1,000 kw was realized in 1953, the first year under the program, must be considered satisfactory against a planned output increase of 1.24 million kw for the year. The performance of the first year of the five-year program must be considered good in the face of these figures.

But in fiscal 1954, the generally tightened financing following the curtailment of government expenditures was a serious setback on the program. Nonetheless, a 990,000 kw increase was realized.

Although the government budget and financing policy continued to be tight in fiscal 1955, the financing situation was somewhat relieved, and with the aid of private investments a record increase of 1.2 million kw was attained. In fiscal 1956, an increase of 940,000 kw was recorded.

Electric power five-year program

Electric power development which requires a long period for construction must necessarily be based on an extended plan. The basic plan for the present development program is on a six-year plan. The five-year program previously mentioned was originated by deliberation in the second Electric Resources Adjustment Council in September 1952. It was based on the operational policy of the "Basic Electric Power Development" program and final decision was given by the same council in September of the following year.

In setting up a development plan over a long period, the first consideration is in making up a prospectus on the probable future consumption. The consumption for non industrial purposes tends to increase in proportion to the increase in population.

A prediction is not difficult to make on this basis, but for industrial requirement, it is necessary to make an assumption on the probable changes which might take place on the industrial structure. And it is difficult to predict with accuracy, but the government established a production index of 100 for 1934-1936 for the mining and engineering industries and estimated that the index would rise to 170 in 1957 and the power to meet this at 53,400 million kwh.

The 5,120,000 kw set by the development plan takes into account an increase of 3,700,000 kw of hydro-electric power and 1,400,000 kw of thermal electric power. When both are complete and added to existing output, the total hydro-electric power will 11,000,000 kw and 5,000,000 kw for thermal electric power for a grand total of 15,000,000 kw.

It has been generally considered that Japan is blessed with ample water power resources. According to the result of investigation carried out during the five years commencing 1937, the undeveloped water power resources were reported to be 20 million kw and a second report in 1954 put it at 22 million kw. The realization of the 11,000,000 kw development plan at the end of the five-year program would mean that 50 per cent of the resources would be developed.

The five-year plan emphasizes hydro-electric power and subordinates thermal power and priority is given to the development of hydro-electric resources by the building of large capacity reservoirs. For thermal electric generation, emphasis lies in the early construction of high efficiency plants in the early stages of the program to overcome the power shortage problem as soon as possible. Furthermore, the program gives the greater emphasis on the overall development of power sources early in the five-year period and the priority shifts to transmitter stations and distribution facilities as the development progresses. Effort is also made to cut power losses to 22.2 per cent by 1957. The total cost of carrying out the program was estimated at the beginning at 752,200 million yen.

Electric power six-year program

In 1955, the government proposed a consolidated economic six-year program and with the drafting of the "Five-Year Economic Independence Plan", the power development program also found it necessary to make out a new long-term policy. The new six-year program was thus worked out after passing the deliberation of the Electric Resources Adjustment Council in January of 1956. The aim of the six-year program extending from 1955 to 1960 is to attain a goal of six million kw on the prediction that the demand will be 69,200 million kwh at the consumer's end and delivery end power to be 82,234 million kwh. Against the actual loss percentage of 20.04 percent in 1954, the estimated loss percentages for each succeeding year from 1955 were assumed to be 19.18, 18.77, 18.38, 17.98, 17.59, 17.19 on down and it should be noted that these figures were lower than estimated in the previous five-year program. The power allocated for industry is 50,500 million kwh and 18,700 million kwh for non industrial consumers. A supply of 60,800 million kwh was expected by electric supply companies and 8,400 million by private generation. On the above prediction of power demands the average increase is six per cent per year. With the assumed consumer's end power of 69,200 million kwh, the annual power resources development would be 6 million kw in each of the six-year program. And in addition to the foregoing, the following points were considered.

In order to maintain a long-term price stability and still supply the demand as outlined above, development would be based on a happy economic balance between hydro and thermal power development. In the development of hydro-electric power, emphasis would be on building large reservoirs, but at the same time developing natural water flows or currents which are economical in development. In the case of thermal electric generation, consideration is given to the large capacity high-efficiency and high-power plants in parallel with the

large dam hydraulic plants with the objective of economy through the modernization of equipments.

As for the annual development of six million kw during the six-year program, the breakdown is 3.43 million kw by hydraulic power and 2.57 million kw by thermal power, which shows a greater dependence on thermal power in comparison with the previous five-year program in which the development proportion of hydro and thermal units was approximately two to one.

The desire to bring about an early stabilization of the supply in the early stages of the program is seen in the following table.

Fiscal year	Approximate output
1955	1,407,000 kw
1956	800,000 kw
1957	1,093,000 kw
1958	928,000 kw
1959	833,000 kw
1960	913,000 kw

Furthermore, the six-year program not only aims for the increase of the power source, but also lays importance in the improvement of transmitting and distributing plants and equipments to minimize loss.

The total expenditure for the undertaking is expected to reach ¥999,100 million.

The total output in 1960, the last year of the program would be 19,280,000 kw, being 11,740,000 kw by hydraulic power and 7,550,000 kw by thermal power. From these assumptions, the amount of fuel required in 1960 in terms of coal and oil would probably be 11,400,000 tons and 500,000 kiloliters respectively.

It is clear that Japan must be prepared to surmount the difficulties and solve the many problems to complete such a project—the effective collection of funds, the determination of the best proportion of hydraulic and thermal power in the various areas, the stabilization of reasonable charges in the different areas, the economic operation of public electric power enterprise, an early and satisfactory settlement of compensation, etc. are but a few of the more important problems.

In conclusion, we understand that over and above all this the problem of electric generation by atomic energy has become

the center of attention as the future source of electric power generation, and active research and study are now being directed

in this direction which would no doubt affect all existing plans and projects of electric power generation from its foundation.

Town Gas

History

It was not until 1870 that supplying gas to general public was considered as an industry. Already in 1869, an attempt was made at Yokohama to provide the city with gas lights, but the following year the project was realized when a permit was issued to private enterprise for establishing the gas business. Thus, in 1873, pipes were laid almost throughout the city, and 485 street lamps and about 500 lights for domestic use were completed.

In Tokyo, a similar scheme was started in 1874 as a public enterprise, and likewise in the same year at Kobe, the illumination of the foreign settlement was undertaken on a joint venture by Japanese and foreign residents. The public gas company of Tokyo was sold to a private enterprise in 1885, and together with the boom in the 1890s, made satisfactory progress as did the Yokohama gas enterprise. But with the appearance of electric lights in 1887, the progress of the gas industry as a source of illumination was checked until the importation of the incandescent gas mantle saved the situation for several years. It was again stalled with the introduction of tungsten filament light bulbs. By 1900, the gas business had sprung up in all of the large cities and in 1912-1913 they numbered 46.

Soon, gas as a heat source finally came into its own, but during World War I, which had brought high labor and material costs, the gas industry faced great managerial difficulties. In 1925, a unified legislation on the gas industry was passed which relieved the shortcomings of local control and administration and the business was considerably stabilized. Parallel to the boom of the munitions industry from about 1930, increased gas consumption by the in-

dustries of gas, tar and cokes brought about an unprecedented prosperity to the gas industry. In spite of the increase in demand, the various incidents in Manchuria, China made it difficult to procure raw materials as from 1939 a self-imposed control on consumption was necessary which later became government controlled. 1941-1942 were the peak years in production and consumption. In 1944 there were 117 firms engaged in the gas industry.

In the World War II, the industry suffered many direct and indirect damages. The destruction of cities drastically cut down the number of users to 932,000 in 1945 (consumers in 1941 numbered 2,362,000). The average leakage of gas throughout the country had gone up to 37%. Facing every adverse condition imaginable such as high commodity prices due to inflation, difficulty of procuring materials, reconstruction work was by no means easy. With the removal of coal restrictions in 1949, however, the tempo of recovery became faster. With rehabilitation of city areas and homes and the improvement of living standards, consumption became enormous. By 1952, supply had reached 15,700,000,000 cubic meters exceeding the 1941 figure of 13,300,000,000. The number of consumers had also grown to about 80 per cent of the previous peak figure.

Present condition

In 1955, the total number of gas enterprises numbered 100, supplying 200 cities and towns—about 40 per cent of the total. 20 per cent of those enterprises belonged to local public organizations and the rest were private enterprises. Local public organizations in the smaller cities represented but one per cent of the total sale of the country. The 3 principal private concerns—Tokyo, Osaka and Tōhō gas com-

panies—are of outstanding scale and boast about 85 per cent of total sales. This is attributed to the fact that the scale of the development between the small and large cities is extreme and the monopoly of business in the big cities naturally makes the business big while the small operators in local cities are handicapped not only in smaller consumer population and lower living standards, but by the difference in the cost of material and climatic conditions, all tending to check development beyond that of a small industry. There are about 80 companies operating with less than 50 laborers. In such places, the horizontal retort furnace is used which is suitable for small production in contrast with the more efficient and rational large capacity coke ovens used by the big city concerns.

The gas supplied comes principally from coal gas which represents about 80 per cent of the total with the balance of 20 per cent being natural gas. The natural gas reserve is estimated to be about 200,000 million cubic meters, but the development is slow and handicapped by poor geographical conditions for extensive development. In recent years, a certain amount of oil gas and water gas have begun to be used for the regulation of the peak load, and this is at a time when the demand on coke is low, and gas production which has a minimum coke production as a by-product is encouraged. But at the present stage, it is not developed to a point where it will have any general effect. The complete gasification of coal is also still in the stage of research with only some industrialization in some industrial circles. Thus, it may be seen that the major portion of the supply of town gas is from coal (supply of gas as a by-product of steel mills and other industries is only a meager one per cent and the majority of industries have their own gas producing facility). Consequently, the gas industry on one hand has the nature of being a public utility service but in the sale of the by-products of cokes and tar it has as an industry of carbonization the nature of a free enterprise.

The supply of gas is progressively increasing every year. Production was 2,183

million cubic meters in 1954, 2,411 million in 1955 and 2,852 million in 1956 whilst supply to end consumers was 2,051 million cubic meters in 1954, 2,270 million in 1955 and 2,608 million in 1956. Percentage-wise 57.6 per cent was supplied to homes, 16.6 per cent to industry and the balance to miscellaneous consumers in 1956. The number of homes supplied in 1954 was 2,081,000, industry and others 130,000 for a total of 2,212,000. In 1955 the figures were 2,252,000, 150,000 and 2,403,000 respectively while in 1956 there was a further increase to 2,567,000, 167,000 and 2,734,000 which exceeded the highest prewar figure of total users of 2,362,000 in 1941.

The total consumption of coal in 1954, was 3,162,000 tons (including imported coal), and represented about 5 per cent of the total coal output of Japan. The quantity of coke produced during the same year was 2,204,000 tons, which was approximately 33 per cent of the total produced in the country. The steel industry accounts for more than 50 per cent of the coke production, but it uses the entire amount itself. The cokes from the gas industry represented 60 per cent of the cokes supplied for general consumption and was the main source of supply.

In 1955 the coal consumption by the gas industry was 3,441,000 tons and coke production was 2,373,000 tons while in 1956 it further increased to 3,896,000 and 2,704,000 tons respectively.

The spread of gas as a public utility enterprise in Japan, is far behind that of electric power supply, and an even greater gap is seen in comparison with the spread of the gas industry in Europe and America. In large consuming areas in Tokyo and Osaka consumer percentage in comparison with the total population is from 56 to 65 per cent but in small local areas, with the exception of districts where natural gas is available, the percentage falls as low as three to 12 per cent. The average figure for the whole country is approximately 34 per cent. In view of the high utility value of town gas, greater popularization of its use is necessary. 80 per cent of domestic fuel in Japan is either wood or charcoal and

in a country with limited timber resources, the conservation of wood is a national problem. The use of gas as a domestic fuel is, therefore, not only of economic benefit to the individual, but answers the needs of the national economy. With this in mind a long-term fuel policy to expand the gas facilities in the large cities has been adopted in the five year plan extending from 1953 to 1957 as an administrative policy of the government. The aim of the plan is to bring the consumer percentage up to 40 per cent in 1957, the supply to 2,866,000 cubic meters, the number of users to 2,850,000 families, and to increase the daily production capacity to 12 million cubic meters (6.85 million cubic meters in 1952). For this an allocation of ¥58,700 million was made. The plan can scarcely be called satisfactory in its extent, but it is probably the best that can be expected under the economic condition of the country. The progress of the work up to 1955 shows that the planned schedule has been generally followed. At present, practically all town gas has a calorific value of 3,600 kcal per cubic meter, but upon the completion of the plan, the heat value of gas supplied in large cities is expected to be increased to 4,000 kcal.

The charges for gas up to the time of the establishment of the national control regulations in 1925 was controlled locally. From 1946, it was placed under government control as a means to stabilize prices, but it has been revised several times to keep up with inflation. The basic pricing system as a public utility service was established

in 1952, and the present gas rate was approved by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, the administrative authority. The rates were sent for each gas supplier and the average is ¥ 16.34 per cubic meter (excludes 10 per cent consumer tax). The rates are on a cost plus principle system which controls the cost of each item making up the whole. No price revision has been made since 1952, although price of coal makes up about 60 per cent of the total cost of gas. This reduction in the price of coal is, however, balanced by the price reduction of the by-products. The interest on investments for the improvement of equipment, repayment of capital, taxation, etc. are elements tending to raise the rates.

Regarding legislation on the gas industry, there were no unified regulations until 1925, when the old Gas Enterprise Law was established. This was replaced with the establishing of the Public Enterprise Ordinance in 1950. This ordinance in turn became obsolete even before the establishment of the Gas Enterprise Law in 1954. At present, the Gas Enterprise Law, from the viewpoint of protecting the interests of the consumer, maintaining a healthy development of the industry and preventing the dangers of gas, controls the establishment of new enterprise and sales, and supervises supplying conditions, and keeps surveillance over safety, and the gas industry is under many regulations as a public utility enterprise.

Water Supply and Sewerage

Water supply

Historical Sketch

Probably the earliest record left on the attempt on water supply work on a systematic basis dates back to 1590, when Tokugawa Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, chose Edo (original name of Tokyo) as his seat of government. Edo at that time has no system of water supply

and relied on a few streams and wells to meet the need of the people. In step with the growing prosperity of the Shogunate, more people began to migrate into Edo, and the development of a water supply system became an urgent problem.

Ieyasu in 1590 ordered his men to look into the possibility of better source of water, and as a result of survey, Inokashira Pond (near the present Musashino City, west of Tokyo) was selected as the

source of water supply to the city dwellers. This was named *Kanda Jōsui* which was a combination of about 23 kilometers of open channel and about 67 kilometers of closed channels leading into the city and thence distributed by wooden flumes or stone ducts. The water was led into a number of wooden tanks placed in convenient locations for the people to come for their water supply. There were 3,660 of these tanks. Later, with the development of the city, the supply by the *Kanda Jōsui* alone became inadequate, and work on the *Tamagawa Jōsui* as a supplementary source of supply was commenced in 1653. The surface water of the Tamagawa River was dammed, and the water was led through channels extending to a distance of 86 kilometers. This water was used extensively for drinking purposes and for fire fighting. Furthermore, the development of Edo into even greater proportions presented a number of problems common to all growing cities.

One of the most serious was the frequency of fires. The most notable one was the destructive fire of 1657 which destroyed two-thirds of the city and burned to death 100,000 inhabitants. This big fire led to the replanning and enlargement of the city which brought about the need of an even more extensive water supply system. Several water mains such as the Aoyama, Kameari, Mita, Senkawa Mains, etc. were thus constructed.

Regarding the management of these water supply systems, no early record is available. In 1666, the office of water supply was instituted within the Tokugawa Government for the specific purpose of controlling the business of water supply and its distribution. The water was supplied

free of charge at the beginning, but later a charge was imposed to cover maintenance and repairs. The water rates were collected by an association. The warrior class and tradesmen were charged on different rate scales. The warrior class was charged according to the amount of bagged rice received as remuneration from their lords and masters and the tradepeople in ratio with the frontage of their shops. The construction costs were paid by the government on a loan basis which was paid up in instalments of 8 to 10 years to a corporation which did the collecting and was paid into the coffers of the Shogunate as water rates. It makes an interesting comparison with the management of the present day.

Besides the water supply system in Edo, there were several other similar undertakings such as in Kanazawa (1630), Mito (1662), Fukuyama (1620), Nagoya (1663), Sendai (1668), Kagoshima (1723), etc. All of these were constructed by the ruling lords of the respective provinces. Considering the standard of technical knowledge at the time, the construction works were astounding feats of civil engineering skill. Take for example the construction of the Mito water supply system. The determination of water channel accomplished without the aid of any surveying instruments was done by placing men with lighted torches at night to sight the line of the proposed channel and determine the contour and undulations of the land. Some of the old wooden ducts discovered recently in Tokyo during the construction work of subways shows the remarkable skill in the construction of the joints.

The water supply system of the period differs substantially from that of today, in

Table 1. Diffusion of Water Supply and Progressive Changes

	1912	1921	1930	1939	1943	1949	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
Total population (unit 1,000)	50,577	56,120	63,872	70,850	73,800	80,000	83,200	84,460	85,800	87,000	89,289	89,495
Population supplied	3,996	5,986	10,388	18,718	19,134	18,650	21,800	22,366	23,265	25,244	26,826	28,821
Diffusion percentage	7.9	10.7	16.2	26.4	26.0	23.3	26.2	26.5	27.1	29.1	30.1	32.2
Water consumption (1,000m ³)	514	1,090	2,149	4,282	4,800	5,450	6,955	7,103	7,393	8,108	8,129	9,377
No. of facilities	35	120	260	620	670	668	901	980	1,064	1,270	1,320	1,488

that it simply brought in the water by natural flow and had no device for sedimentation or filtration, nor were there any utilization of compression to force the water supply. In contrast with this primitive method, the Yokohama water supply which was completed in 1887, is the first example of the more modern system. Being the gateway to Tokyo, Yokohama port was opened and quickly became modernized with traffic of local and foreign inhabitants becoming increasingly heavy. The water wells were poor and there was the fear of epidemics spreading. A British army engineer, Palmer, undertook the planning and construction of the water supply system to supply the 100,000 population of the city at the daily consumption rate of 70 liters per capita. The Hakodate water system was completed next in 1889. Nagasaki followed in 1891.

In 1890, realizing the importance of the water facility on the health of the inhabitants, the government established an ordinance governing the control of water supply. Quickly, the water system became indispensable for providing not only drinking water but for general use and firefighting, and its utilization spread in the large cities. Japanese water supply techniques improved

Table 2. Effect of the war on the Water System (1953)

Total No. of population	23,265,000		
War-damaged city pop.	17,614,000	75 per cent	
Total faucets	4,200,000		
Faucets in war-damaged cities	3,130,000	75 per cent	

Table 3. Amount Expended on Water Supply Construction (1948-1955)

Year	Amount spent (million)	Year	Amount spent (million)
1948	1,412	1952	11,100
1949	4,110	1953	11,530
1950	4,704	1954	12,000
1951	4,794	1955	12,500
Total			62,150

Table 4. Diffusion Percentage

Pre- fecture	Total popu- lation (A)	Popu- lation supplied (B)	B/A
(unit 1,000)			
Hokkaidō	4,773	900	18.9
Aomori	1,383	209	15.1
Iwate	1,427	182	12.8
Miyagi	1,727	471	27.3
Akita	1,349	145	8.5
Yamagata	1,354	239	17.7
Fukushima	2,095	360	17.2
Ibaraki	2,064	88	4.2
Tochigi	1,548	130	8.4
Gumma	1,614	227	14.1
Saitama	2,263	228	10.1
Chiba	2,205	323	14.7
Tokyo	8,034	5,368	66.8
Kanagawa	2,919	1,577	54.0
Niigata	2,473	515	20.9
Toyama	1,021	142	14.0
Ishikawa	966	213	22.0
Fukui	754	108	14.3
Yamanashi	807	271	33.5
Nagano	2,021	497	24.5
Gifu	1,584	154	9.7
Shizuoka	2,650	503	19.0
Aichi	3,769	1,259	33.4
Mie	1,468	235	15.8
Shiga	854	86	10.2
Kyoto	1,953	1,028	53.1
Osaka	4,618	3,624	78.5
Hyōgo	3,621	1,498	41.4
Nara	777	166	21.4
Wakayama	1,007	201	19.9
Tottori	614	141	22.9
Shimane	929	137	14.8
Okayama	1,690	494	29.2
Hiroshima	2,140	664	30.9
Yamaguchi	1,610	452	28.1
Tokushima	878	126	14.4
Kagawa	944	223	23.6
Ehime	1,541	264	17.2
Kōchi	882	178	20.2
Fukuoka	3,860	1,394	36.1
Saga	974	176	18.0
Nagasaki	1,747	587	33.6
Kumamoto	1,896	239	12.6
Ōita	1,277	326	25.5
Miyazaki	1,139	116	10.1
Kagoshima	2,044	341	16.6
Total	89,269	26,825	30.1

and although early engineering was initiated by British and Dutch engineers since 1900, practically all construction has been in the hands of the Japanese. Table 1 shows the diffusion rate through the different periods.

Diffusion of the Water Supply System and its Progress

As can be seen in Table 1, there were practically no construction work undertaken between the war period of 1943 to 1949, and in 1945, most cities suffered heavy damages by air raids. Approximately 75 per cent of cities were in paralyzed condition, and suffered 60 per cent water leakage for three years from 1945.

In general along with other postwar reconstruction work, water service gradually

resumed its normal condition. The return of population to the cities following the improvement in social conditions, soon brought about a water shortage. New plans for development and construction were made, and the money spent on the project since 1948 is shown in Table 3. The spread of the system which has now reached 30.1 per cent is shown in Table 4 but this is not a very high percentage.

Present Water Supply Facilities

The characteristics of Japanese water supply service is that, it has clear flowing waters everywhere suitable as a source of water supply. The quality of water is generally soft, and can be classified as shown in the Table 5. 71 per cent in volume is surface water of rivers and lakes, 18 per

Table 5. Volume of Water Classified by Sources (1954)

Population supplied	No. of cities investigated	Surface water		Lake water		Reservoir	
		source	volume cm ³ /d	source	volume	source	volume
Under 2,999	230	62	13,657	1	225	4	510
3,000-4,999	95	21	20,477	0	—	2	625
5,000-9,999	123	37	37,139	0	—	5	6,560
10,000-14,999	122	29	69,967	1	2,500	5	5,409
15,000-19,999	41	16	47,850	1	3,000	2	5,690
Over 20,000	269	142	6,284,034	0	415,979	13	87,406
Total	880	307	6,473,094	11	421,704	31	106,200

Table 5. Volume of Water Classified by Sources (1954) (Continued)

Population supplied	River bed water		Subterranean		Total	
	source	volume	source	volume	source	volume
Under 2,999	41	7,552	127	24,625	235	46,570
3,000-4,999	20	9,826	48	22,664	91	53,562
5,000-9,999	47	88,754	60	66,858	145	199,311
10,000-14,999	33	68,106	39	73,021	107	219,003
15,000-19,999	16	45,721	14	44,699	49	145,960
Over 20,000	134	1,649,322	145	861,570	442	9,298,311
Total	291	1,869,281	433	1,093,438	1,069	9,983,717

cent river bed water, and only 11 per cent is subterranean water.

The recent trend in the thickly populated country is for the people to gather near large cities where industries are concentrated, and the development of hydro-electric stations in the upper stream has polluted the river waters. This, in addition to the demand of more water for industrial purposes, is making the acquirement of suitable water sources of good quality and in sufficient volume necessary. To cope

with the poor quality of water and to overcome the difficulty in getting suitable site for water purification facilities, there is a general tendency in the water works of the large cities to use the rapid sand filtration system. Although Table 6 is a survey of the filtering systems, generally speaking, the simpler sand filter system is gradually becoming more widespread. Since there is no place where water softening is necessary, the quality of water at the source must be considered to be good.

Table 6. Classification of the Filtering Systems

Population Supplied \ System	Sand Filter	Rapid Filter	Iron Removal Equipment	Chlorination	Total
Over 100,000	169	116	4	173	562
Under 10,000	281	56	5	467	809
Total	450	172	9	640	1,271

Although rivers and streams are being used, a general plan for a more effective use of water source centering on rivers and streams must be mapped out. Plans for water allocation for electric generation, water supply, irrigation, and industrial use is being worked out. With the development of industries, water pollution by factory waste water becomes a serious problem. There is also the possible effect by radioactivity from the atomic power industry and atomic bomb explosions, and the need of a law is seriously being con-

sidered to protect the source of water supply. Nothing concrete has been done as yet, however.

The water supply installation ranges in sizes from ones supplying less than 5,000 people to ones large enough to fill the requirements of 5,170,000 people with 1,727,000 cubic meters per day as in the case of the Tokyo water works. Incidentally, the Tokyo water system has nine water purification plants operating in conjunction with 93 sand filtration and 50 rapid sand filtration beds. To supplement the

Table 7. Comparison of Water Supply of Principal Cities in 1954

City Kind	Total for country	Tokyo	Osaka	Nagoya	Kyoto	Yokohama	Kobe
Population supplied	26,825,000	5,169,359	2,346,980	904,904	886,989	821,772	762,230
Water supplied in year (m ³)	2,433,413,923	556,157,407	304,374,930	87,511,932	70,582,700	120,889,473	95,571,097
Total length distrib. pipe (m)	32,137,231	5,520,084	2,446,046	1,393,001	887,557	847,056	923,094
No. of taps	3,764,926	747,561	362,940	152,591	152,878	130,198	123,902
Water charge collected (unit 1,000 yen)	16,551,936	3,365,837	1,804,522	635,752	497,897	856,641	618,721
workers employed	22,808	3,567	1,571	639	709	891	535

shortage of water supply, the Tokyo municipality completed the construction of a 149 meter high concrete dam with a capacity of 191,300 cubic meters about 50 kilometers upstream from the city in June 1957, two purification plants being built in conjunction with the reservoir together with one other existing plant will be capable of supplying Tokyo with an additional 625,000 cubic meters of daily. Tokyo is, however, growing at the rate of 400,000 inhabitants annually, and at this rate the additional supply provided will soon be short. A large scale development scheme will again be needed. It appears that Tokyo has reached the limit of population, not only from the point of view of the water supply problem but in all other respects. The following Table 7 is the comparative table of water supply facilities of the principal cities.

All principal materials used in the water supply system such as cast iron, steel, asbestos cement and other pipes are made, tested and inspected under the Japan Industrial Standard, and are sold in the general market.

Management of Water Supply Service

Since the establishment and management of water supply service is, as stipulated by

the law, it is controlled by local governments in most cases with only a few exceptions where it is controlled by a private company or cooperatives. Table 8 is a classification of the controlling bodies:

Table 8. Classification of the controlling bodies

City	279
Town	457
Village	455
Prefecture	4
Local Cooperatives	45
Private	1
Companies	22
Others	8
Total	1,271

The government provides the greater portion of the water system construction costs at the yearly rate of 6.5 per cent redeemable in 15 to 20 years in water dues and is handled in the special accounts and not in the general accounts of the municipal or town budget. Since the establishment of the Public Enterprise Law in 1952, the system of accounting has been brought on a more transparent basis by applying it to cities having water works employing over 50 workers. The number of such cities is 87 in the entire nation, and the number of workers employed in the water works of the major cities is as given in Table 9.

Table 9. Number of Workers Employed in Water Works

	Clerks	Technicians	Laborers	Total	Temporary workers
Total for country	7,400	6,644	8,764	22,808	2,124,693
Osaka	474	218	985	1,677	49,500
Tokyo	1,396	1,196	1,464	4,056	—
Nagoya	272	171	289	724	177,856
Kyoto	306	314	135	755	38,621
Yokohama	344	616	—	960	108,708
Kobe	213	93	242	548	48,882

With regard water supply charges which is mainly cost of installations, and appreciable difference between cities is understandable since some have had their facilities from before the last war when costs were low while others which have completed their facilities in the postwar inflation period and

the costs have been high. The maximum and minimum charges are ¥35 per cubic meter and ¥2.40 per cubic meter respectively. The average is ¥10.40 per cubic meter. The total receipt for the whole country and those of individual large cities are given in Table 10.

Table 10. Water Supply Charges Collected (1953)

Whole country	¥16,551,936,255
Tokyo	3,365,837,951
Osaka	1,804,522,068
Nagoya	635,752,218
Kyoto	497,897,555
Yokohama	856,641,721
Kobe	618,721,246

Sewerage

Historical Sketch

The earliest sewerage construction recorded in Japan is in 1887, in the Kanda District of Tokyo which was laid under the guidance of the a Dutch engineer named Deryke at the time of the cholera epidemic. This was a very limited construction and it took a number of years before a more extensive sewerage system was established for the entire city. In 1900, the law governing the sewerage system was established to maintain the sanitary condition of the land, but the economic condition prevailing at the time prevented any great strides since the construction would require enormous expenditures. The work begun in the Meiji Era up to 1911, include those

of seven large cities—Tokyo, Osaka, Sendai, Nagoya, Hiroshima, Kobe and Okayama. From 1911 to 1925, nine other cities began construction and when those commenced after 1925 are included, the number of cities which can be said to have some sort of a sewerage system exceeds 50. However, most of them cannot even now boast a sewerage system for the whole city area. Even in the major cities as Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya and Kyoto, only the central areas have sewerage and the areas outside the immediate center of the cities are entirely neglected. The sewerage system of Japan is the most backward and undeveloped of all city facilities.

Spread of the Sewerage System

The construction of sewerage has been more seriously taken up since the end of the war, and today, there are many new constructions under way, but the progress can by no means be called satisfactory. Out of the 150 cities given in Table 11, only six large cities—Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, Kyoto, Gifu and Toyohashi—have sewerage treatment plants, and it would even appear odd that such cities as Yokohama and Kobe,

Table 11. Diffusion of Sewerage System in 1955

	Population	Total area (ha)	City area (ha)	Area under project (ha)	Area finished (ha)	Diffusion %
Aggregate of 150 cities	28,854,000	1,411,659	220,213	123,748	40,470	18.4
Tokyo	6,589,801	52,315	36,155	36,155	9,356	26.0
Osaka	2,420,541	18,517	16,100	10,030	6,370	40.0
Nagoya	1,245,200	16,173	13,747	9,303	4,859	35.0
Yokohama	1,155,100	40,866	10,650	10,264	2,232	21.0
Kyoto	1,167,285	54,850	4,706	4,035	1,415	30.0
Kobe	954,453	47,760	6,307	250	0	0

Table 12. Sewer Pipes Laid

	Total length of pipe (m)	Diameter of pipes in mm				
		Under 400	Over 400	Over 1,000	Over 1,500	Over 2,000
Aggregate of 106 cities	8,681,346	4,913,161	2,466,287	725,467	270,723	132,162
Tokyo	2,083,088	1,288,016	493,806	185,169	85,580	624
Osaka	1,794,967	1,089,779	439,950	174,940	47,132	25,372
Nagoya	1,198,119	694,039	389,293	83,816	11,635	17,456
Kyoto	283,760	188,951	61,216	16,507	7,273	6,226
Yokohama	621,074	275,448	274,644	30,314	13,658	5,853
Kobe	155,673	68	96,313	33,703	8,858	13,028

the two representative trade ports of Japan, have as yet no such installations.

Agriculture has always held the place of importance in Japan and it has been the custom to have farmers dispose of night soil on a remunerative basis. Toilets are made in tank form and consequently, open sewers were not contaminated with night soil. This fact has delayed the spread of modern sewerage system.

Construction of Sewerage

In most cities where sewerage construction is in progress, the main object is in the disposal of rain water, and disposal of domestic waste is only secondary. The work under way and completed in the 150 cities is as listed in Table 12. The comparison of the total length of sanitary sewer pipes totalling only 9,959 kilometers against the 32,137 kilometers for water supply pipes is another clear proof of how much this important work is behind the times.

The 6 cities listed in Table 13 being provided with activated sludge process plants are considered most advanced in Japan. Of the by-products of the process, fertilizer, gas, etc., can be listed. Recently the use of the processed water for industrial purposes is being investigated. Already 20,000 m³/d of such water from the Mikawashima Plant is being used by a paper manufacturing factory.

Management of Sewerage Work

Under sewerage regulation, the work is undertaken by cities as a public service. Of economic resources of more important cities picked from 86 cities surveyed in 1953, the results are as given in Table 13. The charge is generally about 30 per cent of the fresh water supply rates and the income is low. The employees in the sewerage service are also very low in comparison with other public services as is shown in Table 14.

Table 13. Economic Status of Sewerage Work (Unit: 1,000 yen)

	State subsidy	Local subsidy	Defrayed by beneficiary	Transferred from general account	Public loan	Sewerage charge	Others	Total
Total of 86 cities	647,171	97,886	28,946	1,337,603	1,644,522	1,268,567	513,044	5,537,739
Tokyo	6,570	—	—	314,795	300,000	594,208	281,368	1,496,941
Osaka	175,982	40,000	—	374,792	280,747	208,507	34,354	1,114,382
Nagoya	71,524	11,875	—	33,457	117,765	201,288	67,110	503,019
Kyoto	13,810	—	4,973	—	72,000	73,568	20,380	184,731
Yokohama	43,312	883	—	13,010	73,770	106,063	3,547	240,685
Kobe	12,000	—	—	18,000	58,000	—	—	88,000

Table 14. Number of Sewerage Laborers in 1955

	Clerks	Technicians	Laborers	Total	Annual Man-Hours of Temporary Laborers
Total of 112 cities	519	1,302	1,271	3,092	1,048,738
Tokyo	84	288	200	572	275,558
Osaka	35	109	513	657	250,400
Nagoya	38	57	120	215	41,487
Kyoto	32	76	38	146	69,020
Yokohama	18	35	1	54	7,440

XVII TRAFFIC AND COMMUNICATION

Traffic

General survey

In its early history Japan found travel by sea much easier than travel by land. Due to its steep and mountainous topography and the fact the Japan is completely surrounded by the sea, development in sea travel has progressed further and easier than transportation by land.

There is one characteristic feature in the process of the development of the Japanese means of transportation, particularly, of land transportation, the like of which is not seen either in the countries of the West or in China, (though Japan was in constant contact with China and it exerted a strong influence on the life of the Japanese in many ways). While in other countries the means of transportation progressed by gradual development from the first stage of travel on foot, on the back of the domestic animal, by carriage and finally to the present stage of transportation by mechanical power, Japan wholly by-passed the stage of carriages.

In the course of the development, Japan was much influenced by the nations with which it had intercourse, in earlier days by Korea or China. Later in the last years of the Tokugawa Shogunate, Japan made remarkable advancement, in the field of trans-

portation through its contact with the western countries which, in those days, vied with one another in gaining entrance to the East.

The most remarkable advancement was the sudden switch over from her almost primitive form of traffic, a result of the national seclusion policy of the Shogunate, to that of machine power transportation. All sorts of modern means of transportation of the West were rapidly imported into our country at the beginning of the Meiji Era.

At present, railways, steam-lines and airways have been satisfactorily equipped on the same level with other nations, but land traffic lags behind because the roads all over Japan are still bad and narrow.

History of land and sea traffic

Before Japan entered into diplomatic relations with Korea or China, there had been almost no land traffic.

There were no roads deserving the name and people with difficulty made their way, climbing up steep rocks and down along the river valleys, retracing the tracks made by bears and foxes.

When Japan began to absorb the Chinese civilization around the year 522 A.D., the year Buddhism was first introduced into Japan, the Chinese civilization exerted a

great influence on Japanese traffic, too. Under the Taika Reformation, the social system was re-organized. The tribal communities were disbanded, and instead, the prefectural system was instituted, which naturally resulted in a great improvement in the road-system, too. Under the centralized administration system, the government had to send its officials to local districts as governors. To facilitate their travel, *sekisoko*, *sakimori*, *hayuma*, *temma*, and *suzushirushi* were set up. *Sekisoko*, the forerunner of *sekisho*, existed in 2 forms; *sekisoko* at Fuwa, Suzuka, Osaka, Suma, and Arachi guarded the capital while those at Shirakawa and Nakoso in the north and Nagato in the south defended against invasion.

Sakimori were the soldiers stationed in frontier garrisons. Some of those stationed in Kyūshū are well-known in Japanese literature for their poems on their life at these remote places.

Suzushirushi, later, called *Eki-rei*, was used to herald an Emperor's visit, the coming of an Imperial messenger to call a council of the prefectural governors in the court or to requisition men and horses in time of war.

All these facilities were copied from the Chinese system in the T'ang dynasty. Later, in 701, the *Taihō Ritsuryō* prescribed traffic regulations; the highways were divided into 3 grades;

A. Major Highways:

This was the main route to Korea and China, namely, the sea and land route from Naniwa (present Osaka), the capital of the time, along the northern coast of the Seto Inland Sea to Dazaifu (near Fukuoka city) in Kyūshū.

B. Medium Highways:

(1) the *Tōkaidō* (as it exists now) (2) the *Tōsandō*; both leading to northern Japan.

C. Minor Highways:

They were all the highways leading to the places of prefectural governments. At every 30 miles along these highways, a stage was placed where the stage master and his assistants were stationed. 20 horses were kept at every stage on the

major highway, 10 horses at every stage on the medium highways and 5 horses, on the minor highways. Generally, the headman of the place was appointed stage master, and except for his death, senility or the decline of his family fortunes, his office was seldom taken over by another. The use of the stage horses was confined to the government officials their attendants.

Naturally, common people in those days had to travel on foot, and wayside inns provided them with shelter only. No food nor even bed-clothes were available for them there. So, travellers in those days, besides *hoshii* for food, every necessity with them. It was not seldom that they were forced to pass the night in the open. What hardships travelers had to go through are vividly depicted in such travelers' journals as the *Sarashina Nikki* and the *Tosa Nikki*. The writer of the *Sarashina Nikki* tells that it took 3 months from Kyoto to Kazusa-no-Kuni (present Chiba Prefecture).

The Heian Era, which lasted 400 years after the capital was transferred from Nara to Kyoto in 794 until Minamoto-no-Yoritomo set up the Kamakura Shogunate, was a long period of peace and prosperity in the capital. High cultural activities characterized this period, but the Fujiwaras who ran the government neglected to look after local affairs, so that the highways fell into bad disrepair and were infested by bandits, which made it extremely dangerous for people to travel. In the capital, a 2 wheeled vehicle drawn by an ox or other kinds of cow-carriages were used by the upper class people, but common people had to do without such luxuries. Because of the bad condition of highways, even nobles travelling to distant places had no other means than horse-back, palanquins or litters.

In 1192, when the Kamakura Shogunate was set up by Minamoto-no-Yoritomo at Kamakura, there came to be 2 capital cities, Kyoto, the seat of the Emperor and Kamakura, the center of administration. Naturally, traffic between these 2 cities became much more active.

The Kamakura Shogunate instituted a system of express-messenger-on-horseback

between these 2 cities. An ordinary express-messenger covered the distance in seven days, and it took even an extraordinary courier 3 or 4 days. Common people spent 13 or 14 days to cover the distance.

With the fall of the Kamakura Shogunate, powerful warlords, shrines and temples set up checking stations on the highways passing through the land owned by them and demanded toll from travellers, with which to repair the roads. Although highways were repaired, however, too many checking stations made it harder for people to travel and consequently, the progress of traffic was hampered.

The 15th and 16th centuries was the *Sengoku-jidai* (the age of civil wars) as they call it. Many rival war-lords fought with one another for power.

In those days, chiefly to facilitate the movement of his army, each war-lord tried hard to keep the roads in his own dominion in good repair, widening them and equipping the stages with men and horses. Those war-lords at various parts of the land kept *temma* (post horses) and issued licences under red seals for people to use them.

Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) made great efforts to improve traffic facilities. Above all, in his own dominion of Owari (present Nagoya and its neighbourhood) he ordered that highways be 3 *ken* and 2 *shaku* (about 20 feet) wide; by-roads 2 *ken* and 2 *shaku* (about 14 feet) wide and roads in the countryside, one *ken* wide (6 feet), and that they be elevated three feet, lined with such trees as willows or pine-trees. Checking stations to collect toll were abolished and new bridges were built over large rivers for the convenience of travelers.

The traffic between Edo (Tokyo) and Kyoto became active when Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) established his Shogunate at Edo.

He, too, made efforts for the improvement of road conditions. In 1604, he ordered the repair and equipment of travel facilities of 3 major highways, the *Tōkaidō* (Kyoto-Suzuka-Kuwana-Hamamatsu-Hakone-Tokyo), the *Nakasendō* (Kusatsu-Gifu-Kiso-Karuisawa-Takasaki-Tokyo) and the

Hokurikudō (Maibara-Tsuruga-Fukui-Niigata). These arteries were thirty-feet wide, lined either with pine-trees or Japanese cedars (*cryptomeria*) and had by the roadside, at every one *ri ichirizuka*, a mound about 3 feet square with a pine or a nettle tree planted on the top-center.

In 1603, *Nihombashi* in Edo was built. This bridge became the starting point of all the roads in Japan. Even now this same *Nihombashi* is the established starting point of mile posts.

In those days the roads were not yet paved. They were muddy on rainy days and dusty after several consecutive fine days. Only part of the *Tōkaidō* between Kyoto and Otsu had foot paths and a car way, for an ox-cart service for baggage was available there. In some places, the way was even paved with stone.

The Tokugawa Shogunate's system of *sankin-kōtai* brought about the unprecedented improvement of highways all over the land, for those feudal lords had to go to and from Edo every other year. As a result, stages along highways developed and thrived. Above all, the *Tōkaidō*, the artery of highways had 53 famous stages called the *Tōkaidō Gojūsan Tsugi*.

A stage had inns of many ranks, such as *honjin*, *waki-honjin*, *hatagoya*, *shōnin-yado* and *kichin-yado*. *Honjin* was an inn with a stately gate which was for *daimyō* and persons of high rank and officials, while *waki-honjin* was for higher class followers of the persons staying at *honjin*. *Hatagoya* was an inn for common travelers and *kichin-yado* was the lowest grade inn at which travelers had to cook their own meals.

Generally, it took 2 weeks to travel from Edo to Kyoto, but in 1863, when Shogun Iemochi went to Kyoto from Edo, he made the longest trip on record, by spending 21 days on the way.

The Tokugawa Shogunate set up many checking stations at strategic points along the highways to defend the capital, but they did not exercise any strict control over travelers. The only exception was the control over the passage of women leaving Edo. In order to prevent the *daimyō* from

revolting against the Tokugawa Shoguns, the government contrived to hold as hostages all the daimyos' wives in Edo. Thus, women were prohibited to leave Edo. Another control was that people were strictly forbidden to carry weapon (guns) into Edo. The catchword of guardcorps of the Tokugawa Era was *iri teppō ni de onna*: "Beware of incoming guns and outgoing women". In the whole country there were 50 checking stations.

As a means of transportation, horses and palanquins were used but most people travelled on foot. Horses were, as a rule, used to carry travelers' baggage.

Because of the bad conditions or roads, transportation by vehicle was impossible. Large articles, therefore, were transported by sea.

For strategic reasons, the government prohibited the building of bridges over rivers along the highways leading to Edo. On the *Tōkaidō*, travelers had to cross four big rivers—the *Sakawa-gawa*, the *Okitsugawa*, the *Abe-kawa* and the *Ōi-gawa* on the shoulders of professional river-wading porters or on a ferry litter. This crossing business was called *kawagoe*. Only pilgrims and wrestlers were permitted to wade across those rivers, but common people were not allowed to do so. The river crossing hours were from six in the morning to six in the evening, but after a long rainfall when the water rose high, *kawadome* (no crossing of river) was announced. Other rivers near Edo that had no bridges for the same reason were the *Rokugōgawa* on the *Tōkaidō*, the *Arakawa* on the *Nakasendō*, the *Tama-gawa* (upper stream of the *Rokugo-gawa*) on the *Kōshū-kaidō*.

In the Tokugawa Era, the *Kōshū-kaidō*, the *Ōshū-kaidō*, the *Nikkō-kaidō*, the *Tōkaidō* and the *Nakasendō* were designated as 5 major highways. All these highways started from Nihombashi. The *Kōshū-kaidō* led round the northern foot of Mt. Fuji, to Kōfu and at Shimosuwa joined the *Nakasendō*. The *Ōshū-kaidō* was a way to northern Japan which, passing through Senju, Utsunomiya, Fukushima, Sendai, Aomori, reached Matsumae in Hokkaidō across the channel. The *Nikkō-kaidō* which

branched off the *Ōshū-kaidō* at Utsunomiya was for visiting the Tokugawa Mausoleum at Nikkō.

The main streets inside Edo city were graveled and cambered. Another place in Japan which had paved streets was Nagasaki, where the streets were paved, after the manner of China, with stone. Hakone pass, famous for its impregnable steepness, was also paved with stone.

Under such circumstances, one can easily imagine how eagerly Japan absorbed the far-advanced means of transportation when Japan, at long last, came into contact with the western nations at the beginning of the Meiji Era.

It was only after the great fire in 1872 that Ginza street came to have sidewalks paved with bricks or flagstone, and a graveled carriage way. 15 years later, all main streets in Tokyo were macadamized. Only after the Great Earthquake in the Tokyo-Yokohama areas, was asphalt or concrete used for paving the main streets.

Conditions of Sea Traffic: Japan, a country completely surrounded by the sea, quite naturally resorted to sea-going-craft from ancient times. According to the *Kojiki*, the ancient Japanese used *ashi-bune* (reed-boats) and *kuribune* (canoes). Intercourse by sea with China was started as early as 57 A.D., when Japan sent a mission to Emperor Wu of the Late Han Dynasty. We have no navigation records of first 200 year period.

In 275 AD, *Ōjin-Tennō* ordered a vessel of 30 meters from stem to stern to be built in Izu Province (present Shizuoka) and named it the *Karanu*. This was the first time a vessel was given a name. Though nothing is known about the ship building technique of those days, there is evidence that vessels in those days were constructed after the manner of Silla under the direction of Silla engineers. *Ōjin-Tennō* also established at important centers *amabe* (maritime centers) the first of the kind, which took care of ship-building, navigation and fishing etc. in peace time and became the headquarters of the navy in war time.

For 264 years from 630 to 894, during which Japan often sent envoys to T'ang in China, the technique of navigation and ship-building made great progress. For the first 30 years, a vessel bound for China went from Naniwa through the Inland Sea, the Strait of Shimonoseki, Hakata, Tsushima, then along the southern coast of Korea; north to Liao-tung Peninsula, Gulf of Pohai and reached a port in Shantung Peninsula. Around the year 700, however, a vessel leaving Hakata passed the Gotō Islands off Kyūshū and crossing the East China Sea, went straight to Yang-chou or Ning-po on the Yangtze River. Another route was for a vessel to go south as far as Amami Oshima and cross the East China Sea to Yang-Chou.

Although there is no available record about the size and structure of the vessel of those days, it seems that the crew of a vessel consisted of 50 sailors. In the year 758, many a large vessel manned by one hundred and 50 sailors was built.

After the capital was transferred from Nara to Kyoto in 794, the Japanese vessels going abroad gradually decreased in number, and finally traffic by the Japanese craft ceased, although trade with the continent was very active by Chinese vessels.

When the Kamakura Shogunate was set up and peace and order was restored, Kamakura became the commercial centre of the country. Many vessels came and left the port of Kamakura.

In 1223, the government enacted the 31-Articled Marine Act, called *Kaisen Shiki-moku*, the first of the kind in Japan's history.

In the 13th century, the inhabitants in Tsushima and Kyūshū began to carry on trade with the people along the coasts of Korea and China in their own vessels. Their vessels were flat-bottomed with about 800 *koku* capacity. They were improved by Chinese techniques and their double bottomed structure strengthened against waves. They were, however, much inferior to the junk-like Chinese vessels of the time. It is said that in the middle of the 16th century, when a Chinese pirate ship called at Hirato in Kyūshū, the Japanese ship

builders visited the ship and learned much in ship building technics.

In the Muromachi Era (1392-1573), the domestic sea service was confined to the Seto Inland Sea-Kyūshū to the west, Shikoku to the south, and Ise to the east, but in the following period called the Azuchi-Moyama Era, sea traffic was expanded in various directions.

In 1592, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) decreed that the Japanese trading vessel have a navigation licence with a red seal issued by the government. It was to certify that the holder was an authorized trading vessel. This measure was needed because in those days, pirate ships from Tsushima and Kyūshū infested the waters near the coasts of Korea and China. These licinsed vessels were called the *goshuin sen* (trading ship authorized by the Shogunate.) These authorized vessels made their voyages to Luzon, Annam, Cambodia and Siam (Thailand) as well as China.

The red sealed certificates were issued to 9 ships belonging to wealthy merchants in Nagasaki, Kyoto and Sakai. The structure of such an arthorized vessel, in the earlier period, was of Chinese mode, but later, European style and technics were adopted as the result of the observation of European vessels at ports in the South Seas.

Tokugawa Ieyasu, who continued Hideyoshi's policy, also issued red-sealed certificates. The *Ikoku Torai Goshuin Chō* (register book of authorized ships trading in foreign lands) records 198 ships in the 9 year period from 1604 to 1616. The destinations of those vessels were not only South-eastern countries but European countries.

The red-sealed licence of Japanese paper (about 66 cm by 46 cm) was for one voyage.

In 1605, Ieyasu had William Adams, adviser to the Shogunate, build at Itō in Izu 2 schooner-type European style vessels, of 80 and 120 gross tonnage each. The smaller one, named the Santa Buenaventura left Edo in June, 1610 and crossing the Pacific Ocean reached Mexico. Later, she passed into the hands of a Spaniard.

The vessel on board of which Hasekura Tsunenaga, envoy to the Pope in Rome, set

sail from Tsukino-ura on September 15, 1613 and went across the Pacific, was one of the two-masted-schooners built by Japanese ship-builders under the instruction of Luiz Sotolo.

Thus, Japanese vessels were on a fair way to successful development, when Ieyasu with a view to safeguard his own sovereign power, confined all the vessels over 500 *koku* belonging to feudal lords to Edo Bay or Suruga Bay. This greatly hampered the progress of shipping as well as of ship-building technics.

In 1634, Iemitsu, Tokugawa Ieyasu's grandson, abolished the system of *goshuin-sen* for the safety of his own family and in the following year, prohibited the building of large vessels over 500 *koku*, or of any ocean going vessel with a keel or more than two masts. Further, in 1636, an act of closing the country to foreigners was promulgated. The result was that from that time to 1853 when Commodore Perry knocked at the door of Japan, the people had had no chance to have any contact with foreign vessels, except those of Holland, China and Korea.

In the meantime, though ocean-going vessels were no longer built, a great number of lighters were made. They called at many ports along the coast, because the national life was stabilized and business prospered. The poor land-traffic condition during this period also contributed to the development of lighters.

The first of those lighters which facilitated the transportation of goods was one with 250 *koku* capacity belonging to a shipping agency in Osaka, which around 1619 carried cotton goods, oil, *sake* (rice wine), and *shōyu*, etc. from Osaka to Edo. The deck of such a lighter was fenced round with bamboo interwind into diaper pattern so that the load piled up on the deck would not fall overboard. Such lighters were later called *hishigaki kaisen* (diaperfenced barge). In 1723, the lighters of this kind numbered 160. After 1640, barges for transportation of sake casks came into use. People called these barges *taru kaisen* (sake cask barge.) Later, these vessels became more popular than the former and came to

be used for other goods than sake casks, because they sailed faster.

Such was the conditions of transportation at the beginning of the Meiji Restoration. The time, at long last, came when every kind of modernized means of transportation was introduced very rapidly.

Incidentally, a unit *koku* which was used to denote the size of a vessel from the Muro-machi Era on was originally a measure for rice, a *koku* being equivalent to about 5 bushels.

The custom of attaching *maru* at the end of all the names of Japanese vessels was a very old one. We have on record about the origin but the following theories are prevalent:

- 1) Toyotomi Hideyoshi initiated the use of *maru* by naming his vessel built in 1591 the *Nippon Maru*.
- 2) The custom came from China where it was said in the days of Emperor Huang, a man named Hakudomaru descended from heaven and taught the art of ship-building. Hence all vessels used *maru* to honor his name.
- 3) The name was derived from the *li-king*.
- 4) It was first attached to the name of a house or a shop, which later, came to be attached to a vessel.
- 5) *Maru* is the corruption of *maro* meaning "I", the first person. This *maro* was changed into *maru* used as a term of endearment, and came to be attached to the name of, a child, a dog, a sword or a vessel. The name finds its earliest mention in literature in antique documents of 1187 kept by the Ninnaji Temple, in which a vessel was named the "Bandōmaru".

Railroad transportation

The railroad was first laid in Japan in 1872. Earlier than this, P.F. Herald, French Consul General, in 1866, and A. Portmen, an official in the United States' Legation in Japan in the next year, advised the Shogunate to build a railway.

With the Meiji Restoration, the government took up this program in earnest and

on November 10, 1869, the Cabinet decided to lay 2 lines; one, the main line, from Tokyo to Kyoto and Osaka along the *Nakasendō*, and another, a branch line, passing Yokohama, Lake Biwa to Port Tsuruga. The persons who participated in this Cabinet decision were Iwakura Tomomi, Chief Councillor of State, Sanjō Sanemi, Vice Premier, Ōkuma Shigenobu, Minister of Home Affairs and Finance and Itō Hirobumi, Vice Minister of Finance.

Hereupon, the government asked the British Government for a loan as well as for engineers to construct and operate the railways.

They started work on the Tokyo-Yokohama line, as this was thought to have the highest utility value. On March 25, 1870, the land survey was begun at Shiodome-machi in Tokyo under the chief-engineer, Mr. E. Morell, an English man.

As has been the case with every other country, in the construction of this line and of other lines of the earlier stage, some conservative people stubbornly opposed the project, so that at some places because of the difficulty to purchase land, round about ways had to be made and even the workers were disturbed. Those who opposed most stubbornly were the thriving innkeepers at the post towns and the pack-horse men. There were several places between Yokohama and Tokyo where they had to build embankments for the railway because of the difficulty to purchase land.

The Shinagawa-Sakuragichō Line between Tokyo and Yokohama was completed on May 7, 1872, and tentatively began to make 2 return trips a day. The fare was ¥1.50 for first class, ¥1.00 for second class and ¥0.50 for third class. It was very expensive at that time when 1 *shō* of rice (about 1.5 quart, 0.48 standard gallon) was ¥0.07.

On September 12, in the year when the railway between Shinagawa and Shiodome was completed, a formal opening ceremony was held, which Emperor Meiji honored with his attendance. Regular service was started on the next day.

The train made 9 return trips between Shimbashi (present Shiodome freight sta-

tion) and Sakuragichō, a distance of 29.1 k.m. . It took 54 minutes one way. The railroad was, in the English mode, of bull-head rail. The 10 steam locomotive engines, 57 two-wheeled wooden passenger cars, and 76 undersized freight cars were all made in England. Engine No. 1 is preserved and is now on display in the Museum of Transportation in Tokyo.

At present, October 14 is celebrated as the Annual Railroad Day, for September 12 of the Lunar Calendar which was in use in 1872, falls on October 14 of the Solar (Gregorian) Calendar which has been in use since 1873. Railroad Day was created in October, 1922, a year after the Semi-Centennial of the Opening of Railroad was celebrated.

Government Railroad:

Later, the government railroad between Kobe and Kyoto was opened but as the inevitability of railroad came to be realized by the people, private railroad enterprises gradually were started in various parts of the land.

In 1880, the Hokkaidō Horonai Railway Co. began its service of transporting coal to the port Otaru. In 1884, the Nippon Railway Co. opened a line between Tokyo and Takasaki. In 1888, the Sanyō Railway Co. started the line from Kobe to Himeji. In the following year, the Kyūshū Railway Co. started its service between Hakata and Kurume. In those days private railway companies were doing greater business all over the land than the Government Railroad.

A most interesting thing about this is the fact that while all the railway systems on the mainland such as the Government Railroad, The Nippon Tetsudō, (Railroad) the Kansai Tetsudō and the Sanyō Tetsudō, adopted the British system, the Hokkaidō Railway Co. adopted the techniques of the United States and the Kyūshū Railway Co. imported the German techniques. Thus in Hokkaidō, the bogie cars were used from the start and most engines were tender locomotives.

After the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, when Japan greatly increased her national power and prosperity

it was felt most inconvenient for such a narrow country stretching from south to north to have different railway systems.

Accordingly, the Railway Nationalization Act was issued in 1906, and the 17 private railway companies as well as the Japan Railway Co., which possessed by that time almost all the main lines of the land, were merged into the Japan Imperial Railway. This amalgamation took place during the 2 years, 1907-1908. The statistics taken in 1908 show that the total length of the railway owned by the government was 6,407 km.

Prior to this amalgamation, the plan to lay the main line between Tokyo and Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe along the Nakasendō highway across that mountainous district was dropped in 1886, and instead, it was decided to build the main line along the Tōkaidō along the Pacific Coast. This line the present Tōkaidō Line was completed in 1889.

The railroad of the Meiji Era was in its infancy, imitating that of advanced nations, such as England, the United States or Germany. Japan gradually assimilated what it learned from these nations and began to produce cars.

Engine No. 1 was made under the instruction and supervision of Richard Trevithick (Jr.) the son of the inventor, at a plant in Kobe in 1893; and from 1913 on, domestic-made engines entered the stage of practical use and of mass-production.

The most remarkable event in the Taishō Era (1912-1926) was the change of couplers of all the cars in the land at one time. The couplers in use before that time were screw type ones, but after many years of diligent study and preparation, automatic couplers were put in place of screw type ones on June 16 and 17, 1925.

In 1913, the Tōkaidō Line was improved into a double track line. Tokyo Station which was completed in 1914, is now the starting point of all the railway lines of the land.

The production, in 1919, of class C51 Pacific type steam locomotive for express trains, with wheels as large as 1750 mm in

diameter was the first one to be used for narrow gauge railroads.

After 1926, in the Shōwa Era, the Japanese railway at last could stand on its own legs, for, except for a few specific things, it could operate wholly with domestic equipment and a Japanese system. Before World War II, the Japanese railway was famous for the most punctual trains in the world.

In 1934, the *Tsubame* (Swallow), the first supper-express between Tokyo and Kobe, which covered 556 km in a little over 8 hours ran in 8 hours after the completion of the Tanna Tunnel (7864m) in 1934. The under sea tunnel connecting the main land and Kyūshū was completed in 1942.

During the war, the railroads were all in complete disorder, which created a hell on earth in transportation. Now, 10 years after the termination of hostilities, the rehabilitation of the railroad has been completed. The six-year plan beginning in 1946 of substituting steel cars for worn-out wooden carriages was successfully carried out in the spring of 1956. Now, the Government Railway has reached the highest level in the world, with no wooden cars at all.

The street car operation is traced back to 1890. In the same year, the Third National Industrial Exhibition was held at Ueno Park in Tokyo, at which the first street cars made in the United States were run on the tracks set up on the exhibition ground. As for their practical service in Japan, street cars were first seen on the streets of Kyoto in 1895. The electrification of the railroad was first carried out in May 1912 on the steep slope section of the Usui Pass near Karuizawa, for which class EC 400 electric locomotives made in Germany were used. Since then, electrification plans around big cities and on main railway lines have been actively pushed forward. To electrify the railroads is economical and convenient in Japan, because of the shortage of fuel resources. Thus, in 1904, the Kōbu Railway Co. electrified its line between Iidamachi and Nakano. As for the main line, in December 1925, they first electrified the Tōkaidō Line between

Tokyo and Kōzu, a distance of 77.7 km, and gradually extending, expects to complete the whole line from Tokyo to Kobe, 589.5 km, when the last part between Maebara to Kyoto is finished by the end of 1956. All the tunnels were also electrified. Besides Usui Tunnel, there are Shimizu Tunnel (9702 m) on the Jōetsu Line, (the shortest way from Tokyo to Niigata), and Itaya Tunnel between Fukushima and Yonezawa (north-eastern district), the former being electrified in 1931, and the latter after the war. Recently seeing the Western common practice of alternating current electrification, we have been experimenting a trial run with 20 kv. 508 AC on a line near Sendai since August 1955.

The characteristic phase of Japanese electric cars is that they are run in multiply units, those around Tokyo being generally 6 to 8 car trains. Those running on the main line are usually 10 car trains, and the largest unit is a 16 car train.

The electrification of local lines has been active since 1930. Now, 80% of the entire length of the railroads (7000 km) has been electrified.

Where electrification is not expedient on local lines, diesel engines or diesel cars or rail cars have been much used since the end of the war. The class *ki-ha* 45000 of the Government Railway is an 11 car-unit diesel train run in a hydraulic system.

The first subway between Ueno and Asakusa, a distance of 2 km, was laid in 1927. Now Tokyo has 2 sublines, the total length of which is 20.7 km. Osaka, another city with a subway, completed its 11.9 km subway in 1938.

Main cities use street cars as a means of transportation. The street car service in 16 cities, Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, Kobe, etc., is municipally operated, while in twenty medium sized cities private companies run the street car service.

As is the experience of many Western cities, with the remarkable increase of automobiles, street cars have come to obstruct traffic. As they also spoil the beauty of

streets, it is desired that buses or trolley buses take the place of street cars in the future. Trolley bus service was first given in Kyoto. Now, 4 cities, Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, and Kawasaki have trolley bus service.

The administrative structure of the present railway system is as follows: The Railway Supervision Bureau of the Ministry of Transportation has the supreme control over railways in the land. Since the Government Railway was shifted to a public corporation in 1952, Japan National Railway is under the supervision of the National Railway Division and private railways are under the supervision to the Private Railways Division, of the Bureau.

Present railway conditions are as follows:

National Railway: (as of June 1955)

Total kilometres in operation	20,053 km
Aggregate length of railroad	34,541 km
Total length of electrified section	1,961 km
Steam locomotives	4,897
Electric locomotives	522
Diesel locomotives	6
Electric cars	2,969
Passenger cars	11,292
Diesel cars	711
Freight cars	106,223
Number of personnel	442,512
Aggregate passengers per day	10,573,203
Goods transported per day	416,936 t

Private Railway:

Aggregate length in operation	7,578 km
Local railroads	5,987 km
Tracks	1,591 km
Trolleybus route	28 km
Rope way	68 km
Electrified section	6,018 km
Locomotives	636
Passenger cars	11,020
Freight cars	10,251
Number of employees	125,624
Number of passengers per day	16,224,008
Goods transported per day	90,884 t

High way transportation

There is as yet nothing that can be called Highway Transportation in Japan.

As has been mentioned in the history of traffic development, the transport facilities at the beginning of the Meiji Era following the Tokugawa Shogunate, were in a very primitive condition. There was no kind of vehicle available to people. There were a small number of carriages in use for the nobles only to travel inside the capital, and some two wheeled ox-carts that transported a small amount of goods between it and neighboring cities. In short, there was actually no means of transportation worth mentioning in the land.

In the Meiji Era, the Japanese imported and absorbed the Western civilization with an amazing speed. They, however, completely neglected to improve the roads, which remained as bad and primitive as ever. As has been mentioned, even Ginza, Tokyo's main street, had neither sidewalks nor a carriage way before 1872, the time of the rehabilitation following a big fire. The first wheeled vehicles on the streets of Japanese cities were *jinrikisha* which appeared in 1869. Bicycles came to be used in 1870, carriages, in 1869. Then came horse-tramway which was welcomed by the people of Tokyo for a short period, in the beginning of the Meiji Era. One automobile and a motor-bicycle were brought in by a foreign trading firm in 1889.

In 1900, the Japanese residents in San Francisco presented Emperor Taishō (then, Crown Prince) with an electromobile battery car and a motor truck as a wedding gift. These were the first motor vehicles ever seen in Japan.

In 1903, a motor bus service, the first of the sort, between Yokokawa and Kabe, in the suburbs of Hiroshima, was started. Mr. Uchiyama Komanosuke made the bus for the service, using 18 h.p. engine imported from the United States. At the same time, he made another automobile with a 12 h.p. engine for his own use.

From 1904 on, private cars were seen on the streets of big cities, but their posses-

sion was limited to a small number of the rich. Busses were put in service, however, in Osaka and Kyoto following the service in Hiroshima. What is more remarkable is the fact that a plan for a nation-wide network of bus service was worked out in 1904. Motor trucks came much later than busses.

In 1903, Okayama Prefectural Government issued this ordinance: Regulations for Bus Service. This was the first of the kind in Japan. In 1907, the Metropolitan Police Board issued the Regulations for Motor Cars Traffic.

As late as September 1923, automobiles came to be commonly used as a means of public transportation. After that, buses were running in the streets of Tokyo. The number of taxis also remarkably increased, and surpassed private cars in number. In this period, instead of European cars which the rich imported, American automobiles such as Fords and Chevolets were assembled in Japan and sold to the public.

In 1930, the Japan Government Railway decided to operate bus services for local lines where railways did not pay. With a view to encourage the home automobile industry, the railway authorities decided to use buses made in Japan.

As the level of the national income was comparatively low in Japan, people could not afford to have their own cars. Buses or taxis were, therefore, the common means of conveyance. Before that time, because of the railway devastation the use of buses and motor trucks rapidly increased immediately after the war, despite the fact that roads were still bad, services were limited to the city streets, but after the war, long distance bus-services have been launched, the longest one being (233 km) from Matsue on the coast of the Japan Sea to Miyajima-guchi (near Hiroshima) on the coast of the Seto Inland Sea. Buses supplement the railroad transportation. Recently the number of people who use buses has greatly increased. As of 1954, the aggregate number of passengers by bus is as follows.

Private-bus	3,260,000,000
National bus	150,000,000
Sight-seeing bus	81,000,000
Others	6,000,000
Total	3,497,000,000

The total length of bus-service is 111,923 km.

Motor trucks have come to be widely used, with a tendency to long distance transportation, the longest one being from Tokyo-Nagoya-Kobe, a distance covering 650 km. As of 1954, the total bulk transported by truck was 532,742,000 tons.

Increase in number of cars is as follows:

Year	Truck	Bus	Automobile	Total
1930	30,881	17,522	40,305	88,708
1940	77,561	22,394	52,110	152,065
1950	150,613	18,306	42,558	211,507
1955	250,005	34,187	153,325	437,517
1956	254,384	34,760	157,277	446,421

As of 1955, the road conditions are as follows:

Items	
Aggregate length of road	144,628 km
Roads (available for cars) over 4.5 m wide	52,848 km
Roads (available for cars) under 3.6 m wide	66,212 km
Roads (not available for cars)	14,492 km
Paved roads	9,186 km
Graveled roads	135,442 km

The number of traffic accidents in 1954 were as follows:

Number of accidents	93,981
deaths	6,379
wounded	76,501

Sea transportation

In Japan a steamer was first used for commercial purposes in 1866. It was the *Kaitsu-maru*, which *Sasshū* (a feudal government in present Kagoshima) operated between Nagasaki, Satsuma (Kagoshima) and Osaka. From that time on, the Tokugawa Shogunate, and other feudal lords operated liners, chiefly between Tokyo-Osaka, Osaka-Kobe, and ports along the coast of the Inland Sea.

With the opening of the country to foreigners at the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate, many foreign steamers called at

Japanese ports. The Pacific Mail Steamship Co. started the San Francisco-Yokohama-Hongkong regular line in 1867, and the Yokohama-Shanghai line later. These two were major lines. In the meantime, the Meiji Government started a ten-day regular line between Tokyo and Osaka. As the transportation agency used out-moded warships and other kinds of vessels which were not suitable for merchant ships, it had to close its business at the end of the same year. The Tsukumo Trading Company which operated the Tokyo-Osaka-Kōchi line, later became the Mitsubishi Company. This company started an overseas line to Shanghai for the first time in 1875.

In 1883, the Kyōdō Unyu Company, Mitsubishi's rival, was born. 2 years later, these 2 rival companies were merged into the present Nihon Yūsen Kaisha.

In ancient times, sea traffic had been active, and during the Shogunate era many small shipping companies based at Osaka vied with one another, in the Inland Sea. These rival companies were merged into the present Osaka Shōsen Kaisha, in 1884.

In 1896, after the end of the Sino-Japanese War, the Nihon Yūsen Kaisha decided to open new lines to Europe, America and Australia. The company ordered steamers for these lines from England. The *Shinano-maru*, famous for first sighting the Russian Fleet just before the Battle of the Japan Sea, was one of these vessels completed in 1900, a 15 knot-passenger-freight boat of 6,000 tons.

In 1907, the Nihon Yūsen Kaisha added 6 more steamers of the *Kamomaru* class, (a 8,523-ton-steamer) to the merchant fleet of the European lines.

In the meantime, the Tōyō Kisen Kaisha, which started its business in 1896, opened a San Francisco line in May, 1898. The steamers used on this line were three 17-knot boats of 6,000 tons (of the *Americamaru* class.). From 1908 on, the *Tenyōmaru* and *Chiyōmaru*, *de luz* liners of 13,000 tons, were put in service on this line.

Thus, our shipping has made a smooth and rapid progress since the Imperial Restoration, the height of prosperity being in the

Shōwa Era. In its golden age, Japan ranked third in the holding tonnage in the world. Japanese steamers could be seen everywhere in the seven seas, and were known as the "Maru-ships" to people in foreign countries.

This prosperity collapsed, however, as a result of World War II. The total holding tonnage dropped to 1,340,000 tons. The only remaining *de luxe* boat is the Hikawamaru.

Japan decided, as a first step, to rehabilitate shipping for domestic lines, and then, for international lines. In 1950, Japan reopened her lines to Kyūshū and South America, and in the next year, to North America.

As of September 1955, the total number of boats held by Japan is as follows:

	Number	Tonnage
Freighter	790	2,550,651
Cargo passenger boat	82	118,358
Passenger boat	84	51,487
Tanker	225	674,341
Others	912	539,678
Total	2,093	3,934,515

Air transportation

It was by the army that the aeroplane was first put to practical use. As for civil transportation, airmail service was started in 1919, and in 1923, at time of the Great Earthquake Disaster, aeroplanes played an active part in liaison business.

The regular air line between Osaka and Tachikawa using the Dornier Comet and the Kawasaki KDCZ was opened by the Osaka Asahi Newspaper Co. in 1923.

In August, 1928, the regular line operat-

ed by the Asahi Newspaper Co. expanded its business to passenger transportation. The rates were ¥35 between Tokyo and Osaka, ¥30 between Tokyo and Sendai. In the same year, the Nihon Kōkū-yusō Kenkyūsho (the Japan Air Transportation Research Institute) in Sakai, Osaka, inaugurated a regular air service, the Sakai-Takamatsu-Tokushima line using 2 Fokkers, while The Nihon Kōkū Kaisha (Japan Air Lines) started a regular air service across the Seto Inland Sea, using the Dornier Aero-boat. The Nihon Kōkū-yusō Kaisha (Japan Air Transportation Company) began its daily round trip service of the Tokyo-Osaka-Fukuoka line, using six Fokkers and six Fokker Super Universals on June 15, 1929; and in September, the same year, the airway was extended to Tientsin via Korea. From 1929 on, this company was able to extend its control to all other airways and have a monopoly.

Later, the Nihon Kōkū-yusō Co. developed into the Dainihon Kōkū Kaisha (Great Japan Airways Co.), which used many such world famous planes as Douglas DC2 S, DC3 S. These planes and Nakajima AT and Mitsubishi MC20 made their regular flights between Japan and Manchuria. In 1939, a Yokohama-Saipan regular airway service was opened, for which, Kawanishi aeroboats were used.

In 1945, as a result of the defeat, Japan found itself devoid of aeroplanes. In August 1951, however, the Japan Air Lines Co. was born, which reinaugurated the internal air transportation, with Martin 2-0-2 and opened its international service, the San Francisco line in February, 1954.

At present, besides JAL, Japan has the Zen Nihon Kūyū (All Nippon Airway Co.) which has domestic regular air lines, while JAL offers international service to the U.S. and Hongkong, Bangkok and Singapore.

Communication

The Japanese communication system had been quite different from the Western system before Japan came in contact with the Western civilization. It was after 1868

that the present modernized-communication system of the West was established in this country. The history of communication, therefore, can roughly be divided into 2

periods, the period from the founding of the country till the Imperial Restoration of Meiji in 1868 and the period after 1868 when the Western postal system was adopted.

It is evident, however, in the nation's history that even before the Western system was introduced, the method of communication had undergone several changes with the times. We do not know in what way the people in the ancient times communicated with one another, because no records of those things remain now. From Japanese short poems, specifically, on journeys or on sending tidings home, it can be inferred that there was some means, however crude and primitive, of sending messages.

Throughout the history of mankind, the oldest method of sending a message to a distant place was by couriers, either with some written message or with an oral message which he was to repeat on his arrival. Later on, men used their eyes and ears for as a means of communication. People made beacon fires on tops of hills of one after another or played a sound from place to place. Whether or not the ancient Japanese used such methods is not clear.

The Japanese history of communication mentions only that the system of communication was established for the first time when Japan adopted the western system.

In the second year of Taika (646 A.D.) Japan instituted a new social, political and cultural system by importing the more advanced civilization of China. Communication and traffic were also influenced by this reformation. For, at this time, a fixed number of stages, post horses and couriers were placed at various places of the land at the expense of the state. It was the same method as the ancient Greeks and Romans used.

It must be noted, however, that common people could not use these facilities to send their messages, as they were set up for administrative purposes. Only the courtiers and government officials were qualified to use them. The system was, therefore, an official service and not public service. Nor was it a nation-wide system, for parts

of the country were not yet brought under the control of the government.

After that reformation, at every political change, at every enactment of laws, and every establishment of a new social system, some improvement was added to the means of communication, but it never reached the stage of public service. This state of affairs continued beyond the time when a small number of nobles held the reins of the government under the emperors. In 1180, the power passed from the hands of the nobles into the hands of a military clan. The Kamakura Shogunate had the sovereign power instead of the Emperor in Kyoto. The communication system was run by the Kamakura Government. Because of a great necessity of communication between Kyoto, where the emperor lived and Kamakura, the seat of government, the highway between the 2 places became the most important way in the country. It was, therefore, improved and equipped with means of communication.

Messages were generally carried by a man (courier) who ran all the way, but in case of an urgent message, a man on horseback carried it. From this time on there developed many kinds of courier. All these, however, were not for the service of common people, for they were created with a view to carry on the affairs of the state.

An age of civil wars followed the fall of the Kamakura Shogunate. Many rival war-lords holding their own dominions fought with one another for power. In this age, no systematic communication method existed, as there was no predominant power in the country, nor was there safe traveling in the land. When, at last, the nation was unified by the powerful tactics of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, plans were made for the improvement of highways for the convenience of the common people by placing stages and couriers at many places on the highways. Such plans, however, came short of perfection as Toyotomi Hideyoshi collapsed.

When Tokugawa Ieyasu came to assume the reins of the government, he made a new plan for communication, along with

other political, social and administrative institutions.

The Tokugawa Shogunate had all the highways in the land repaired and put them under supervision of Dōchū-bugyō (Road-Magistrate). The major highways were 5: one leading to Kyoto, another to northern Japan, a third to Nikkō, a fourth to Kyoto through the mountainous inland and a fifth to Kōfu, all starting from Edo. These highways were always kept in good repair by the government. Along the highways were placed stages at fixed intervals, where a fixed number of horses and couriers were started. The government messages were relayed by these couriers and horses. The use of these facilities were confined to the government officials.

As peace reigned in the whole land, thriving industry and commerce ensued. This brought about a demand for means of communication for business transaction as well as for private information. This kind of communication developed in the following manner. The caretaker of the Osaka Castle (a fortress where *shōgun* stayed when they came to Osaka), regularly sent a *hikyaku* courier on 3 round trips a month to carry official messages between Tokyo and Kyoto-Osaka. Common people could ask this courier to take their messages with him.

Later private couriers attired in the same uniform as the official ones began to operate the business. This induced many evils and abuses. Hereupon, the government, to meet the demand of the people, ordered all the private couriers to form a guild according to the rule. The most thriving couriers were those on the highway between Tokyo and Kyoto-Osaka, for the exchange of correspondence was most frequent here. The couriers started on certain days of the month both from Osaka and Tokyo. As a rule, an ordinary courier made 3 trips a month. Hence *sando* (3 times) came to be their name. This *sando* phonetically corresponded to *santo* (three cities) meaning that they operated between these 3 cities. Besides this 3 times service, there were express couriers for extra pay. They ran all the way, day and night. Fast runners used to cover the distance between

Tokyo and Kyoto in 6 days. So, they were called *shōroku* (just 6 days). There were other kinds, such as *kin-bikyaku* (money carriers) and *kome-bikyaku* (rice couriers). The last kind was exclusively for a commercial purpose, namely, for communication of rice prices in Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe.

So far couriers as the means of communication were divergent, for example, official couriers, couriers employed by feudal lords, and *machi-bikyaku* (couriers inside a town) etc. But there was no nationwide network of communication yet.

In 1867 when Japan was at last freed from the long seclusion policy, it imported the western systems. All the institutions of the land were revolutionized. This is called The Meiji Restoration. The sovereign power which had been wielded by the Tokugawas was restored to the Emperor. The communication system was also reformed. This time instead of private enterprise, the Meiji Government monopolized the mail service.

First, the government ordered all the couriers to close their businesses. Then, in 1868, it decided to set up a government agency by which all the business of traffic and communication was controlled. In 1869, the telegraph service was started, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance. The present service was launched by the government. In 1870, the system of postage stamps and prepayment of postage was established at the same time.

By this, the postal service at home was raised to the level of other countries that is, mail addressed to anyone inside the country was delivered by it, but foreign bound mail had to be sent through the post office set up in the legation of the country to which the mail was sent.

England, France and the United States conducted the mail service in their own consulates in Japan. Each consulate put its own country's postage stamps on the mail bound for its country, and sent it by foreign boat.

In 1878, Japan concluded a postal treaty with the United States. For the first time, the mail with Japanese postage stamps

could be sent to a foreign country. Other countries, one after another, also gave up their practice of consulate-postal-service, until at last the Japanese mail service reached the standard of an independent nation. In 1887, Japan joined the Universal Postal Union, by which Japan came to have the same rights and obligations as other nations, in respect to mail service.

In 1885, business of traffic and communication which had been conducted by different agencies was brought under the jurisdiction of one Ministry. This Ministry handled postal money order, postal savings life insurance, postal pensions, electric power, and air transportation as well as mail, telephone, telegraph, lighthouse and sea transportation.

The postal service expanded its business as the nation expanded its power. Thus, there was a time when the Japanese postal agency had its branch offices in China and Korea.

In 1943, under the pressure of the severe fighting in the Pacific, the Ministry of Communication and that of Railways was merged into the Ministry of Transportation and Communication. Thus, the 58-year old Ministry of Postal Service came to an end. In 1948, 3 years after the termination of the war, the Postal Service Ministry was restored, but on a smaller scale than before. The new ministry was to control the postal service, telecommunication, postal money order, postal savings, postal pension, postal insurance and radio waves.

In 1948, at the recommendation of GHQ, the Ministry was divided into 2. The Ministry of Postal Service and the Ministry of Telecommunication. Some years later, this Ministry of Telecommunication became a corporation, while international telecommunication business passed into the hands of another corporation.

Thanks to World War II, the Japanese postal service underwent a great change. Instead of official business, the idea of service to the public has been common. This conception is clearly shown in the Postal Act enforced in 1947. Article 1 of this Act rules:

"The objective of this Act is to promote the welfare of the general public by giving mail service at as low cost as possible, equally to all people".

Article 2 provides that the postal business is run by the government and no one else is allowed to handle it. Article 5 prescribes: "No one shall make the postal business his trade, nor, except as employer of the nation's postal service, shall any one engage in mail work". Thus it is made clear that one cannot engage in carrying mail as his vocation.

The Japanese Constitution guarantees, in Article 21, the privacy of one's correspondence (letters). The Postal Act, Article 8 provides that mail shall not be subjected to censorship. Thus, the new Japanese Constitution and the Postal Act have laid the foundation of mail service on a different idea from that of former days.

After the telecommunication service became an independent corporation, the Ministry was newly named the Ministry of Postal Service. The Ministry is run under a competent Minister, and two vice-Ministers. The head office has the Postal Bureau, the Postal Inspection Bureau, the Postal Savings Bureau, the Post Office Life Insurance Bureau, the Radio Regulatory Bureau and Accounts and Finance Bureau. Besides, there are 6 Local Postal Service Bureaus and 6 Postal Inspection Bureaus, scattered all over the land. The Ministry runs, besides, a museum, hospitals and clinics and 11 training centers for personnel.

The personnel numbers 257,815. The Postal Ministry has 15,694 post offices under its jurisdiction and the number of communication handled in a year, according to the statistics taken in 1957, was 5,202,166,254 (domestic). As for foreign mail, 31,205,719 pieces were shipped and 36,642,102 pieces received.

The postal service is managed by the state but unlike other government agencies, such as the Ministry of Education, or of Justice, it is a government enterprise. So, in 1955, the Postal Service Special Accounting System was enforced.

The business conditions in 1954:

Income	¥ 123,668,000,000
Expense	¥ 122,117,000,000
Balance (profit) ...	¥ 1,551,000,000

The Ministry of Postal Service conducts, through its mail service, various projects, such as fund raising projects for social welfare work and international friendship.

For instance, as the Japanese have the custom of exchanging new-year greeting cards just as the Christians do at Christmas, the Ministry issues specially designed post cards, and sells them each for 5 *yen*, 4 *yen* for the card and one *yen* for social work fund, which amounts to several millions of *yen*. This fund is yearly distributed among old people's homes, orphanages and sanatoriums, etc.

XVIII MASS COMMUNICATION, PUBLICATION, PRINTING

Newspaper

Development of newspapers

In Germany, birthplace of the newspaper, the fashion of pamphlets dealing with one particular item of news led to the creation of the daily. The Japanese papers, too, were born in this manner. First the *ka-waraban* (tile block prints) appeared, but these tile block prints were very rare; for most of the so-called *ka-waraban* were crude wood block prints. The oldest of such prints was an illustration of the war news of *Osaka-Natsuno-Jin* accompanied by a kind of caption, issued and sold in May, 1615. In the period between 1680 and 1690, there was a great vogue of printing on a sheet of paper the news of a fire, an earthquake, vendetta, or flood, which the vendors read aloud in the street. They sometimes read it in a sing-song tone, even to the accompaniment of the *shamisen*.

The Tokugawa Shogunate exercised a strict control over publications, but secret publications were not completely suppressed. This vending of news by reading it in the streets continued till a daily appeared in 1872, five years after the Meiji Restoration.

The first publication under the name of newspaper was generally called "the Batavia News", issued in 1862 by the *Bakufu Yōsho Shirabesho* (Foreign Book Inquiry Institute run by the Shogunate). This contained world news extracted from the Batavian Government Bulletin, presented to the Shogunate by the Dutch Government. In fact, it was not a newspaper but a pamphlet. This Institute collected and translated, in the same manner, various foreign news and published it under the name of *The Kaigai-shimbun* (Foreign News paper). Among these pamphlets was an extract from an English newspaper, *The Daily press*, issued in Hongkong. It was the re-translation of

the Chinese translation of the English paper.

About this time, foreigners living in Yokohama and Nagasaki published English papers, such as the Japan Gazette, and the Japan Mail. The oldest of such papers was the Nagasaki Shipping List and Advertiser, an English weekly first issued in Nagasaki in June, 1861, by an Englishman by the name of A.W. Hansard. Another was a Japanese fortnightly, the *Kaigai Shimbun* (Foreign News) started in February 1864, by Joseph Hiko (Hamada Hiko-zō), an interpreter in the American Consulate at Yokohama. This was the first newspaper published in Japan. Hiko was a Japanese sailor who was shipwrecked off the Sagami Bay and was picked up by a passing American ship and taken to the United States. He stayed there for years, and took out American citizenship before he came back to Japan.

Even after the Tokugawa Shogunate restored the sovereignty to the Emperor in October, 1867, the followers and scholars of the Shogun working at the Foreign Book Inquiry Institute, continued to issue such publications as the *Chūgai-Shimbun* and the *Kōko-Shimbun*, in which they defended the Tokugawas while the Meiji Government propagandized Meiji Restoration by publishing of the *Dajōkan-Nisshi* (the Cabinet journal) in Kyoto. The publications of both sides were pamphlets of several pages in wood block prints which made irregular weekly appearances.

In February, 1869, the Press Law, the first in Japan, was enacted. The following year, the *Yokohama-Mainichi-Shimbun* was initiated in Yokohama. This was the first daily newspaper in Japan. The types which printed the paper were of lead. Moyoki Shōzō (1824-1875) a native of Nagasaki, learned the art of printing from an American expert who happened to stop at Nagasaki for a short visit. This was the first time for metal types to be used in Japan. The paper contained chiefly the local news of Yokohama and advertisements.

In 1872, The *Tokyo-Nichinichi-Shimbun* and in the next year, the *Yūbinhōchi-Shimbun* were started in Tokyo. From this time

on, in Osaka, Kyoto, and in other prefectural capitals, weeklies or other publications were started one after another.

Itagaki Taisuke (1837-1919) who was defeated in his advocacy of the advance to Korea, resigned his position in government. He, together with his followers, demanded that the government establish the House of Representatives by popular election. From this time on, newspapers came to put much emphasis on the controversies of political issues. The *Tokyo-Nichinichi-Shimbun*, the *Yūbinhōchi-Shimbun* and the *Akebono-Shimbun* devoted most of their space to such political controversies, and were called *daishimbun* (big papers). The *Yomiuri-Shimbun* which was started in 1875 in Tokyo, the *Naniwa-Shimbun* and the *Asahi-Shimbun* which was launched in 1879 in Osaka, gave miscellaneous news of events and stories of interest to the public. Because of their smaller size than the former, they were called *shōshimbun* (small papers). It was these small papers that first published novels in a serial form.

Not only newspapers but periodicals also presented articles on democratic rights. As there were many opinions which seemed to be too radical to those then in power, the government revised the press law and began to put pressure on newspapers by giving jail sentences to the journalists who violated it.

Suehiro Shigeyasu (1848-1896) of the *Tokyo-Akebono-Shimbun*, who denounced this government policy, was the first to be thus punished. After him, many newspapermen of *daishimbun* were put in jail one after another. This caused a panic in the newspaper world. The practice of Japanese dailies to register, as their nominal publishers, neither the president nor the chairman of the board, but obscure staff members, dates from this time. In 1890 when the Imperial Edict for the Establishment of the Diet was issued, there arose the organizing problem of political parties for representation in the Diet. Such parties as the *Teiseitō*, the *Kaishintō*, and the *Jiyutō* vied with one another in publishing their party organs or using the existing

papers as their organs. Thus it was the party-organ period for newspapers.

While each paper serving one party was wholly given to denouncing its rival party, forgetting about the readers, there appeared newspapers which pronounced the policy of impartiality and non-partisanship. They were the *Jiji-Shimbun*, launched in 1882, by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901), the *Nippon*, in 1887, by Kuga Minoru (1857-1907) and the *Kokumin-Shimbun* in the following year by Tokutomi Sohō (1863-1957). About this time, Kuroiwa Ruikō (1862-1920) detective novelist, started the *Manchōhō* with its special feature of personal attacks and Akiyama Teisuke (1868-1950) started the *Niroku-Shimbun*. It featured romantic stories. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* and the *Miyako-Shimbun*, giving it a new start as an organ with its own special feature, were also launched about this time.

In 1897, some businessmen in Osaka bought the *Nippon-Rikken-Shimbun* and changed it into the name of *Osaka-Mainichi-Shimbun*, giving it a new start as an organ of the Osaka business world. At the same time, the *Osaka Nippo* was absorbed by the *Osaka-Mainichi-Shimbun*. This paper, together with the *Asahi-Shimbun* which had a large circulation on account of its feature novels, the news from Tokyo, and its non-party-color, surpassed Tokyo papers in circulation and made its way into neighboring prefectures. About the end of the Meiji Era (1910), the *Osaka-Asahi-Shimbun* had a circulation of 350,000 and the *Osaka-Mainichi-Shimbun*, 300,000. The success of these papers came chiefly from the facts that they made efforts to give many foreign dispatches and to write the news in a clear and easy style, and that they had a well-organized system of circulation. During the Russo-Japanese War, these papers made a better record in giving war news and publishing extras than Tokyo papers. The *Asahi* bought out the *Mezamashi-Shimbun* of Tokyo and named it the *Tokyo Asahi* in 1888, while later in the Taishō Era, the *Osaka Mainichi* also bought the *Tokyo-Nichinichi-Shimbun*. Thus, these two Osaka papers won their ground in Tokyo. In addition, weakened by the effects of the dis-

aster of the Kantō Earthquake and the world-wide depression following the World War I, the *Kokumin*, the *Jiji* and the *Hōchi* passed from the stage and the *Yomiuri* and *Miyako* could barely hold their own through their features, on a par with those two Osaka papers.

These 2 great papers, the *Osaka* and *Tokyo Asahi*, and the *Osaka Mainichi* and *Tokyo Nichinichi*, formed powerful cartels and held the position of the nation's widest circulation papers. Hot was the competition for news among these two papers and the *Yomiuri*. When Count Zeppelin visited Japan in his dirigible, for instance, the *Asahi* employed as many as five planes to keep in touch with the flight. During the Manchurian Incident and the China Incident, these papers vied with one another in sending their reporters and camera-men to the front. The reporter corps equipped with short wave radio, aeroplanes and telephoto apparatus etc., displayed remarkable activities at the front. During the China Incident, this reportorial warfare was responsible for the lives of as many as forty reporters at the front. As the Manchurian Incident developed into the China Incident, the government, seeing that the war would drag on, began to bring the press under its control. With this in view, the government caused the two news agencies, the *Dentsū* and the *Remmei* merge into the *Dōmei Tsūshinsha*, and subsidized it. At the same time, the government set up, in the Cabinet, an information board, consisting of high officials of the Ministries of Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, War, Navy and Postal Service. This board coordinated the information and news. It later developed into the Cabinet Information Bureau which controlled the freedom of expression. Under the National Mobilization Act, the government exercised further control over the press by restricting the news print, setting limits to the items to be published and enforcing a licence system on publications. Furthermore, the government reduced the number of local papers into one newspaper per prefecture.

The influential papers organized the Newspaper Association to fight this control,

but could not withstand the strong tide of government pressure. Thus, in 1941, the Nihon Shimbunkai (Japan Newspaper Association) was set up, according to the Press Industry Regulation. Then, the *Yomiuri* and the *Hōchi* were merged into the *Yomiuri-Hōchi* and the *Miyako* and the *Kokumin*, into the *Tokyo-Shimbun*, an evening news. The *Asahi* and the *Mainichi* had to close their publishing offices at Nagoya.

In such a state of affairs, Japan plunged into the World War II. The chief of the political division of each paper met weekly in an office of the Cabinet Information Bureau and received instructions from the military authorities, while the war correspondents dispatched by every paper acted as the press corps belonging to the armed forces. Even the registration of newspaper men and the newspaper employees was enforced.

Thus the newspapers were in the tight grip of the military authorities. Besides printing news of the front, newspapers were allowed to report only what the Cabinet Information Bureau released. They could not even report about the damage of the air-raid or the movement of the armed forces. Such details as the weather conditions, the size and exact spot of the damage of the place of air-raid were not permitted to be reported, so that newspapers without any proper nouns in them were not rare about this time.

After the defeat at Guadalcanal, the control over the press-news by the War Office became ever tighter. Even a measure was taken to transfer the circulation of the national papers to local papers against the time when the enemy would land in Japan and cut off communication. In Tokyo, because of the great damage from the air-raid, the *Asahi*, the *Mainichi* and the *Yomiuri* managed to issue a joint paper.

After the termination of hostilities, the General Headquarters abolished all the restrictions imposed on the press and recognized the freedom of the press. The Press Code issued by the GHQ prohibited newsmen from writing any article which was not in the interest of the Allied Forces or which would cause ill-feeling against the Al-

lied Forces. Any journalist who violated it was to be brought before the military tribunal. According to the Purge Directive, the GHQ purged from the press world all the presidents and the persons who held important posts after the China Incident. There were some newspaper offices which even took a step to expell the leading staff members who were held responsible for the War. Because of the shortage of news print, limited distribution continued till May 1951. In 1952, Japan became an independent nation. The Press Code imposed by the Allied Forces was cast off. The *Akahata*, communist organ, which had been suspended by the government since June 1950, following General MacArthur's note, revived as a weekly and later, as a daily.

Now that the Japanese press has regained complete freedom, the leading papers are imposing on themselves the ethics of the press not only in the reading matter but also in the advertisements, by working out an "Ethical program advertisement." There are, however, some immoral and base publications which in the name of newspaper misuse the freedom of press.

Ordinary papers

In spite of the fact that Japan has not a long history of the press, the degree of its popularization is very high. According to a recent survey (the Japan Press Year Book 1955 published by the Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association) as of May 1955, the ratio of newspapers to the population was one copy to 2.43 persons (morning paper 4.04, evening paper 6.08 persons). The ratio to households was 2.07 per household (morning paper 1.24 and evening paper 0.8 copies). Above all, in Tokyo, the ratio was 1.18 copy per capita and 3.70 copies per household, which means that every one takes at least one copy and every household takes more than three copies per day. These statistics were taken counting the morning and evening paper published by one news office as two copies. If the morning and evening paper is taken as one copy, the whole population averages one copy per 3.53 persons and 1.42 copy per household. The practice

of issuing morning and evening paper at one newspaper office may be characteristic of the Japanese press. It may also be worth noticing that not many papers are sold at news-stands, for it is customary to deliver papers to every household morning and evening. Great nation-wide-papers with 8 pages (morning) and 4 pages (evening) are delivered to any house even in a village in Hokkaidō or in Amami Ōshima off the coast of Kagoshima, for ¥280 a month. According to the statistics taken in May, 1954, 65% of the whole income of a newspaper company came from the sale of papers and 35% from advertisement.

Another feature of the Japanese press is that the leading papers in the metropolis report the news collected by their own correspondents, that is, newspaper offices combine news agencies, though small papers in the central cities and local papers depend on the *Kyōdō* and other news agencies for their news. The *Asahi*, the *Mainichi*, and the *Yomiuri* have completely broken away from the *Kyōdō News*. The columns of these papers are filled with the news and articles collected by the network of their own reporters at home and those sent in by the special correspondents staying abroad and dispatched by foreign news agencies under special agreement with them.

Foreign visitors in Japan may be astonished to find themselves surrounded by a large crowd of reporters and camera-men at Haneda airport or Yokohama. This is a result of the keen competition among the reporters and camera-men of leading papers to collect news for their own papers.

As has been already mentioned, the leading Japanese newspapers owned and operated their own planes even before the war. The *Asahi's* *Kamikaze* and the *Mainichi's* *Nippon* are known to have made a flight to Europe. As a matter of fact, such a flight was made mainly for propaganda purposes, but since the war, planes and helicopters have been used not only to get news but even to transport newspapers.

In the meantime, the leading papers of the metropolis have come to have a large circulation all over the country. They have

their branch offices not only at every capital of prefectural government, but also in other great cities. This is also a remarkable point of the Japanese papers.

The leading newspaper companies publish, besides papers, reading matters in the forms of book and weeklies. Moreover, they carry out or sponsor various welfare projects and programs of cultural activities. A few examples are: in 1954, the *Asahi* held a French Art Exhibition, most of the masterpieces being sent from the Louvre Museum. The *Yomiuri* sponsored the art exhibitions of Matisse, Picasso and Braque, one after the other, while the *Mainichi* financed the Himalaya expedition. Such tendencies are seen even in local newspaper companies. Many newspapers make it an annual event to award cultural prizes or scholarships for scientific researches.

Taking an issue of the *Asahi* of February 1955, the allotment of the space is as follows: (Most leading papers and local papers allot their space in the same way as the *Asahi*.)

The First Page:

Before mentioning the allotment of the space, it must be noted that Japanese writing is just the inverse of western writing, that is to say, lines are vertical and columns run from right to left. The first page has, with the title at the right hand corner, political matters, domestic and foreign. But recently if an event happens which is very sensational, it is given on this page, though it properly belongs to the social columns. The *Mainichi* and the *Yomiuri* put their editorials on this page, but the *Asahi* has, on this page, on the fourth column from the bottom, *Tensei-Jingo* (Voice of Heaven-Voice of People) a press comment of the day written by an editorial staff member. (The three bottom columns are devoted to advertisement of books.) This column offers a great attraction to readers, sometimes greater than the editorial itself. Both the *Mainichi* and the *Yomiuri* have the same kind of press comment.

The Second Page:

This page deals with foreign news and less important topics on economy and poli-

tics than the ones on page one. A few dispatches from abroad are also given here. The Third Page:

The greater part of this page is allotted to some special topic, such as a detailed explanation of some sensational event of the previous day; the result of an investigation by the reporters; or opinions of various people; and exposition by some foreign reporter on some event abroad; a treatise by some outsider; letters from readers. The man of the day column also finds its place on this page. At the lower part of this sheet is one installment of the novel with an illustration every day. Giving a novel in serial form is also typical of Japanese papers.

The Fourth Page:

This page is the economic and financial section; news of financial and economic conditions with their interpretation and the daily market quotations.

The Fifth Page:

This is a science, literature and art section with articles chiefly written by outsiders. The introduction of new publications and radio programs are found on this page.

The Sixth Page:

This is the sports page, with news of sports and games at home and abroad.

The Seventh Page:

This is the social column page as we call it News, particularly pertaining to common people, whether of political or economic problems are treated on this page. Generally, however, the greater part of the page is devoted to the news of minor happenings among common people. Comic strips for women and children are also on this page.

The Eighth Page:

This page carries local news supplied by local branch office in the respective prefecture. In Tokyo and Osaka, the social column-reporters cover the news of this page, but for the local editions, the news sent in from respective branch offices are prepared for the press at the head office in Tokyo or Osaka. As a matter of fact, even the news sent in by the branch offices finds a place in the social section or some other appropriate section if it is of a nation-wide

interest. Two or three editions for each prefecture are published as news develops. This is the case with other sections. Thus the morning paper is generally issued in ten editions.

As for the evening paper, the circulation is limited to Tokyo and Osaka and their neighboring areas. It has four pages. The first page carries political and economic news while the second page is devoted to reading matter for housewives and children, under the name of "Home section" or "Children's page". This page also deals with comments on movies and music concerts, introduction of entertainment programs and of new fashions in dress. Page three is the social section and page four is the economic page. The evening paper also gives a day to day novel and comic strips.

Now for the structure of the newspaper industry of Japan. Aside from the board of directors at the top, the chief editor presides over the editorial staff and all of the editorial section. Every section, political, social, foreign, economic, science, art and local news as well as the photographic section, collects data for their respective columns, and the desk coordinates them for the edition. The business manager takes charge of management, the circulation and advertisement section are under his command. Leading newspaper companies have their own printing plants. They also have departments of social work and cultural projects. The business of newspaper companies ends when their papers are delivered to the newspaper sales agents. As a rule, the sales agencies are independent of the management of the Newspaper companies. The agents deduct some percentage of the subscription charges as the sales expense before they turn the receipts over to their paper companies. That is to say, a sales agent is connected with the newspaper companies only indirectly, and sales agents, delivery boys and newspaper vendors are not in the employment of the newspaper companies.

Central Papers

The *Asahi-Shimbun* is published at Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, and Kokura. The head office, a joint stock corporation, is in

Osaka, but each of the four publishing offices is also called the head office. The corporation has a capital of ¥280,000,000. It made its first appearance in Osaka in January, 1879, as a joint enterprise of Murayama Ryūhei (1850-1933) and Ueno Riichi (1848-1920). At present its personnel is numbered at 6,000 and its daily circulation is 2,953,000. It is under a special contract with the AP, AFP, NANA, Reuter, New York Times, London Times, etc.

The *Mainichi-Shimbun* is published at Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya. The head office, a joint stock corporation, is also in Osaka. It has a capital of ¥150,000,000. The *Osaka Mainichi* which was started in 1876, jointed the *Tokyo Nichinichi*. This *Tokyo Nichinichi* retained its name, however, till 1943 when the two were merged under the title of the *Mainichi*. The number of its personnel is 6,000 and its daily circulation is 3,857,000. It is under a special contract with UP, AFP, ANS, etc.

The *Yomiuri-Shimbun* was started in November, 1874. In October, 1952 it set up the *Osaka-Yomiuri-Shimbun*. This was the first instance of a Tokyo newspaper making its way into Osaka. It is also a joint stock corporation with a capital of ¥24,300,000. The number of employees is 3,000, and its daily circulation is 3,928,000. It is under a special contract with INS, AP, AFP, NANA, PANA, etc.

The *Nippon-Keizai-Shimbun* is a daily, chiefly devoted to economic news. The head office is in Tokyo with its branch office in Osaka. It was started in December, 1876, under the title of the *Chūgai-Shōgyō-Shimpō*, weekly, and became a daily in June, 1885. It is also a joint stock corporation with a capital of ¥80,000,000. The number of employees is 1500. Its daily circulation is 755,000. Its morning paper has eight pages, evening paper, two. It has also a special contract with the AP, UP, Reuter, the Philippine National, the Times, the Journal of Commerce, etc.

The *Sangyō-Keizai-Shimbun* was established by Maeda Hisakichi in 1933, a corporation with a capital of ¥50,000,000. The number of employees is 2,500. It is under

special contract with the INS, UP, NANA, PANA, ANS, etc.

These major papers publish, besides their first editions, not less than fifty local editions, which shows that they have subscribers all over the land. This is why they are called the central papers.

Local Papers

The morning papers published in Tokyo are the *Jiji-Shimpo* (circulation: 220,000), the *Tokyo-Shimbun* (morning and evening papers: circulation: 120,000). The *Tokyo Times* (circulation: 270,000), and the *Sun Photo News* (circulation: 180,000). These are regarded as local papers published in Tokyo, because the subscribers are confined mostly to the metropolis and its neighborhood. So is the *Osaka-Shimbun* (evening news, circulation: 650,000) of Osaka. Every prefecture has its own local paper.

The Major local papers are:

The *Hokkaidō-Shimbun*: its head office is in Sapporo. It publishes more than ten editions for various districts of Hokkaidō.

The *Kahoku-Shimbun*: the head office is in Sendai, and has a large circulation not only in Sendai but in Iwate, Fukushima, Aomori, Yamagata and Akita prefectures. Its daily circulation is 223,000.

The *Chūbu-Nippon-Shimbun*: the head office is in Nagoya. It is the largest local paper with its subscribers scattered all over the central part of Japan.

The *Nishi-Nippon-Shimbun*: the head office is in Fukuoka, has its subscribers in all Kyūshū and in Yamaguchi and Shimane prefectures.

Foreign Language Papers

The foreign language paper in Japan has a long history, and has undergone many vicissitudes. At present there are several foreign language newspapers. The *Japan Times* has the oldest history, which was founded under the title of the *Japan Times* in March, 1897. The title was changed to the *Nippon Times* in 1943, but toward the end of 1956, it resumed the title of the *Japan Times*. It has a circulation of 7,600.

The *Mainichi*, an English edition published by the *Mainichi-Shimbun* was start-

ed in 1922, at first in Osaka, and now published also in Nagoya and Tokyo. Its reading matter is chiefly the translation of the Japanese *Mainichi-Shimbun*. It has a circulation of 140,000.

The *Asahi-Shimbun* also bought out the English Tokyo Evening News and changed it into the *Asahi Evening News*. It has a circulation of 36,000.

Specialized papers

The Sun Photo News has been mentioned already. Besides, there are such sports news as the *Nikkan Sports*, the *Hōchi-Shimbun*, both published in Tokyo and the *Sports Nippon*, published in Osaka, which carries, besides the news on sports and games, the news of movies and other entertainment.

It must be mentioned that the leading papers also publish dailies for minors, that is, for school children. The *Mainichi* publishes tabloid dailies, the *Shōgakusei Mainichi* and the *Chūgakusei Mainichi*. They are delivered through the sales agents of the *Mainichi-Shimbun*. The *Asahi-Shimbun* also publishes a weekly, the *Shōgakusei Asahi-Shimbun*. It is a magazine rather than a paper.

In Japan, there are not a few periodicals, weeklies or monthlies bearing the same names as the newspapers that publish them. The government agencies also put out some publications giving information of their activities.

There are other kinds; many publications for sight-seers and entertainment-seekers: the *Nippon-Dokusho-Shimbun* and the *Tosho-Shimbun*, book reviews; other for advertising and sale or rent of houses and rooms. There is even a guide for children's drawing education.

Even before the war, school papers were edited and published by students at many universities. After the war, as newspapers became a part of social studies in the elementary and secondary schools, school paper clubs were formed at many secondary schools, to publish their own school papers. At some schools, the students even print their papers, though, as a rule, they have their paper printed at some printing shop.

Chief student papers are: The *Tokyo-Daigaku-Shimbun* (weekly; circulation: 35,000); the *Waseda-Daigaku-Shimbun* (weekly; circulation: 20,000); the *Mita-Shimbun* of the Keiō University (weekly; circulation: 15,000); the *Meiji-Daigaku-Shimbun* (weekly; circulation: 35,000); the *Nihon-Daigaku-Shimbun* (fortnightly; 36,000) and the *Gakuen-Shimbun* (weekly; circulation: 25,000). As for foreign language student papers, the Keiō University's English Language Club publishes the *Mita Campus* (monthly; circulation: 5,000).

Organs

Every political party issues its own organ but only parties with a large organization behind them can publish a pretty large number of copies for circulation.

The *Akahata*, the Communist party's organ, boasts a circulation of 200,000. The Japan Socialist Party's organ, the *Tōkatsudō* (the Party Activities), a ten-day magazine, has a circulation of 35,000. The *Nihon-Shakai-Shimbun* published by the Nihon-Shakai-Shimbun-sha, is a weekly with a circulation of 700,000. This is also an organ of the Socialist Party. Besides the above, there are many organs, weeklies or semi-weeklies issued by trade unions, some of them with a circulation of 60,000. The trade union's newspaper activities have become very active and lively since the war. The organs of religious organizations are: the *Jinja Shimpō* (news of shrines) weekly with a circulation of 30,000, belonging to the Shintō Shrine Organization; the *Catholic News*, (weekly; circulation: 14,000); the *Tenrikyō's Tenri Jihō* (weekly; circulation: 27,000). Other religious organizations also issue their own organs to propagate their doctrines as well as to give information to the believers.

Business papers

There are a great many papers published in the business and commercial world. Some dailies are: The *Kōtsū-Shimbun* (Transportation and traffic paper) with a circulation of 58,000; the *Nihon-Shōken-*

Shimbun (the Japan Securities Papers) with a circulation of 50,000; the *Nihon-Jidōsha-Shimbun* (the Japan Motor-vehicle Paper) with a circulation of 50,000; the *Shōken Nippō* (Securities Daily News) with a circulation of 14,000. Most of other business papers are weeklies or two day papers. The Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association does not include the following two papers, the *Nippon-Kyōiku-Shimbun*, (the Japan Educational Paper) two-day paper for teachers, and the *Nihon-Nōmin-Shimbun* (the Japan Farmers' Paper) a weekly for farmers, in the category of business paper, but the former has a circulation of 67,000, while the latter a circulation of 300,000.

News agencies

In Japan, as leading papers collect their news by their own network of reporters, large news agencies have not developed, like the AP or the UP. The *Dōmei-Tsūshin* which was created at the command of the government by combining the *Dentsū* and the *Rengō* in 1935, with the joint capital of leading papers, was liquidated in 1945 and the *Kyōdō* was newly set up. Its head office is in Tokyo and has a large network of reporters at home and abroad. The number of personnel is about 1,500. It

furnishes member newspapers with news and news photos. Besides, it furnishes them with special news composite editions, overseas special dispatches, serial novels, comic strips and several kinds of *shōgi* and *go* contest. Local papers are its members. It is not unusual that small local papers wholly depend on the news supplied by the *Kyōdō*, except for the news of the place. It is under special contract with the UP, AP, Reuter, the *Chūōsha* and the *Gōdōtsūshin* of Korea.

The *Jijitsūshin*, another news agency, was born when *Dōmei*, was dissolved in 1945. The overseas section, the economic section and the research section of the liquidated *Dōmei* were organized into the *Jijitsūshin*. While the *Kyōdō* deals with general news, the *Jijitsūshin* concentrates on special news and interpretation of financial and economic affairs, such as the overseas financial and economic edition. The number of employees is about 1,700. It has a wide network of reporters at home and abroad. It is under special contract with the UP, Reuter, and AFP.

The Radio Press was started in the same year. It collects news from various overseas broadcastings and publishes it in the Radio Press and other editions. The Sun Telephoto is a photo news agency.

Radio and Television

Radio

History of Radio Broadcasting

The origin of radio broadcasting in Japan can be traced back to 1921 when a private citizen planned a radio business and showed its experiment to the public. But officially, it originated in March, 1925, when the Tokyo Radio Station (which later developed into NHK or the Japan Broadcasting Corporation) put out a program on the air from its temporary studio located at Shibaura. Up to 1950 since then, radio broadcasting in Japan had been a complete monopoly of NHK.

NHK which was given the status of "corporate juridical person" showed a steady development as a corporation serving for the interest of the people, with its operation under supervision of the government.

In June, 1950, the "Radio Broadcasting Law" was enforced, making radio waves a common cultural property of the people and opening this field of business to the public. This means that the monopoly of radio broadcasting by NHK has been broken and that it has become possible for private citizens to establish commercial radio stations which operate on the basis of earnings from advertizing.

Number of Registered Radio Set Owners

Year	Number	Rate of diffusion (%)
1924	5,455	0.1
1925	258,507	2.1
1926	361,066	3.0
1927	390,129	3.2
1928	564,603	4.7
1929	650,479	5.4
1930	778,948	6.1
1931	1,055,778	8.3
1932	1,419,722	11.1
1933	1,714,223	13.4
1934	1,979,096	15.5
1935	2,422,111	17.9
1936	2,904,823	21.4
1937	3,584,462	26.4
1938	4,165,729	29.4
1939	4,862,137	34.4
1940	5,668,031	39.2
1941	6,624,326	45.8
1942	7,051,021	48.7
1943	7,346,929	49.5
1944	7,473,688	50.4
1945	5,728,076	39.2
1946	5,705,468	38.6
1947	6,443,206	40.6
1948	7,592,625	47.2
1949	8,650,037	53.8
1950	9,192,934	55.4
1951	9,712,015	58.6
1952	10,539,593	63.6
1953	11,709,173	70.4
1954	12,505,370	75.2
1955	13,253,608	73.8
1956	13,970,137	77.8

Television

It was on February 1, 1953, that television broadcasting officially started in Japan. There were only 1,400 TV sets in operation at that time, and there was not any appreciable increase in the number of sets in use for the one year and a half after the opening of the broadcast. The pace of increase, however, quickened since the fall of 1954, and in November, 1956, the number of registered TV set owners exceeded the 300,000 mark.

Such remarkable increase is attributable to the growing public recognition of the

importance of television as an educational and recreational medium, and to the expansion of the service area as a result of the establishment of a number of TV stations. The decline in the prices of TV sets is also an important factor.

Now let us see how the pace of increase quickened. Whereas it took 2 years and 8 months to reach the first goal of 100,000 (October, 1955), it took only 8 months to reach the next target figure of 200,000 (June, 1956), and only 5 months to achieve the 300,000 mark (November, 1956).

The productive capacity of TV sets in April, 1953 was not more than 500, but in October, that year, the monthly output reached 2,200. The monthly production increased by leaps and bounds, finally reaching the 23,000 level in December, 1955.

This led to the suspension of the imports of foreign-made TV sets after March, 1953.

The total production of TV sets in 1956 reached 350,000, and it is considered likely that the 1957 output will be about 450,000.

A survey conducted by NHK during the period from April to October, 1956, indicates that 89 per cents of sets in use in Japan were of 14-inch screen, and 10.6 per cent of 17-inch screen. Since late 1956, the 90-degree wide screen picture tubes have come into use.

At present, there are 11 television station—7 operated by NHK, and 4 run on a commercial basis. The service area of these stations cover about 40 per cent of the entire families in the country.

The retail prices of 14-inch sets—the size of sets most widely used in Japan—range from the yen equivalent of 195 dollars to 220 dollars.

Among the leading manufacturers of sets, there are Hitachi Works (trade mark "Hitachi"), Tokyo Shibaura Electric Company (trade mark—"Matsuda"), Matsushita Electrical Industry Company (trade mark—"National"), Sanyō Electric Appliance Company, Yō Radio Company (trade mark—"General"), and Mitsubishi Electric Appliance Company.

Retail Prices of Radio Sets (as of Oct., 1956)

Kind	Standard tubes with transformer			Miniature tubes with transformer				5 tubes with transformer
	5-tube	5-tube with magic eye	6-tube with magic eye	5-tube	5-tube with magic eye	6-tube with magic eye	7-tube with magic eye	Miniature tubes
Price								
Minimum	\$ 28 ¥ 9,980	35 12,600	53.5 18,900	21.7 7,800	24.8 8,950	55.0 19,800	69.1 24,900	17.5 6,300
Maximum	\$ 50 ¥17,900	63 22,800	77.8 28,000	45.8 16,500	66.1 23,800	63.3 22,800	110.5 39,800	35.8 12,900
Average	\$ 35.5 ¥12,800	45.3 16,300	64.1 23,100	29.8 10,750	43.4 15,650	56.3 20,300	89.8 32,350	21.2 8,250

Kind	All-wave	Electric phonograph		Portable radio			
		Table model	Console model	Battery only		3-way	
Price	5 or 6 tube			3-tube	4-tube	4-tube	5-tube
Minimum	\$ 23.2 ¥ 8,350	58.3 21,000	137.5 49,500	10.8 3,900	16.1 5,800	24.4 8,800	32.8 11,800
Maximum	\$ 60 ¥21,600	119.4 43,000	736.1 265,000	11.9 4,300	35.5 12,800	37.5 13,500	51.6 18,600
Average	\$ 37.8 ¥13,600	74.1 26,700	301.1 108,420	11.0 4,080	22.5 8,130	29.1 10,500	42.8 15,400

Retail Prices of Television Sets (in terms of dollars as of Oct., 1956)

Kind	10-inch screen	14-inch screen		17-inch screen		21-inch screen	
		Table model	Console model	Table model	Console model	Table model	Console model
Price							
Minimum	—	\$193	313.8	300	366.6	366.6	422.2
Maximum	—	361.1	356.9	466.6	597.2	550	722.2
Average	208.3	269.4	335.4	405.5	500	472.2	608.3

Classification of T. V. Licensees by their Receiving Sets (as of Oct., 1956)

1. By country of production				
Domestically-made	89.7%	Foreign-made	2.2%	
Unknown	8.1%			
2. New or second-hand				
New	83.5%	Self-made	2.6%	
Second-hand	1.2%	Unknown	12.7%	
3. Size of picture tubes				
14 inches or less	63.4%	17 inches or less	25.0%	
Unknown	5.9%	12 inches or less	3.5%	
18 inches or over	1.4%	7 inches or less	0.8%	

Classification of Occupation by Registered T. V. set licensees (as of Oct., 1956)

1. Total				
Commercial business	47.3%	Intellectual workers	34.0%	
Organizations	3.5%	No regular occupation	3.7%	
Laborers	0.9%	Farmers	1.1%	
Others	11.0%			
2. Individuals				
Commercial business	47.3%	Intellectual workers	35.3%	

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Farmers	1.1%	No regular occupation	3.9 %
Others	11.4%	Laborers	1.0 %
3. Organizations			
Banks and corporations	77.0%	Schools	7.5 %
Government offices	2.6%	Hospitals and social welfare establishments	5.8 %
Others	7.1%		

Classification of Radio Programs (1956)

1. NHK Network No. 1			
News and commentary	23.0 %	Drama and entertainments	20.3 %
Music	17.1 %	Social and civic affairs	14.9 %
Education (in broader sense)	12.3 %	Education (in aid of class-room works)	6.3 %
Farm affairs	4.2 %	Sports	1.9 %
2. NHK Network No. 2			
Education (in aid of class-room works)	28.3 %	Music	24.9 %
Education (in broader sense)	11.8 %	Sports	16.2 %
Social and civic affairs	7.2 %	Drama and entertainments	5.6 %
News and commentary	4.8 %	Farm affairs	1.2 %
3. Commercial Radio Stations			
News and commentary	13.8 %	Social education	17.2 %
Music	34.2 %	Social and civic affairs	4.2 %
Entertainments	29.9 %	Education (in broader sense)	3.6 %
Sports	1.6 %	Women's affairs	2.5 %
Advertizing	3.3 %	Education (in aid of class-room works)	5.6 %
Religion	0.6 %	Others	0.78 %
4. Ratio of Sponsored Hours Classified by Business			
Agriculture and fishing	0.1 %	Banking and insurance	2.3 %
Mining and construction	0.2 %	Banks and securities companies	2.3 %
Manufacturing	72.0 %	Insurance	0.05 %
Condiments	3.8 %	Transportation, communications and other public utilities	1.8 %
Beverages	4.6 %	Transportation	1.1 %
Other foodstuffs	6.1 %	Public utilities	0.6 %
Printing and publishing	5.6 %	Others	0.09 %
Textile and spinning	9.7 %	Services	10.5 %
Pharmaceutical products	20.5 %	Movie houses, theaters and other show businesses	0.6 %
Soaps and cosmetics	10.2 %	Education	0.3 %
Fertilizers and other chemical products	1.6 %	Non-profit seeking organizations	1.1 %
Phonograph records	1.0 %	Travellers' guides	7.9 %
Machines and instruments	10.4 %	Hotels	0.3 %
Others	3.5 %	Others	0.2 %
Commerce	11.2 %	Government offices	1.8 %
Department stores	2.6 %	Other industries	0.09 %
Other stores	8.6 %		

The Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK)

(a) *NHK Stations**Tokyo Central Station* (JOAK—590 kc; JOAB—690 kc)

(local stations under its jurisdiction)

Nagano Niigata Kōfu Yokohama Maebashi Mito Chiba Utsunomiya Urawa Matsumoto

Osaka Central Station (JOBK—670 kc; JOBB—830 kc)

(local stations under its jurisdiction)

Kyoto Kobe Wakayama Nara Ōtsu Hikone

Nagoya Central Station (JOCK—730 kc; JOCB—910 kc)

(local stations under its jurisdiction)

Toyohashi Kanazawa Shizuoka Hamamatsu Fukui Toyama Tsu Gifu Tsuruga Obama

Hiroshima Central Station (JOFK—1050 kc; JOFB—790 kc)

(local stations under its jurisdiction)

Onomichi Okayama Matsue Tottori Hōfu Furayoshi

Kumamoto Central Station (JOGK—930 kc; JOGB—1350 kc)

(local stations under its jurisdiction)

Fukuoka Nagasaki Kagoshima Miyazaki Ōita Saga Kokura Sasebo

Sendai Central Station (JOHK—890 kc; JOHB—1090 kc)

(local stations under its jurisdiction)

Akita Yamagata Morioka Fukushima Aomori Tsuruoka Koriyama Hirosaki Shinjō

Sapporo Central Station (JOIK—570 kc; JOIB—750 kc)

(local stations under its jurisdiction)

Hakodate Asahikawa Nayoro Obihiro Kushiro Kitami Muroran Otaru Iwami

Matsuyama Central Station (JOZK—700 kc; JOZB—1470 kc)

(local stations under its jurisdiction)

Kōchi Tokushima Takamatsu

The NHK consists of 8 Central Stations, 40 local and 52 relay stations.

(b) *NHK Television Stations*

NHK has 7 television stations—Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, Hiroshima, Sendai, Fukuoka and Sapporo.

Commercial radio

(a) *Commercial Radio Stations*1. *Hokkaidō Hōsō* (Hokkaidō Broadcasting Company) (HBC)

Hakodate Station (JOHO)	900 kc	1 kw	Opened	Jul. 1, 1953
Asahikawa Station (JOHE)	860 kc	1 kw	"	Nov. 28, 1953
Obihiro Station (JOHW)	1460 kc	1 kw	"	Aug. 1, 1955
Kushiro Station (JOQL)	1280 kc	1 kw	"	Oct. 10, 1956
Muroran Station (JOQF)	1500 kc	1 kw	"	Oct. 23, 1956
Kitami Station (JOQN)	800 kc	100 w	"	Oct. 31, 1956
Abashiri Station (JOQM)	1560 kc	100 w	"	Oct. 30, 1956
Sapporo Station (JOHR)	1190 kc	10 kw	"	Mar. 10, 1952

2. *Tōhoku Hōsō* (Tōhoku Broadcasting Company) (TBC)

Sendai Station (JOIR)	1250 kc	10 kw	"	May 1, 1952
Kesennuma Station (JOIO)	800 kc	100 w	"	Dec. 15, 1956

3. <i>Radio Aomori</i> (RAB)					
Aomori Station (JOGR)	1120 kc	1 kw	(Opened)	Oct. 12, 1953	
Hachinohe Station (JOGO)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Dec. 10, 1954	
Hirosaki Station (JOGE)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Dec. 20, 1956	
4. <i>Yamagata Hōsō</i> (Yamagata Broadcasting Company) (YBC)					
Yamagata Station (JOEF)	920 kc	1 kw	"	Oct. 15, 1953	
Tsuruoka Station (JOEL)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Oct. 15, 1954	
5. <i>Radio Tōhoku</i> (RTB)					
Akita Station (JOTR)	940 kc	1 kw	"	Nov. 1, 1953	
Asamai Station (JOTO)	800 kc	100 w	"	Jun. 18, 1958	
6. <i>Radio Fukushima</i> (RFC)					
Fukushima Station (JOWR)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Dec. 1, 1953	
Kōriyama Station (JOWC)	1000 kc	1 kw	"	Dec. 1, 1953	
Aizuwakamatsu Station (JOWE)	800 kc	100 w	"	Dec. 1, 1953	
Taira Station (JOWW)	800 kc	100 w	"	Dec. 1, 1953	
7. <i>Iwate Hōsō</i> (Iwate Broadcasting Company) (IBC)					
Morioka Station (JODF)	590 kc	1 kw	"	Dec. 25, 1953	
Maesawa Station (JODL)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Dec. 20, 1954	
Kamaishi Station (JODM)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Oct. 14, 1956	
8. <i>Radio Tokyo</i> (KRT)					
Radio Tokyo (JOKR)	950 kc	50 kw	"	Dec. 24, 1951	
9. <i>Bunka Hōsō</i> (Nippon Cultural Broadcasting Company) (NCB)					
Bunka-Hōsō (Tokyo) (JOQR)	1130 kc	50 kw	"	Mar. 31, 1952	
10. <i>Nippon Hōsō</i> (Nippon Broadcasting Service) (NBS)					
Nippon Hōsō (Tokyo) (JOLF)	1310 kc	50 kw	"	Jul. 15, 1954	
11. <i>Nippon Tamba-hōsō</i> (Nippon Short-wave Broadcasting Company) (NSB)					
JOZ (Tokyo)	3925 kc	10 kw	"	Aug. 27, 1954	
JOZ2 (Tokyo)	6055 kc	10 kw	"		
JOZ3 (Tokyo)	9595 kc	10 kw	"		
12. <i>Shin-etsu Hōsō</i> (Shin-etsu Broadcasting Company)					
JOSR (Nagano)	1100 kc	1 kw	"	Mar. 25, 1952	
JOSO (Matsumoto)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Mar. 25, 1953	
JOSE (Okaya)	800 kc	100 w	"	Jul. 28, 1953	
JOSW (Iida)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Feb. 25, 1954	
13. <i>Radio Niigata</i> (RNK)					
JODR (Niigata)	1220 kc	1 kw	"	Dec. 24, 1952	
JODO (Naoetsu)	1560 kc	100 w	"	Dec. 1, 1953	
JODE (Nagaoka)	800 kc	100 w	"	Sept. 15, 1954	
14. <i>Radio Yamanashi</i> (RYC)					
JOJF (Kōfu)	740 kc	1 kw	"	Jul. 1, 1954	
JOJL (Fujiyoshida)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Dec. 1, 1956	
15. <i>Chūbu Nippon Hōsō</i> (CBC)					
JOAR (Nagoya)	1070 kc	10 kw	"	Sept. 1, 1951	
JOAE (Toyohashi)	1560 kc	100 w	"	Mar. 15, 1954	
JOAE (Takayama)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Aug. 15, 1954	
16. <i>Hokuriku Hōsō</i> (MRO)					
JOMR (Kanazawa)	760 kc	1 kw	"	May 10, 1952	
JOMO (Nanao)	1060 kc	100 kw	"	Mar. 1, 1956	

17. <i>Kitanihon Hōsō</i> JDLR (Toyama)	740 kc	1 kw	(Opened)	Jul. 1, 1952
18. <i>Fukui Hōsō</i> (Fukui Broadcasting Company) (FBC) JOPR (Fukui)	860 kc	1 kw	"	Jul. 20, 1952
19. <i>Shizuoka Hōsō</i> JOVR (Shizuoka)	1400 kc	1 kw	"	Nov. 1, 1952
JOVO (Hamamatsu)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Dec. 1, 1954
JOVE (Mishima)	1560 kc	100 w	"	Mar. 31, 1957
20. <i>Kinki-Tōkai Hōsō</i> (RMC) JOXR (Tsu)	860 kc	1 kw	"	Dec. 10, 1953
JOXO (Ueno)	1560 kc	100 kw	"	Apr. 29, 1956
21. <i>Radio Tōkai</i> (RTC) JOOF (Gifu)	1460 kc	1 kw	"	Mar. 10, 1955
22. <i>Shin Nippon Hōsō</i> (NJB) JOOR (Osaka)	1210 kc	10 kw	"	Sept. 1, 1957
23. <i>Asahi Hōsō</i> (ABC) JONR (Osaka)	1010 kc	10 kw	"	Nov. 11, 1951
24. <i>Kyoto Hōsō</i> (KHK) JOBR (Kyoto)	1140 kc	3 kw	"	Dec. 24, 1951
JOBO (Maizuru)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Mar. 21, 1957
25. <i>Kobe Hōsō</i> JOCR (Kobe)	560 kc	3 kw	"	Apr. 1, 1952
26. <i>Radio Chūgoku</i> (RCC) JOER (Hiroshima)	1240 kc	3 kw	"	Oct. 1, 1952
27. <i>Sanyō Hōsō</i> (RSK) JOYR (Okayama)	1280 kc	1 kw	"	Oct. 1, 1953
JOYO (Tsuyama)	800 kc	100 w	"	Oct. 1, 1956
28. <i>Radio San-in</i> (RSB) JOHF (Yonago)	900 kc	1 kw	"	Mar. 1, 1954
JOHL (Tottori)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Nov. 23, 1955
29. <i>Radio Yamaguchi</i> JOPF (Tokuyama)	1000 kc	1 kw	"	Apr. 1, 1956
30. <i>Shikoku Hōsō</i> JOJR (Tokushima)	940 kc	1 kw	"	Jul. 1, 1952
31. <i>Radio Kōchi</i> (RKC) JOZR (Kōchi)	920 kc	1 kw	"	Sept. 1, 1953
JOZO (Nakamura)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Mar. 1, 1957
32. <i>Nankai Hōsō</i> (RNB) JOAF (Matsuyama)	1120 kc	1 kw	"	Oct. 1, 1953
JOAL (Niihama)	800 kc	100 w	"	Oct. 1, 1956
JOAM (Uwajima)	1560 kc	100 w	"	Oct. 1, 1956
33. <i>Nishi Nippon Hōsō</i> (RNC) JOKF (Takamatsu)	1500 kc	1 kw	"	Oct. 1, 1953
JOKL (Kannonji)	1560 kc	100 w	"	Mar. 1, 1955
34. <i>Radio Kyūshū</i> (RKB) JOFR (Fukuoka)	1270 kc	10 kw	"	Dec. 1, 1951
JOFO (Kokura)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Dec. 25, 1952
35. <i>Nagasaki Hōsō</i> (NBC) JOUR (Nagasaki)	1220 kc	1 kw	"	Mar. 1, 1953
JOMF (Sasebo)	1400 kc	1 kw	"	Apr. 1, 1954

36. <i>Radio Kumamoto</i> (RKK)				
JOBF (Kumamoto)	1100 kc	1 kw	(Opened)	Oct. 1, 1953
JOBL (Hitoyoshi)	1560 kc	100 w	"	Oct. 1, 1956
37. <i>Radio Ōita</i>				
JOGF (Ōita)	580 kc	1 kw	"	Oct. 1, 1953
JOGL (Nakatsu)	1560 kc	100 w	"	Oct. 1, 1956
38. <i>Radio Minami Nippon</i> (MBC)				
JOCF (Kagoshima)	760 kc	5 kw	"	Oct. 10, 1953
39. <i>Kyūshū Asahi Hōsō</i> (KBC)				
JOIF (Fukuoka)	1450 kc	10 kw	"	Jan. 1, 1954
40. <i>Radio Miyazaki</i> (RMK)				
JONF (Miyazaki)	1480 kc	1 kw	"	Jul. 1, 1954
JONL (Nobeoka)	1060 kc	100 w	"	Nov. 1, 1956

The commercial radio stations totalled 93 as of August, 1958.

(b) *Commercial Television Stations*

1. *Nippon Television Network (Inc.)*

JOAX-TV (picture—171.25 mc 10 kw; sound—175.75 mc 5 kw)
(Opened August 28, 1953)

2. *Radio Tokyo Television*

JOKR-TV (picture—183.25 mc 10 kw; sound—187.75 mc 5 kw)
(Opened April 1, 1955)

3. *Hokkaidō Television*

JOHR-TV (picture 91.25 mc 10 kw; sound 95.75 mc 5 kw)
(Opened April 1, 1957)

4. *Chūbu Nippon Hōsō Television*

JOAR-TV (picture—177.25 mc 10 kw; sound—181.75 mc 5 kw)
(Opened December 1, 1956)

5. *Radio Kyūshū Television*

JOFR-TV (picture—171.25 mc 5 kw; sound 175.75 mc 2.5 kw)
(Opened Mar. 1, 1958)

6. *Osaka Television* (OTV)

JOBX-TV (picture—183.25 mc 10 kw; sound 187.75 mc 5 kw)
(Opened December 1, 1956)

International service

It was on June 1, 1935 that the Japan Broadcasting Corporation started its overseas service. It was also around that time that Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union began their respective international broadcasts.

At the outset, the overseas service by the Japan Broadcasting Corporation consisted of one-hour a day programs in English and Japanese directed to the Pacific coast of the United States and the Hawaiis. Initially, the power of the transmitting station was 20 kw.

The service was gradually expanded to meet the needs of the times. Especially

during World War II, it witnessed a considerable expansion with a new task of propaganda.

In 1944 when the foreign service was at its height, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation was broadcasting 34 hours a day in 24 languages to 15 different directions. The maximum power of the overseas transmitters was 50 kw.

On February 1, 1952, the overseas service which had been suspended was reopened under the new name of "Radio Japan".

As of January, 1957, Radio Japan was beaming its programs to 13 directions in 16 languages one hour a day for each direction—that is, 13 hours a day in all. Two transmitters of 100 kw and two others of 50 kw were in use.

At present, the overseas service is operated by the Japan Broadcasting Corporation under the control of the government and with a financial aid from the national budget. In other words, pursuant to Article 33 of the Radio Broadcast Law, the Postal Service Minister issues an order to the Japan Broadcasting Corporation to carry out an international service, specifying its directions, the contents and other necessary matter; and in accordance with this directive, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation formulates programs to be put on the air. But in programming, the corporation is given freedom and independence within the purview of not injuring Japan's international friendship. (Article 5 of the Radio Broadcast Law). The programs are sent overseas over the facilities of the International Telegraph and Telephone Corporation's transmitting stations at Nazaki and Yamata in Ibaraki Prefecture.

Postal Service Minister's 1956 Directive to carry out Overseas Service

- (a) Directions—West coast of the United States, Hawaii, Australia, North China, Central China, the Philippines, Indonesia, South China, Indo-China, Thailand, Burma, India, Pakistan, Middle East, Europe, Latin America, East coast of the United States (13 directions)
- (b) Broadcast Matters—news and commentaries, with music and others to be added when necessary.
- (c) Languages to be used—Japanese, English, and local languages
- (d) Basic policy for programming

The programming for the overseas service by the Japan Broadcasting Corporation should be aimed to introduce

the real situation of Japan to foreign countries, to accelerate cultural exchanges, to improve international understanding and friendship, to promote trade and thus to contribute toward Japan's development.

- (e) Languages to be used—Japanese, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Arabian, Hindi, Urdu, Siamese, Indonesian, Chinese (northern), Cantonese, Fukienese

Three dimensional program

There are only a few countries in the world where a three dimensional broadcast is being made on a regular basis. It is more than 3 years since NHK started its 3-dimensional broadcast. It is becoming increasingly popular due to its growing appreciation by the audience and to the constant efforts and studies on the part of those concerned to improve its programming and broadcasting techniques.

On December 31, 1955—on New Year's Eve—NHK linked up its stations across the country and made a relay broadcast of "watch-night bells" through this 3-dimensional system.

Another noteworthy example of such 3-dimensional programs was a social one entitled "A glimpse into the night life of Tokyo"—a program designed to present the night life of Tokyo as real as possible.

A study is also underway to achieve a practical use of a 3-dimensional amplifying system.

In the 1955 Art Festival sponsored by the Education Ministry, "Concrete Music for 3-Dimensional Music" won a group award in the field of radio programs. An individual award went to Mr. Kubota Yukio, a radio producer, for his 3-dimensional dramatic program "A Blue Pillar".

20 Most Favored Programs on Radio

(Regularly-scheduled programs only)
—14th survey in November, 1956—
(Tokyo)

1. "otōsan wa ohitoyoshi" (Good-natured father)	48.2 %	Monday	NHK
2. "utau Mihashi Michiya" (Songs by M. Mihashi)	37.5 %	Sat.	LF

3. "mittsu no uta" (3 songs) (quiz show)	36.4 %	Mon.	NHK
4. "rajio yose" (Radio Vaudeville)	35.9 %	Sun.	NHK
5. "watashi wa darede shō (Who am I?) (quiz show)	35.8 %	Mon.	NHK
6. "mono-mane nodo-jiman" (mimicry)	32.6 %	Wed.	LF
7. "meishoku abekku uta gassen" (Vocal contest among couples)	31.3 %	Fri.	QR
8. "hōsō engeikai" (entertainment)	30.7 %	Wed.	NHK
9. "sazae-san" (short comedy)	30.5 %	every weekday	LF
10. "hanagata kashu uta no yūransen" (Songs by star singers)	30.3 %	Wed.	LF
11. "heibon awā" (Heibon Hour)	29.5 %	Wed.	QR
12. "shōnen tantei-dan" (Boy Detectives)	28.4 %	every weekday	KR
13. "chakkari fujin ukkari fujin" (soap opera)	27.9 %	every weekday	KR
14. "hanashi no izumi" (Information Please)	27.8 %	Wed.	NHK
15. "rōkyoku tengu dōjō" (story-telling)	27.5 %	Tue.	KR
16. "7 O'clock (morning) News"	27.0 %	every day	NHK
17. "miyata engeikai yose no hitotoki" (Vaudeville)	26.7 %	Fri.	QR
18. "konshū no kayō besuto ten" (Ten Best Songs of the Week)	26.5 %	Mon.	QR
19. "shirōto monomane konkūru" (Mimicking Contest)	26.5 %	Mon.	QR
20. "konshū no myōjō" (Stars of the Week)	25.9 %	Sun.	NHK

(Note): NHK's special program "Saturday night feature" stood at the rating of 32.5 % in this survey.

Present Status of Motion Picture Industry

Development of motion picture industry

Debut of Motion Pictures in Japan

The history of the motion picture industry in Japan begins in 1896 when a set of Kinetoscope, devised by Thomas A. Edison of the United States the previous year, was imported. The so-called moving pictures were shown to the Japanese public for the first time in the city of Kobe on November 25, 1896.

In 1897, a set of cinematograph, a similar movie equipment developed by the Lumière brothers of France simultaneously with Edison, was introduced to the Japanese public in the city of Osaka. This was followed by the introduction of vitascope, another Edison's marvel, also in 1897.

These films introduced successively to Japan were named *katsudō shashin*, similar in meaning to the English "moving pictures".

Production of Moving Pictures Begins

The charm of motion pictures imported from abroad gave rise to a trend to make such films in Japan.

In the first stage of production, traditional kabuki plays offered one of the main subject matters. A film version of "Momi-jigari" (Viewing of Scarlet Maple Leaves), a piece of Japanese dance performed by noted kabuki actors Danjūrō IX and Kikugorō V, is still being preserved. This picture was produced in 1899 which saw Japan's first feature film depicting the life of a notorious robber who plagued the country at that time.

The Boxer Uprising that flared up in the Chinese continent in 1900 also contributed to the development of the motion picture industry in Japan. At the moment the incident occurred, Japanese movie technicians went to the front and filmed the scenes of battle for screening at home. This was the very start of newsreels in Japan.

With the birth of the Japan Motion Picture Company (Nikkatsu) in 1912, full-scale production of movies got under way. One of the company's many masterpieces was an adaptation from Tolstoy's famous novel "Resurrection". Artistically, however, Japan-made feature films at that time were far from being satisfactory and the people at large were generally fascinated by the charm of imported films.

Improvement of Motion Pictures

The marvellousness of foreign films stimulated film makers of Japan to produce pictures of a really artistic nature. They employed for this purpose actresses to play the female role (up to then, actors had played the female role in accordance with the tradition of *kabuki*) and subtitles. "Sei-no-Kagayaki" (Splendor of Life) produced under these novel systems in 1918 was, though not a very successful one, a memorable film in the history of Japan's motion picture industry.

The year 1920 saw the establishment of the Shōchiku Cinema Company which has ever since been playing an important role in the Japanese film industry. The company helped develop the "new movie" drives on a commercial basis and turned out numerous memorable films. It opened the way for the development of "modern films", while Nikkatsu, established long before it, also offered many significant pictures.

The great earthquake of Kantō District in 1923 marked an epoch in the history of Japan's movie industry. Because of big damage done by the quake, cinema companies moved their studios from Tokyo to Kyoto, ancient capital of Japan, to continue their production.

It was from around this time that various new companies joined in the film production and superior foreign pictures came to

be imported in large quantities, thereby contributing to the improvement of the level of Japanese films both in quality and technique. Directors who are now called big talents gluttonously absorbed various methods of foreign film-making from imported pictures.

With the advent of the Shōwa Era (1926-), Japanese films came to display a high technical standard and reflect on the spirit of the times. The so-called "tendency films" mainly describing the gloomy aspects of society at that time appeared on the screen and won the people's favor. Such pictures, however, failed to maintain lasting popularity because they conflicted with the recreational nature of cinematography. Thus, the so-called "nonsense films" came to be produced by Shōchiku. The "nonsense films", however, were not a symbol of buoyancy of the movie market; the movie industry at that time was actually in an ordeal of depression and labor disputes, although the people's interest in movies was fast mounting.

Talkie Age

Japan's first talkie was turned out at the Shōchiku Studio in 1931. The film entitled "Madam-to-Nyōbō" (Madam and Wife) was directed by Gosho Heinosuke who is now reckoned as one of the most talented directors of the day.

This ushered in the golden age of the Japanese movie industry covering the period of from 1935 to 1937 in which various newly equipped studios mushroomed and numerous films of modern sense and technique were produced by able directors.

Films produced in those days were aimed mainly at matching the taste of the Japanese public and, therefore, they left much to be desired for winning international sympathy and understanding. Most of them being adaptations from masterpieces of Japanese literature, were called "literary films". Because of their methods of expression and tempo adjusted to the feelings of the Japanese masses and their mode of living, they were received with hearty admiration and applause.

Influence of War

The Manchurian Incident that broke out in 1931 set a miserable turning-point not only to the world of cinema but also to all fields of Japanese culture. During the decade which saw the outbreak of the China Incident in 1937 and the World War II in 1941, the Japanese culture as a whole was led to a wrong direction with the creative power of artists restricted and utilized specially for belligerent purposes.

In 1938, the Motion Picture Law designed to place the movie industry under national control was legislated and in the subsequent year the hours of performance was subjected to reduction under this law. In 1940, the Cabinet's Information Bureau started functioning and the screening of "cultural films" began for the specific purpose of diffusing ultra-nationalistic thoughts and ideas among the public.

With the outbreak of the World War II in 1941, British and American films were shut out from the Japanese screen and the Government's control on the production of movies was strengthened both mentally and materially.

Even under such official oppression, the people's aspiration for amusement remained fervent and the desire to produce artistic pictures grew on the part of film producers. This resulted in the production of some films of a high artistic value, though within the limits of Government control.

Rebirth

The situation underwent a change with the termination of the World War II in 1945. The occupation forces established new rules of movie production aimed at popularizing the democratic rules of politics. The movie censorship by the Japanese Government was suspended and the production of motion pictures was placed on a free basis.

In 1946, long-awaited American pictures made their comeback to the Japanese screen and the public and movie producers in the country launched brisk activities with much hope and expectations.

Although under the "guidance" of occupation authorities, numerous films that

provided mental pabulum to the people at large engaging in the construction of a new Japan were produced one after another from 1947 to 1948. It was also during this period that the Japan Federation of Motion Picture Producers Associations was organized and, as a result, close relationship came to be established among movie producers.

The year 1948 saw a big workers' strike, unprecedented in Japan's history of silver screen, which gripped the Tōhō Motion Picture Company. Following the settlement of this strike a group of five leading motion picture companies, namely, Shōchiku, Dai-ichi, Tōhō, Shintōhō and Tōei which later increased to six with the participation of Nikkatsu, came to take the leadership in the nation's world of cinema.

The Third Stage of Development

With the enforcement of the Motion Picture Code of Ethics in 1949, the occupation forces' control on motion pictures came to be shifted gradually to the hands of the Japanese. This was carried out in anticipation of suspension of Allied occupation of Japan in the near future.

Meanwhile, the quality of Japanese movie producers improved and production of films increased remarkably with the result that the export of Japanese films, undreamed of in the past, became a reality.

In 1951 when the Peace Treaty between Japan and Allied Powers was concluded, the International Film Festival held in Venice conferred the Grand Prize to "Rashōmon" (The Rashōmon Gate). The year was memorable also because "Carmen Kokyō ni Kaeru" (Carmen Returns Home), the first full-scale color film ever to be produced in Japan, appeared on the screen.

Ever since "Rashōmon" won the first prize in the 1951 Venice Film Festival, Japanese pictures have won enthusiastic popularity for their artistic value on similar occasions later. This produced a reciprocal merit to stimulate Japanese movie producers to make films from an international angle. Thus, with the advent of 1957, the film theater screen in Japan came to be widened in keeping step with the world's trend.

Production of movies

Japan now ranks first among countries of the world in the production of feature films.

Feature films produced in 1956 totaled 514. This was the number required to meet the demand under the present system to show two such films a day. Such a system having been found to be undesirable, efforts to cut the number of film production came to be exerted in 1957.

It is believed, however, that production of films will be restricted automatically due to the appearance of wide-screen films which came to be produced from around May, 1957.

There are six big film companies in Japan which are equipped with modern film-making facilities. They are Shōchiku, Tōhō, Daiei, Tōei, Shintōhō and Nikkatsu. Besides these, a few other firms, such as Tokyo Eiga, Takarazuka Eiga and Kyoto Eiga, are turning out films from their well-equipped studios. Activities of the Independent Productions (Dokuritsu Pro.) should also be remembered here as well as the films by progressive circles.

The number of film production totaled 208 in 1951, 278 in 1952, 302 in 1953, 370 in 1954, 423 in 1955 and 514 in 1956. Of these, costume plays or the so-called samurai pictures accounted for about 40 per cent every year.

Production of color films is also being made actively. The number of such pictures to be produced in 1957 is in total 100.

Movie theater

The war played havoc with the country's movie theaters. They dropped to a meager 1,505 in number throughout the country in 1946. The reconstruction of theaters progressed with such an amazing pace after the war that it is even said at present that the mushrooming of theaters is hampering the development of the motion picture industry.

The number of film theaters which totaled only 1,093 in 1947 rose to 2,120 in 1948, 2,225 in 1949, 2,410 in 1950, 3,320 in 1951, 3,636 in 1952, 3,959 in 1953, 4,707 in 1954, 5,184 in 1955 and further to 6,123 in 1956.

Movie theaters cluster mainly around urban centers and this has raised criticism that the distribution of such theaters is lopsided.

In urban centers, there was one movie theater to every 12,616 persons in 1956, while in other districts the number of persons totaled 18,249. By sitting, there was one seat for every 27.5 persons in cities and for every 44.0 persons in other districts.

Theaters with wide screens which are capable of showing films of Cinemascope proportions totaled 1,021 out of the national total of 6,123 in 1956. The number is expected to increase sharply as such films have become a fashion of the day.

Audience

Movie goers were estimated at 1,085 million in 1956. This, when compared with the total national population of 90 million, meant that each person visited the theater for 12 times during the year.

It was estimated that of these, 65 per cent saw Japanese pictures and the remaining 35 per cent foreign films. The percentage of those favoring foreign pictures was bigger than those enjoying Japanese films in urban centers. By age, those ranging from 17 to 23 saw the movies most frequently and by sex, men saw more than women.

The rates of movie goers, classified by age and sex in 1955 are as follows: (in per cent)

Age	Male	Female	Total
15-19	9.8	9.0	18.8
20-24	10.6	7.4	18.0
25-29	7.6	8.3	15.9
30-39	12.0	12.0	24.0
40-49	7.1	7.0	14.1
50-59	4.7	4.5	9.2
Total	51.8	48.2	100.0

Import of films and their market

Fans of foreign films account for a considerable percentage since the cinematograph was a form of entertainment introduced to Japan from France, Italy and the United States.

The Government now limits the number of film imports because remittance of distribution income to foreign exporter countries is under control. Despite the fact that the interest in foreign films is mounting steadily, the Government is not inclined to allow more imports because the amount of distribution income remitted to exporter countries reached \$12,500,000 and that accumulated in the country \$8,900,000 in 1956.

The number of films imported in recent years, as classified by country, is tabulated as follows:

	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
U. S. A.	147	133	138	132	124
France	10	13	23	21	27
Britain	13	15	18	19	22
Italy	5	8	10	11	12
Germany	5	3	6	2	3
USSR	3	1	2	1	2
Mexico		1	1	3	2
Sweden	1		1	1	
Austria	1	2			3
Argentina		1	1	1	2
Denmark	1		2		
Finland	1	1		1	
Others	4	3	4	4	2
Total	191	181	206	196	199

As is clear in the above table, American pictures are most favored in Japan. There is a large number of fans who, little interested in Japanese films, see American pictures alone.

One of the reasons why foreign films are cared for so much in Japan is that the story of such pictures can be well understood through spoken titles and subtitles superimposed in the Japanese language and that every Japanese can fully understand his or her own country's language.

The Japanese Government is utilizing part of the foreign film companies' accumu-

lated income loaned to it under the specially concluded agreement.

Movie film

The Japanese motion picture industry might not have scored such a remarkable improvement after the War, if no movie films had been produced in the country. Two companies are now turning out movie films, both black and white and color. They are the Fuji Photo Film and the Konishiroku Photo Companies.

Production of Movie Film by Year
in 1,000 feet

Year	Black & White (35 mm. Negative, positive, sound)	Black & White (16 mm. positive)
1954	238,561	15,600
1955	279,452	16,500
1956	308,220	22,600

Production of color film (positive) totaled 5,980,000 feet in 1955 and 19,800,000 feet in 1956.

Besides these, color film of the Eastman and Agfa brands is being imported. The volume of imports came to 24,700,000 feet in 1956.

Developing studio

The superiority of Japanese color film technique has been appreciated widely in the world. The Eastman and Agfa color processes are being adopted by the Tōyō Genzōsho and the Tokyo Genzōsho, respectively. Another studio called Nihon Shikisai is also displaying high color film developing technique.

Export of motion pictures

Japanese motion pictures are now being received with considerable surprise and admiration in various countries of the world. They won their fame when *Rashōmon* got the First Prize at the International Film Festival held at Venice in 1951.

Following the victory of *Rashōmon*, various Japanese films, such as *Jigoku*

mon (The Gate of Hell), and *Ugetsu Monogatari* (The Tale of Ugetsu), won prizes on similar occasions in subsequent years. The color technique displayed in *Jigokumon* was praised as exceeding the world's standard.

Export of Japanese motion pictures began to increase in around 1947. In 1956, they were shipped to various countries, such as Formosa, France, Brazil, India, Hongkong, Burma and Argentina.

Despite such an active demand for Japanese films on overseas markets, Japanese films are not gaining so much income as foreign picture do in Japan. The amount earned in around 1956 totaled only \$2 million.

Meanwhile, foreign countries are taking increasing interest in the Japanese movie industry and, as a result, various joint productions appeared on the screen. "The Tea-house of the August Moon" was produced jointly with the United States, "Typhon à Nagasaki" jointly with France, "Madam Butterfly" jointly with Italy and *Yôkihi* (Princess Yang) jointly with Hongkong.

Thus, it is expected that Japanese films will find greater markets in various parts of the world.

Motion picture code of ethics

Motion pictures were subject to strict censorship of the Ministry of Home Affairs with special reference to police and ideological aspects when the movie industry was under control of the Government. They were examined also by the gendarmerie from the military point of view and also by the Education Ministry for educational necessities.

With the intensification of the World War II, the Government began to give "guidance" to the movie industry through the Cabinet's Information Bureau which was set up during the war. Even at that time, the censorship by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the gendarmerie were continued as before.

The termination of the war in 1945 freed the movie industry from the yoke of Govern-

ment control and granted the freedom of production and screen to it. However, in view of the grave influences the motion pictures exerted on the minds of the people, movie producers voluntarily embarked on a move to produce films of a high moral and artistic value.

This move resulted in the enforcement of the Motion Picture Code of Ethics by the Motion Picture Association of Japan in 1949. The Association organized the Motion Picture Code of Ethics Committee to enforce the rules in producing and screening the films.

By the end of 1956, the committee examined 2,685 scenarios, 2,448 feature films, 4,040 shorts and trailers and 412 imported films.

A scathing criticism was raised, however, over the activities of this committee because four films depicting the life of juvenile delinquents or the so-called *Taiyô-zoku* appeared on the screen from around the summer of 1956. The committee, of course, had taken steps to prevent youths below 18 years of age from seeing these pictures, but the public censured that the committee should not have allowed them to appear even before the eyes of the grownups.

Such a trend finally pointed to the legislation of a special law to control production of such films. Movie producers, however, fearing that the anticipated Government action might lead to the revival of the prewar censorship of movies, carried out a drastic reorganization of the ethics committee to filter all films to be shown in Japan, including imported pictures. The new committee, named the Motion Picture Morality Maintenance Committee and including in its membership private men of learning and experience with no direct relationship with the movie industry, started functioning in January, 1957, under support of movie industrial circles, the society at large and the Government.

Movies and youths

Motion picture manufacturing circles are now taking various steps to protect young

men and women from the evil effects of movies.

Firstly, they have set up a special council in the Motion Picture Morality Maintenance Committee to tackle the harsh problem of relationship between youths and movies. This council examines and recommends pictures considered to be useful to younger generations under the following criteria:

- 1) To sharpen the sense of beauty and cultivate sentiments.
- 2) To improve the good sense of society and the sense of morality.
- 3) To increase the fair knowledge and culture.
- 4) To enrich the sense of humanity.
- 5) To offer healthy entertainment.

As for films which were considered to be harmful to youths, the council puts up a notice to this effect and advises youths not to see such films. These pictures are being selected under the following principles:

- 1) Films which are liable to stir sexy feelings more than is necessary.
- 2) Films which may lead youths to resort to acts of force.
- 3) Films describing excessive acts of cruelty.

The problem of movies and youths is being studied earnestly by both the producers and the Government as well as educational circles because protective measures, if taken carelessly, may deprive youths of their major passtime—motion pictures.

Audio-visual education and educational films

Utilization of motion pictures for educational purposes began in around 1927 in the form of "educational film meetings" at various parts of the country. It gained fast momentum when "mobile film meetings" came to be held and "film libraries" established. Especially, the use of movies with special reference to social education came to be made actively from around 1916 with the Government and public offices taking the lead.

Screening of films at school can be traced back to 1920 when portable 35-mm projec-

tors were imported. In 1925, primary schools in cities possessing movie projectors grew to a considerable large number.

Education through the medium of motion pictures made big strides after the appearance of 16-mm projectors in around 1927.

The appearance of "film libraries" and "travelling movie theaters" placed film education both at school and in society at large on a continuous and systematic basis. As a result, 16-mm film projectors owned by primary schools alone reached as many as 4,630 in 1940.

The Government, in the mean time, took a series of measures to offer good films to children, such as recommending films for primary school children and restricting them to see films which it considered were not of use to them. It even went so far as to produce and distribute films for children from the standpoint of film education.

Private circles, on the other hand, embarked on a move to protect children from the evil effects of motion pictures in 1928.

In 1939 when the nation jumped into the state of war, the Government legislated the Motion Picture Law as a means of stepping up its control on movies and showing "cultural films" compulsorily. This placed film education, especially at school, on a backward course. Social education through movies, however, remained rather active as a result of the Government action to show "national policy" films compulsorily.

Japan's surrender in the World War II in 1945 reduced film education facilities to almost nothing. This, coupled with the post-war change of educational policy, caused film education to take a new start.

The occupation forces leased, as a means of conducting new education on the people of Japan, a total of 1,300 16-mm film projectors and offered many films prepared by GHQ's Civil Information and Education Section to the Japanese Government. This caused the Government to take a series of administrative measures for audio-visual education for the first time in Japan. These measures which served to improve such education in Japan remarkably got

rid of Allied control with Japan's independence in 1951.

The audio-visual education grew active as its effects were recognized widely by educational circles. From around 1949, film libraries made their comeback and theoretical basis for such a form of education came to be established.

The number of film libraries rose to 493 and films on file to 14,250—13,400 short educational films and 850 feature films—in 1955. These libraries held film meetings on a rotation basis and loaned their films and other teaching materials, such as slides and records.

Meanwhile, producers of educational films, having been barred from showing their productions at ordinary film theaters, shifted their production to public relations films after the War. With the increase in film libraries, however, they again came to engage in the manufacture of educational films.

Production of educational films from 1951 to 1956 is shown in the following table:

Year	No. of Films	No. of Reels	No. of Producers
1951	233	448	64
1952	304	608	83
1953	380	774	107
1954	480	1,000	113
1955	571	1,212	138
1956	753	1,688	187

Of these films produced during the six-year period, 50 per cent accounted for 16-

mm films for distribution to schools and social educational facilities.

The number of 16-mm film projectors which had sunk to only 3,000 in the country in 1946 rose to 4,800 in 1952 and 8,830 in 1956. These were owned by schools, film libraries, public halls and prefectural education boards.

Japan now produces a total of 400 movie projectors a month.

At present, audio-visual education is conducted under the leadership of Audio-Visual Education Section of the Education Ministry and the Motion Picture Association of Japan, Japan Film Education Association and the League of Educational Film Producers.

Newsreel

Eleven kinds of weekly newsreels, six Japanese and five foreign, were being distributed regularly throughout the country as of 1956. Of the five foreign newsreels, four were American and one British.

The Japanese newsreels were produced by makers having special contracts with newspaper companies and distributed through the network of ordinary feature film theaters. Foreign newsreels were also shown at ordinary theaters.

These newsreels distributed in 1956 totaled 572, including 260 foreign ones.

Besides these, three kinds of daily newsreels were distributed for telecasting and 20 other kinds of newsreels were distributed on a local basis.

Publication

Books

The history of printing in Japan starts in the 8th century A.D., with the printing of "The Million Copies of the Dhāraṇī", some of which, dated 770 A.D. and in good preservation at Hōryū-ji, are the oldest printed objects extant in Japan. The printing of books, however, was for many centuries very limited in amount and scope, compris-

ing chiefly Buddhist and Confucian scriptures for the exclusive use of the ruling class. In the 17th century, under the peaceful rule of the Tokugawa Shogunate, culture diffused among the common people and from the last quarter of the 17th century on, stories, historical narratives and other products of popular literature were printed and published in increasing abundance. When, in the 18th century, Edo, the Shogun's capital, became the cultural

centre of the country, publishing business flourished chiefly in Edo and reached its height of activity early in the 19th century at the time of the full maturity of Edo culture.

In the middle of the 19th century, the Shogunate, pressed by the high tide of world currents, was ready to give up its long established policy of national isolation. The publications of this period, coming out from such as the Shogunate's *Kaiseijo* (Institute for Western Learning) and some *Dimyō's* publishing offices, were marked by growing predominance of Japanese translations of Dutch works on sciences. These books were printed on Japanese paper from wood type or wood block and were bound in the traditional Japanese style.

Meiji Period (1868-1912)

The books published in the early years of the Meiji period were still bound in the old Japanese style, as is seen in the cases of the first editions of *Seiyō Jijō* by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901), *Yōchi Shiryaku* by Uchida Masao (1838-1876), and *Saikoku Risshi Hen* or a Japanese translation of S. Smiles' *Self Help* by Nakamura Keiu (1832-1891).

It was in 1882 that Motoki Shōzō (1818-1874), first importer of modern Western printing technique into Japan, moved his printing office from Nagasaki to Tokyo. His innovations and inventions contributed much to the growth and diffusion of modern culture in our country.

The new national government established its own printing office under its Education Ministry and published, among other books, a Japanese edition of Chamber's Encyclopaedia (10 vols., 1859-1868). About the same time, *Shinrigaku* translated by Nishi Amane (1826-1894) and *Ishin Bigaku* translated by Nakae Chōmin (1847-1901) were published. In the early Meiji days, it was not only the Education Ministry but almost all the rest of the governmental offices that shared in the publication projects of the government, because all of them were urgently concerned about the diffusion of modern education throughout the nation, since the Meiji Reformations were, as is

pointed out in E. H. Norman's *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State*, planned out and put on the people by the determined hands of the national government. As a part of the government's vast education program, *Genkai* and *Daigenkai* and also *Koji Ruiien* were compiled and published, while *Shiryō Hensanjo*, founded as a governmental institute for compilation of historical materials, began in 1901 the compilation and publication of *Dainihon Shiryō* and *Dainihon Komonjo* and some other classified historical documents. These two compilations are still going on and are certainly to be ranked among the greatest compilations of the world.

Big compilation projects were carried on also by private undertaking as is seen in the notable works of Tokyo Keizai Zasshi Sha, headed by Taguchi Ukichi (1855-1905), whose *Dainihon Jimmei Jisho*, *Nihon Shakai Jii*, *Gunsho Ruijū*, *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*, *Kokushi Taikei*, *Zoku Kokushi Taikei* are highly valued still today as historical references.

Book-binding had by this time taken to Western method and style and a book of this period usually has a stiff cardboard cover with an etching design or designs on it. According to the subjects treated, they are classifiable into works for introduction of modern Western civilization, political essays on "the people's free rights", novels with political motives, translations of Western works, and popular stories. Such representative works of the time as *Karyū Shunwa*, *Hachijūnichi Sekai Isshū*, *Shinsho-no-Kajin*, and *Setchu-bai* came out invariably in a cardboard cover.

About this time various publishing firms were established and many of them, such as Yūhikaku, Sanseidō, Fuzanbō and Chūō-Kōron-sha, were successfully carried on and have since become leading publishers in our country. Some of them, on the other hand, such as Toshō Kankō-kai and Dainihon Bummei Kyōkai, did much for the time but have since dropped out. The latter two publishing organizations were started under the influence of Ōkuma Shigenobu, Toshō Kankō-kai specializing in publication of

Japanese classics and Dainihon Bunmei Kyōkai in that of translations of Western works.

Fuzanbō's first publication was *Keizai Genron* (Principles of Economics) by Amano Tameyuki (1859-1936), which sold 30,000 copies and popularized the word "keizai" (economy). Hakubun-kan's first product was *Nihon Taika Ronshū* (Essays by Eminent Writers of Japan), which was a serial publication, intermediary in form between a book and a periodical, and was very well received by the public.

Around the difficult time of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, Sanseidō started the compilation and publication of *Nihon Hyakka Jiten* (an encyclopaedia japonica), the largest-scaled publication that had ever been undertaken in our country, requiring for completion 22 years and an enormous number and great labor of compilers. It constituted a landmark in the history of our encyclopaedia-making. Almost equally memorable were the publication by Fuzanbō of *Dainihon Chimei Jiten* (a dictionary of Japanese place-names) and that by Yoshikawa Kōbun-kan of *Tosho Kaidai* (a bibliographical dictionary). The best-known publications of this period in the literary field were the Minyūsha edition of *Hototogisu*, the Shunyōdō editions of *Tōson Shishū* and *Konjiki Yasha*, and *Nikudan* and *Kono Issen*, the last two being literary products of the Russo-Japanese War. These books topped the best-seller lists of the Meiji period.

Book-binding came to have more style toward the latter years of the Meiji period and some specimens of really artistic, de luxe binding were produced as is seen in the instances of such as *Wagahai-wa-Neko*

de-Aru by Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916), *Shinshaku Genji Monogatari* by Yosano Akiko (1878-1942), and *Jashū-mon* by Kitahara Hakushū (1885-1943).

Taishō Period (1912-1926)

The notable publications of the Taishō Period were *Dainihon Kokugo Jiten* (a dictionary of the Japanese language), compiled and published by Fuzanbō after 36 years of hard labor, *Meiji Kōgyō Shi* (a history of technical industries of the Meiji period), compiled and published by Nihon Kōgakkai, *Nihon Sūgaku Shi* (a history of mathematics in Japan), written by Endō Toshisada (1843-1915) and published by Iwanami Shoten, and *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* (the Taishō edition of complete Buddhist scriptures), in 100 volumes, over 1,000 pages each, compiled and published by Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai.

The more popular serial publications of this time were *Tachikawa Bunko* and *Akagi Sōsho*, both series starting in the early Taishō Period and lasting for a decade or so. The great earthquake of 1923 was followed by a general business depression, against which our publishers had to change their business policies. Kaizōsha started "A Complete Contemporary Japanese Literature Series" in 45 volumes on a subscription system, pricing each volume at one yen. Shinchōsha, on a similar plan, published A *World Literature Series*, and Heibonsha A *Contemporary Popular Literature Series*, all on the basis of one-yen-books, so that this period came to be known as "the one-yen-book period".

Early Shōwa Period to the End of the Second World War (1926-1945)

Early in the Shōwa Period, two large-scale encyclopaedic publications were undertaken, one Heibonsha's *Dai Hyakka Jiten* and the other Fuzanbō's *Kokumin Hyakka Jiten*. *Nihon Shokubutsu Zukan* (illustrated plants of Japan) by Makino Tomitarō (1862-1957), a single 1,213 page volume, was the most notable among individual compilations. A big hit at this time was

Amount of Books Published from 1931 to 1945
(From the Home Office Registry)

1931	23,110	1939	28,054
1932	22,104	1940	26,278
1933	24,025	1941	28,130
1934	26,231	1942	23,461
1935	30,347	1943	17,818
1936	31,996	1944	5,438
1937	30,732	1945	878
1938	29,466		

Iwanami Bunko, innovated by Iwanami Shoten, a series, still continued, of pocket-size classics of the world, whose popularity in all these years have been such that many other big publishers, like Kaizō-sha, Shunyō-dō, and Shinchō-sha, have come to publish their several *bunko* series.

Around 1930 was the time when reflecting the social unrest within the country, left-wing publications had a boom in Japan. It lasted, however, only for a brief period and declined fast after the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident in 1931, which was followed by the rapid growth of the ultra-nationalistic, promilitary literature. The lasting achievement of our left-wing publications was Iwanami Shoten's *Nihon Shihonshugi Hattatsushi Kōza* (a symposium on the history of the development of capitalism in Japan).

As the Manchurian Incident developed into the World War II, government control was put on every phase of the national life. Around 1941, Nihon Shuppan Bunka Kyōkai (Japan Publications Association) and Nihon Shuppan Haikyū Kabushiki Gaisha (Japan Publications Distributing Company, Inc.) were organized for the purpose of government control of thought, speech and publishing business. Later, in face of the increasing necessity for more tightened control, Nihon Shuppan Bunka Kyōkai was

dissolved and under the newly enacted Sōdōin-hō (Total Mobilization Law), Nihon Shuppan Kai (Japan Publications Society) was set up in its place for speech and publication control and was placed under direct supervision of Jōhō Kyoku (Information Bureau), which was also set up under the same Total Mobilization Law.

Postwar Period (1945-1954)

Survey. The Occupation government restored for the Japanese people the freedom of speech and publication by abolishing the rigorous census system practised, before and during the war, by the Home Office and the Metropolitan Police Board, and the speech and publication guidance carried out by various governmental authorities. Nihon Shuppan Kai was dissolved and replaced by the newly organized Nihon Shuppan Kyōkai, and in place of the ultra-nationalism that marked the publications during the war, liberalism and Marxism became the two dominant tones in the postwar literature. In 1946, in the midst of this sharp transition, *Sasame-yuki* by Tanizaki Junichiro (1886-), *Shukuzu* by Tokuta Shūsei (1871-1943), and *Aijō-wa-furu-Hoshi-no-gotoku* by Ozaki Shūjitsu (1901-1944) were published. The war-worn people were hungry for books and despite the dire shortage of paper, a

Amounts of Books and Periodicals Published from 1946 to 1954

	1946	1947	1948	1954	Total	%
General Works	12	441	806	157	2,668	1.7
Philosophy	263	963	1,695	767	8,137	5.3
History	105	435	811	529	4,295	2.8
Social science	580	2,117	4,390	3,299	24,853	16.2
Natural science	240	1,174	2,214	1,081	11,328	7.4
Engineering	121	564	1,108	1,457	9,240	6.0
Industry	148	521	1,071	935	6,620	4.3
Art	205	1,814	2,511	1,287	11,205	7.4
Languages	91	462	857	784	5,469	3.6
Literature	1,137	3,319	4,469	5,284	32,858	21.4
Juveniles	385	1,718	3,060	3,229	18,851	12.4
Examination guidebooks	179	1,136	3,071	2,517	17,630	11.5
Total	3,466	14,664	26,063	21,326	152,254	100
%	2.3	9.6	17.0	13.9	100	
Periodicals ⁽¹⁾	2,904	7,294	6,778	1,278		

(1) Non commercial governmental publications and scientific periodicals are excluded.

hilarious boom was felt in our publishing business immediately following the close of the war. It was temporary, however, and in the midst of the confusion that followed, our publishing business had to be reorganized.

The neat-sized *bunko* editions became the most popular form of postwar publications. In addition to the three *bunko* series of prewar origin, nearly a dozen new *bunko* series were now started, beginning with Kadokawa and Shimin. Iwanami Shoten started their *Shashin Bunko* (a photo series), which was soon followed by such as *The Asahi Photo Books* and *Kadokawa Shashin Bunko*. When, side by side with *bunko* series, the *shinsho* edition, started also by Iwanami Shoten, began to draw public attention and favor, many publishers took up also this form of serial publication. The making of *zenshū* (a collection of similar works of different authors or of complete works of a single author) has become also very active—more active in fact than it was before the war—as is seen in Kadokawa Shoten's *Shōwa Bungaku Zenshū* (a complete collection of literary works of the Shōwa Period), Chikuma Shobō's *Gendai Nihon Bungaku Zenshū* (a complete collection of contemporary literary works of Japan), and Kawade Shobō's *Sekai Bungaku Zenshū* (a collection of literary masterpieces of the world). Symposia, beginning with Iwanami Shoten's *Nihon Shihonshugi Kōza* (a symposium on Japanese capitalism), and various fine scientific publications, topped by Yūhikaku's *Gakujutsu Sensho* (selected scientific works), have also come to appear in increasing amount. Since 1950 have been published in close succession *Gendai Shizen Kagaku Kōza* (a symposium on contemporary natural sciences), *Keizaigaku Shōjiten* (a concise dictionary of economics), *Hōgaku Jiten* (a dictionary of law), *Tōkeigaku Jiten* (a dictionary of the science of statistics), *Iwanami Kōza "Kyōiku"* (Iwanami symposium on education), *Shakaigaku Kōza* (a symposium on sociology), and *Kagakushi Taikei* (a general history of sciences).

Art publications. Books of illustrated art have been one of the most notable postwar features. Beginning with Heibonsha's *Sekai Bijutsu Zenshū* (a complete illustrated art of the world), more than 50 serials and single books have appeared in this field, including *Kindai Nihon Bijutsu Zenshū* (a modern Japanese art series), *Gendai Sekai Bijutsu Zenshū* (a contemporary world art series), *Gendai Nihon Bijutsu Kōza* (a symposium on contemporary Japanese art), and collected works of some individual artists. Of these, the work reputed to be the most notable of all postwar publications and one to be of special significance in the history of our publication, is *Yunkang*, the illustrated Yunkang Buddhist art by Professor Mizuno Nagahiro of the Research Institute of Humanistic Science of Kyoto University.

Translations. Translations have constituted one of the most extensive branches of our publication activity since the beginning of the Meiji Period. Indeed, the Japanese culture during this time has often been called "a translation culture", because it has eagerly striven to learn from modern Western countries by reading their books not so much in the original but more in translation. It is regretful to say that translations of Western works before the Second World War were often carried on without proper copyright procedure.

At the beginning of the Occupation, the publication of all new translations was temporarily prohibited. In 1946, by the suggestion of the GHQ, the Honyaku Shuppan Konwa Kai (Translation-Publication Discussion Group) was formed by some translators and publishers as the representative body for negotiating with the GHQ about translation questions. In 1948 the GHQ published the scope of Japanese translation work to be authorized under its control. During the time of suspension of new translations, only old translations of such as Maupassant, Tolstoi, and Goethe were allowed to be published.

The works put on the translation list under the GHQ plans were only such books

as were considered to serve for the Occupation purpose of reconstruction and democratization of Japan. They were mostly serious, practical, useful books on education, politics, social science, literature, or for juvenile reading. When classified by the country of original publication, they came in the order of the United States, Britain and France, with just a few works of the Soviet Union.

On the basis of this plan, 260 books were translated and published by April 1951. The year 1949 was a boom year for translations, bringing out Japanese editions of such American and British works as Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (translated by Ōkubo Yasuo), Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead* (tr. Yamanishi Eiichi), Du Maurier's *Rebecca* (tr. Ōkubo Yasuo), Gheorghiu's *The Twenty-fifth Hour* (La vingtcinquième heure) (tr. Kawamori Kōzō), and various works of Maugham, Faulkner and D.H. Lawrence; and such French works as Martin du Gard's *Les Thibaut* (tr. Yamano-uchi Yoshio), Duhamel's *La Chronique des Pasquier* (tr. Hasegawa Shirō), and various works of Anatole France and André Gide. After 1951, translation of American literature declined, while side by side with works of Western Europe, contemporary Chinese and Russian works came to be taken up in increasing amount. Such contemporary Chinese novels as Lao Shē's *Ssū-shih T'ung-t'ang*, Ting Ling's *The Sun Shines over the Sang King River*, and Chao Shu-li's *Changes in Li Village* were particularly popular, showing the Japanese people's increasing interest in the social life of contemporary China.

In 1953, some 1,300 foreign works were translated and published in our country, this number standing, in comparison with other countries, at the third or fourth in the world's translation activity of the year. The subjects treated were chiefly literature, law and social science.

The following figures show our translation activities in 1950 (still under the Occupation) and 1953 (after the close of the Occupation), in relation to the subjects and the original languages:

Literature translated

Original language	1950		1953	
		%		%
Total works	489	100	658	100
English	198	40	197	30
French	137	30	222	34
German	65	13	124	19
Russian	62	13	78	12

Law and Social Sciences translated

Original language	1950		1953	
		%		%
Total works	141	100	209	100
English	84	60	145	55
French	13	9	25	12
German	23	16	33	16
Russian	18	13	37	18

Juveniles and examination guidebooks. Juveniles, which were quite actively published even before the war, have become a very flourishing field particularly since the postwar enactment of the School Libraries Law. *Ogawa Mimei's Complete Works*, winner of a Geijutsu-in (Art Academy) Award, and the first of our notable postwar juvenile publications, has been followed by *Nihon Jidō Bungaku Zenshū* (a Japanese juvenile literature series), *Sekai Shōnen-Shōjo Bungaku Zenshū* (a world's juvenile literatures series), *Andersen's Complete Works*, *Icanami Juvenile Library*, etc.

As a peculiar subdivision of our juvenile literature, we may mention here the "helps-for-school-work" publications, which are as abundant today as regular juveniles. With these may be grouped here the guidebooks for high school and college entrance examinations which are published much more abundantly today than before the war.

Governmental publications. Governmental compilations and publications have constituted a considerable portion of our publication activity since early Meiji Era. They consist chiefly in histories of various technical branches of the governmental work. Since the close of the war, the different governmental offices have resumed their work and have published various historical compilations beginning with the

Finance Office's *The History of Finance of the Shōwa Period*, a sequence to the two pre-war publications, *The History of Finance of the Meiji Era* and *The History of Finance of the Meiji-Taishō Era*. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry has two serial publications going on, *The Reports of the Agricultural Administration* and *The Survey of the Agricultural Reform*, the former being a compilation begun in the last decade of the 19th century and the latter the official reports on the postwar agricultural reform. There are also *The History of Wireless Communication in Japan*, *The History of the Past Eighty Years of the Statistics Bureau of the Prime Minister's Office*, and *The Survey of the Activities of the Bureau for Temporary Rationalization of Industries*.

Another notable postwar feature with governmental publications is the issue of annual reports and year-books by various governmental offices. Pamphlets for public relations purposes have also come to be published by them in increasing amount.

Bibliographies. Before the war, bibliographies were published only on technical subjects. It is decidedly a postwar feature that general bibliographies on national scale have come to be published, as seen in the instances of *the General Catalogue of Japanese Publications*, compiled and published annually since 1948 by the National Diet Library, and *the Classified and Annually Revised Bibliography of Japanese Books* and *the General Catalogue of Japanese Periodicals*, both published by Kurita Shoten in 1953.

For bibliographies for specialized subjects, we have for the most notable instances *the General Catalogue of Governmental Publications*, compiled and published by the National Diet Library, and *the General Catalogues of the National Diet Library and the Libraries of the Administrative and Judicial Offices of the Government and of the Supreme Court*. *The Catalogued Material for the History of Japanese Economy*, started before the war and recently resumed, must be mentioned here as a work of special note in this field.

Encouragement for Good Publications

Recommendations and awards. For the encouragement of good publications, a system of public recommendations has been in practice for some time. The Japan Libraries Association, the National Council of School and College Libraries, Japan Broadcasting Corporation (Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai), the Juveniles Writers' Association, The League of Social Educational Institutions (recommending books for the libraries of the Civic Halls), and the Children's Welfare Board of the Public Welfare Ministry have each a selection committee of specialists and each of these organizations publishes its list of recommended books every month for the purpose of helping out the selection of books for school and public libraries.

Numerous awards have been also instituted, such as: *The Education Minister's Award*, founded in 1952, by the National Council of School and College Libraries; *Mainichi Award*, founded by the Mainichi Press in 1947; *Sankei Juvenile Literature Award*, founded by the Sangyō-Keizai Press in 1952. All of these have been created since the close of the war, while *Asahi Award*, started in 1929 by the Asahi Press, still continues as the oldest-instituted of all these honors. These prizes are bestowed annually on the books considered to have been the most significant publications for the past one year, the honor being shared by both the author and the publisher.

There are also awards not for books but for authors of significant literary or scientific works. The following are the literary prizes, all but the last two being offered by private institutions or individuals while the last two are governmental:

Prizes of Private Foundations

1. Akutagawa Prize, founded in 1935
2. Kikuchi Kan Prize, 1939
3. Juvenile Literature Prize, 1951
4. Modern Poets' Association Prize, 1950
5. Women Writers' Prize, 1946
6. Shinchōsha Literary Prize, 1954
7. Shōgakkan Juvenile Literature Prize, 1952

8. *Detective Story Writers' Club Prize*, 1947
9. *Naoki Sanjūgo Prize*, 1935
10. *Japan Essayists' Club Prize*, 1952
11. *Noma Literary Prize*, 1942
12. *Yomiuri Literary Prize*, 1950
13. *Postwar Literature Prize*, 1950
14. *Kosaoka Tadayoshi Prize*, 1952

Governmental Prizes

1. *Nihon Geijutsu-in Prize*, 1931
2. *Education Minister's Literary Prize*, 1947

Awards for scientific works are few in comparison with the literary prizes. The following two governmental awards, both founded by Gakushi-in in 1911, are considered the highest honors attainable in this field:

1. *Onshi Shō* (Imperial Award)
2. *Gakushi-in Award* (Japan Academy Award)

The non-governmental awards are:

1. *Asahi Prize*, instituted in 1929 by the Asahi Press
2. *Mainichi Scholarship*, instituted in 1949 by the Mainichi Press
3. *Japan Architects' Association Prize*, instituted in 1938.

Similar honors are annually awarded also on the best works of book-binding art.

Book Reviews. Book reviews play an important role in the encouragement for good publications, because critical accounts bring the new books closer to the prospective readers than mere lists of recommended books. A regular periodical or periodicals, devoted to book reviews are most desirable today.

"The Book Week" and Best Seller Lists.

For the publishers' advertizing purposes, "The Book Week of the Fall" has been instituted since 1947 and the making of best-seller lists has become a wide and constant practice with extensively organized investigation, reporting and propaganda activities. The top three best-sellers of 1954 were Itō Sei's *Josei-ni-kansuru Jūni-shō* (Twelve Chapters regarding Women) and *Bungaku Nyūmon* (An Introduction to Literature) and Taketani Mitsuo's *Shi-no-Hai* (Ashes of Death), which sold from ten to three hundred thousand.

Periodicals, magazines

Survey

The magazines published on commercial basis count some 600 at present, while their total number of copies issued amount to 28,500,000 per month. When extra numbers are added to the regular issues, the total amount of publication will come up to 341,600,000 a year. The following tables show the proportional amounts in circulation of different magazine groups and the size of circulation and proportion of urban and rural readers of the four largest of our popular magazines.

Table 1.
Proportional Amounts in Circulation of Different Magazine Groups
(Sekai Bunka Year-Book, 1954)

Juvenile	27%
Popular	18
Housewives'	12
General and literary	8
Weeklies	10
Others	25

Table 2. Popular Magazines and Their Circulation
(Unit: 1,000)

Names	Total circulation	Urban	Rural
Ie-no-Hikari	809	57	752
Heibon	529	246	283
King	166	48	118
Kōdan	90	49	41
Kurabu			

In Table 1, "Others" include scientific periodicals, governmental magazines, examination guides, graphics, and organs of private literary or scientific societies, which are all little in circulation but which are each marked with distinct character. The scientific periodicals are significant as means of publishing the results of our scientific researches not only within the country but throughout the world. The governmental magazines serve for establishing country-wide public relations between the central and local offices.

Most of our magazines are monthly publications, but there are also some quarterlies and weeklies and those published every ten days, the last being found only in a few economic or popular periodicals. The weeklies, which are mostly popular magazines, have rapidly increased in number and circulation since the close of the war. Quarterlies are almost all organs of learned societies.

Popular Magazines

The popular monthlies come up to 18% of all our magazines in the size of circulation and their total amount is ever increasing since 1953 along with children's magazines and popular weeklies. The most representative magazines of this category are classifiable into two groups—one, like *King*, *Kōdan Kurabu*, and *Omoshiro Kurabu*, which carry on the old traditions started in the mid-Taishō Period by such publishers as Hakubun-kan and Kōdan-sha, and the other, which, as shown in *Heibon* and *Myōjō*, are of postwar origin with dominant pictorial elements like gravure pages filling up to a third of the entire volume and film reviews, news stories, and fictions, all abundantly illustrated. The former group, on the other hand, contain more reading material, fictions in particular, although they also have come to show a tendency for more pictorial features, which evidently have a great appeal to popular taste.

In 1953 the Mainichi press made a statistical survey of the readers of popular magazines and obtained the results shown in Table 2 above. As is seen, *Heibon* and *Kōdan Kurabu* have readers equally divided between urban and rural areas, while *King* has more readers in the country and *Ie-no Hikari* is read almost exclusively in rural villages, being sold through the network of the agricultural cooperatives. As for the age of the readers, *King*, *Kōdan Kurabu*, and *Ie-no-Hikari* are read by adults of all ages, while *Heibon* is popular among young readers in teens and twenties.

The Japanese edition of *The Reader's Digest* may be included among the popular

magazines, although it is somewhat different from the genuine popular magazines of Japan. It is aptly said to be an American analogy of Kōdan-sha's *King* and has a considerable amount of constituent readers among the educated class of Japan.

Women's Magazines

Well-known women's magazines count about ten, the rest being insignificant at least from the standpoint of circulation. There are two groups, one for domestic topics for housewives and the other for general reading material of more intellectual nature. The former group is represented by *Fujin Kurabu*, *Shufu-no-Tomo*, *Fujin Seikatsu*, and *Shufu-to-Seikatsu*, every one of which has a large circulation among housewives of all ages and classes. All of these four magazines are practically alike in character and layout, all presenting useful guide and information for household management and family care, dressing and toilet, and society gossips. Their premiums—usually guidebooks for one or other of domestic arts—are the real attraction and the only field where competition is possible and is actually carried on with such zeal that every month every one of them comes out with one to three such premium books attached to the magazine proper, a phenomenon not to be easily found in any other country. The latter group, led by *Fujin Kōron*, *Fujin Gahō*, *Fujin Asahi*, and *Fujin-no-Tomo*, aim at cultural subjects while not ignoring women's basic interests in domestic and personal topics. This is a new type of women's magazine which is now quite actively encroaching upon the territory of the traditional housewives' magazines.

Children's Magazines

There are some 60 children's magazines, amounting to six to seven million copies issued every month. They are, similarly with the women's magazines, practically alike in layout, perpetually treating comics, picture stories, film resumés, sports news—baseball games in particular—and spy and adventure stories, all being presented predominantly by pictorial means. Their

mutual competition is centered on the attractive features of the premiums, which are as abundantly issued here as in the case of women's magazines.

Examination-guide Magazines

College entrance examinations are just as serious today as they were before the war. For their preparations, hard work of many years is imperative. Hence we have the most peculiarly Japanese phenomenon of the very influential and prosperous "examination-guide magazines", represented at present by *Keisetsu Jidai*, *Juken-to-Gakusei*, and *Gakusō*, each of which has a solid following of students.

Weeklies and Graphics

Our weeklies, like the general magazines, treat all subjects in essays, narratives and fictions and take up in addition the big topics of the week. This is effectively done because our leading weeklies, like *Shūkan Asahi*, *Sunday Mainichi*, *Shūkan Yomiuri* and *Shūkan Sankei*, are all published by leading newspaper companies. Besides these general weeklies, we have economic digests, such as *The Economist*, *The Diamond*, *Jitsugyō-no-Nihon*, and *Tōyō Keizai*, which are of either weekly or every-ten-day publication. *Sekai Shūhō* is an every-ten-day publication which gives digest of world politics. There are also some weeklies for sports news.

Each of the above four press companies, *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, *Yomiuri*, and *Sankei*, also publishes a weekly graphic of such good quality as is possible only for big press companies in command of world-scale mobile power and editorial range. These graphics, with their pictorial news, supplement the general weeklies which are primarily for reading.

Magazines for General Reading

There is a group among our magazines which is called *sōgō zasshi* or "magazines for general reading". The most outstanding magazines of this group we have today are *Chūō Kōron*, *Kaizō* and *Sekai*, all of which are marked by the spirit of liberalism

and free criticism, originally started by *Seiyō Zasshi*, the first of our magazines of this category. *Seiyō Zasshi* was first published in 1867 as a magazine of essays and translations of Western literatures for the purpose of introducing modern European culture to the still medieval-minded Japanese people. Its spirit of criticism was carried on by *Minkan Zasshi*, *Meioku Zasshi*, and *Kinji Hyōron*, and *Rikugō Zasshi*, all of which played important roles as means of free speech in the People's Free Rights Movement of 1874-1880. These were followed by *Tokyo Keizai Zasshi*, *Kokumin-no-Tomo*, and *Seiron*, which in the decade around 1880-1890 carried spirited political opinions of the editors and contributors. These progressive magazines came to be suppressed by the Meiji Government after 1890 and free speech and critical spirit were at a low ebb all through the latter half of the Meiji Period.

With the commencement of the Taishō Era in 1912, the tide changed. The surge of the democratic spirit, initiated by the Constitution Defense Movement and spurred by the Banzai Incident in Korea and the Rice Riots, both occurring in 1918, led up to the formation of the Reimei Kai and the Shinjin Kai of Tokyo University. The magazine *Chūō Kōron*, started in 1899, rapidly grew with this surge of democracy, which now developed into struggles for liberation of the proletariat. *Kaizō* was started in 1919 and soon went ahead of *Chūō Kōron* in effectiveness of the journalistic treatment of the proletarian movement. These two magazines were most active during the early Shōwa years around 1926-1930. Stimulated by their success, *Nihon Hyōron* was created as another journalistic champion of liberalism. The Manchurian Incident of 1931 and the subsequent rise of nationalism brought out *Kōron* and some other rightist periodicals and set them against the older liberal magazines. Toward the latter part of World War II, all general magazines, excepting *Kōron* and *Gendai*, were suspended by the order of the military government.

After the close of the war, the Occupation Government, under its policy of de-

mocratization of Japan and the removal of all traces of the military despotism, lifted the thought and speech control, long laid on the people by the military government of Japan. In 1946, *Chūō Kōron* and *Kaizō* were reissued amid joyful acclaims of the liberated people, while the rightist *Kōron* and *Gendai*, favored by the military during the war, were abolished. *Sekai* was newly started. Our general magazines, which before the war were highly marked by their spirit of single-minded, uncompromising radicalism, have come today to assume the nature of "the forum for public talks and discussions".

A little broader in the range of material, with more marked literary taste, is *Bungei Shunjū*, while under the category of purely literary magazines come *Bungakkai*, *Bungei*, *Shinchō* and a number of local literary periodicals and organs of literary men's societies such as *Mita Bungaku* and *Waseda Bungaku*.

Scientific Periodicals

Scientific periodicals, issued by universities, institutes, and learned societies, are numerous and some of them, especially those in the field of physics, medicine, and chemistry, are well known abroad. The postwar tendency for international cooperation and exchange of information in the field of sciences, has led to a notable increase in the number of scientific periodicals issued in our country. Today, almost every one of our universities, institutes, and scientific societies, including the numerous universities of the postwar foundation, issues a scientific periodical. The average size of circulation for periodicals of this category is 1,000 copies, most of which are used for free presentation or exchange with organs of similar institutions in foreign countries. The exchange of organs with scientific societies of other countries has done much in relieving our scientists of the retardation put on their activities during the war and raising their work to the world levels.

Governmental Periodicals

Until after the close of the war, our governmental offices seldom issued magazines for public relations purposes or for reporting on governmental researches and investigations. The Occupation government's encouragement for public relations activities among governmental offices, both central and local, has resulted in the appearance today of various official magazines and pamphlets. These periodicals are financed by governmental budget for free distribution.

Book-making and distribution

Structure of Publishing Business

In Japan, book-planning has never been able to resort to the subscription method. Since the extent of demands for a book to be published can never be logically measured in any country of free business enterprises, publishing business in such countries has much of speculative nature and involves constant business risks. The overwhelming predominance of small-size enterprises that characterizes our publishing industry accelerates this tendency and the fact of the practical absence of overseas market for Japanese publishers presents another point of weakness.

There were in 1948 some 5,800 publishing enterprises in our country but by the beginning of 1952 the number had decreased to around 2,400, meaning that more than a half of the publishers had failed and dropped off in these few years. Of the survivors, those who continue in substantial activity today count not more than 450.

Sharp competition results from the superfluity of enterprises, causing none of our publishers, even the largest, to feel secure enough to manage his business on well-deliberated, far-reaching plans. Every one of them today is driven by the immediate circumstances and is forced to act simply for the interest of the moment.

The majority of our publishing firms are so small that only a handful of people manage everything among them without

division and organization of labor. Consequently, there is not much to say for the "structure" of our publishing business. We shall describe here simply the process through which a book is made, published and sold in our country.

Planning. The first condition for planning is a prospect of good sales, for which acquisition of a good work by a first-rate writer is essential:

1. Acquisition of material
2. General laying out for:
 - (1) Format
 - (2) Typographical detail
 - (3) Illustrations, if any
 - (4) Cover

3. Preparation of manuscript for the press and computation of printed pages

Thoroughness is required in this process for the purpose of minimizing the labor of composition and proofreading as well as of estimating the amount of printing paper required and the sales price of the printed product.

4. Composition and proofreading

The prepared manuscript is now submitted to the press. Proofreading is the responsibility, theoretically speaking, of the author but today the publisher does the work.

5. Decision as to the size of the edition and ordering for printing paper

There is no logical basis, as has been referred to before, for deciding the size of an edition, although this process is most crucial for the success or failure of a publication project.

6. Binding

7. Computation for the retail price of the product

For obtaining the retail price, all the cost up to the completion of the product is computed. Today, the direct cost, such as that of paper, composition, printing, binding and royalty payments, is apportioned to come up to 42 to 45 per cent of the retail price, while 30 to 33 per cent is allowed for the indirect cost for advertisements and personnel expenditure and for the profit, so that the wholesale price comes to cover around 75 per cent of the retail price. Correct appropriation of

advertisement cost, which must hold a good proportion to the possible size of sales, is also a difficult but essential process.

8. Advertising

Forms of advertisement must be planned out for newspapers and magazines and also for posters if any to be used. Specimen pages and actual copies must be adequately used.

9. Sales

There are, at present, a considerable number of bookselling agencies of all sizes in our country, of which, however, just a few big ones hold a position to control the sales of most new publications. Publishers' advertisements are useless unless they are backed by these influential distributors.

Leftover copies are, as a rule, freely returned to the publishers, whose position is therefore risky in this respect, too, and the risk is intensified by force of the desperate competition under which they are obliged to conduct their business. It is not too much to say that, for the business success of a publisher, his favorable relations with the distributing agencies is quite decisive.

The above are the general conditions under which our publishing business is conducted today. It is true that there are a few big publishing companies where business is organized and coordinated on more modern bases by division into such as the editorial, publication, proofreading, advertising, and general affairs departments. These, however, are exceptions, while most of our publishing enterprises are still not far removed from a simple domestic affair where a few workers take up any and every job in intimate teamwork and barely carry on through the life-and-death struggle of business competition.

Current Condition of Publishing Business

Publishing business, on its ideal side, is a cultural industry with the mission to share in the cultural progress of the country and of the world, while on the other hand it has, in a capitalistic economic structure, necessarily to be a commercial undertaking. How to harmonize these two aims

is a most serious issue confronting our publishing industry today.

Within the frail, shaky economic structure of current Japan, the ideal and the actual are ruthlessly brought to cross each other. Without understanding the flimsiness of the national economy, one cannot reasonably discuss the present reckless conditions of our publishing industry, marked with the rampancy of exaggerated propaganda completely trampling upon the truth, of loud advertisements shamelessly tricking upon simple curiosity, of books of low taste turned out for nothing but commercial aims, and of floods of serial editions where books are easily and inexpensively made over from old, well-tried publications.

The magazine *Myōjō* has a circulation of nearly 500,000 and *Heibon* 1,100,000 and over. These two biggest money-makers in our publishing world are miserably poor and lean when measured from the standpoint of cultural and intellectual quality of the contents. The most popular of our juvenile magazines carry plentiful premiums and supplements and are filled up with cheap adventure stories of make-

believe characters, coarse comics and garish pictures, none of which is contributory to children's education. Some of our weeklies have also enormous sales, frequently going above a million mark. They are stuffed with easygoing material, meant primarily to amuse the reader and lull his thinking power.

From the standpoint of the amount of publication, Japan comes next only to the United States, our yearly output of books and magazines coming up to tens of millions of copies, most of which are pocket-size serial editions, weeklies and amusement magazines of the nature above described.

The following figures show the amount of books and magazines published in Japan in 1954:

	Books	Magazines
Copies published	150,000,000	340,500,000
Rate of returned copies	20%	20%
Copies read per capita	1.5	3.4

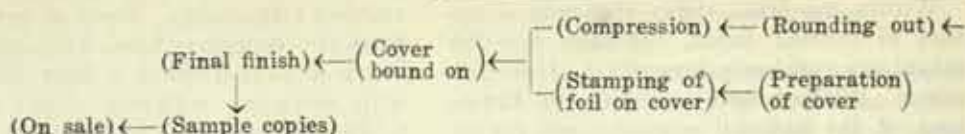
The top best-sellers during the past one year are listed below in the order of the dates of publication:

Title	Publisher
1 <i>Shojohō Annapurna</i> (Annapurna, the Virgin Peak)	Hakusui Sha
2 <i>Gendai Sekai Bungaku Zenshū; Gide Hen</i> (Contemporary World Literature Series; Works of A. Gide)	Shinchō Sha
3 <i>Fūzoku-no-Rekishi</i> (History of Manners and Customs)	Kōbun Sha
4 <i>Hiroku Daitōa Senshi</i> (Hidden Records of the World War II)	Fuji Shoen
5 <i>Yume</i> (Dreams)	Iwanami Shoten
6 <i>Nihon Bungaku Zenshū; Shimazaki Tōson Shū</i> (Complete Japanese Literature Series; Works of Shimazaki Tōson)	Chikuma Shobō
7 <i>Kimi-no-Na-wa</i> (Your Name Is)	Hōbun Kan
8 <i>Ai-wa-Shi-o-Koete</i> (Love Goes beyond Death)	Kōbun Sha
9 <i>Nihon Bundan Shi</i> (Literary Circles of Modern Japan)	Kōdan Sha
10 <i>Josei-ni-kansuru Jūnishō</i> (Twelve Chapters Regarding Women)	Chūōkōron Sha
11 <i>Shōsetsu Sakuho</i> (How to Write a Novel)	Bungei-Shunjū Sha

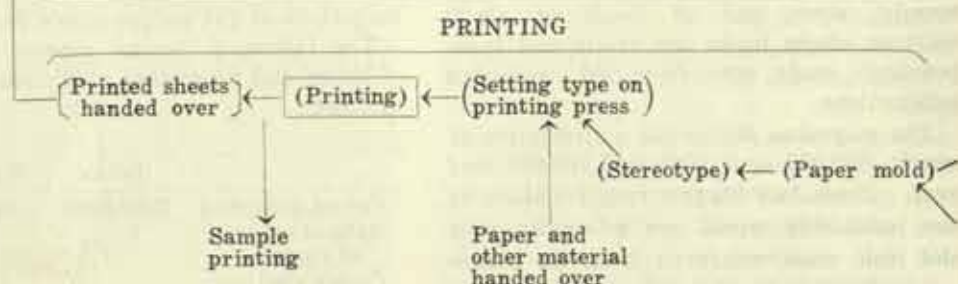
The above are the best-sellers of only a single year, but nevertheless their qualities are such as to endorse what has been said above of the reckless commercialism of our publishing industry. It does not mean, however, the total absence of good publications. We can count a score of really good books

that squarely face the current conditions of the country and point to the right direction for the progress of Japanese culture. *Nihon Shihonshugi Kōza* (A Symposium on Japanese Capitalism) and *Iwanami Kōza Nihon Bungaku* (Iwanami Symposium on Japanese Literature), both pub-

BINDING



PRINTING



lished by Iwanami Shoten, are to be specially mentioned for this group.

The enactment of the School Library Law has had a brightening effect on our publishing industry. However, in the midst of the present deflation tendency of our national economy, bankruptcy and closing of business go on fast, rigorously eliminating many of the publishing firms that were founded at the time of the postwar economic confusion. Even the surviving publishers of sounder business foundation cannot hold confidence in their future prospects and consequently find it next to impossible to keep faithful to their ideal for the cultural mission of their industry.

It is sincerely questioned whether this anarchical condition of our publishing business, which no doubt is largely due to the general poverty of the country, may not be improved by wise cooperation of the publishers, distributors and retailers, who by coordinating their activities and interests for the sake of their ultimate common

good, should be able to minimize the extent of the risk and waste by such means as rational investigations into demands and tastes of the reading public and adequate adjustment thereto of their business plans. Something of this nature seems urgently needed in order to save our publishing industry from utter degeneration.

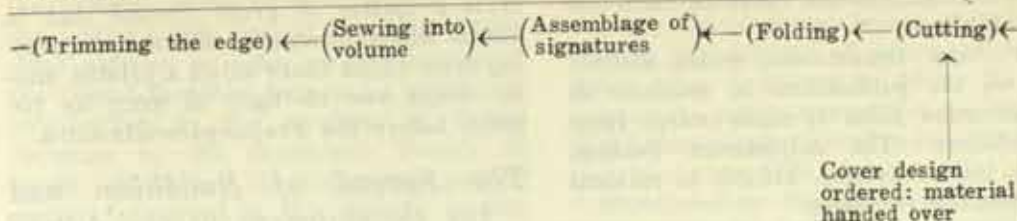
Printing and Binding

The above table shows the process through which a prepared manuscript goes before it is turned out as finished books:

According to the statistics taken in 1954, the number of printing enterprises totalled 9,858 in the country, of which those having more than 1,000 employees were only three. Our printing, just as our publishing industry, is conducted by small enterprises, as is shown by the following figures quoted from the same statistics:

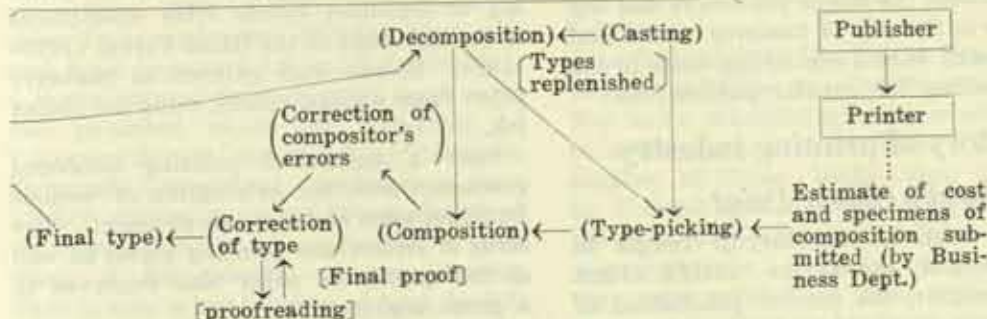
Of the above, 54.1% are private concerns, 30.7% incorporated and 15.2% unclassified.

PROCESS



PROCESS

TYPE FOUNDRY



No. of employees	No. of enterprises
1— 4	4,750
5— 9	2,140
10— 29	2,259
30— 49	400
50— 99	225
100—199	58
200—499	20
500—999	3
1,000 over	3
Total 9,858	

Distributing Agencies

The work of the distributing agencies is to forward the publications, entrusted to them by the publishers, to the retailers throughout the country through whom the books reach the readers. There are at present many book-distributing agencies of various sizes in the country. However, the five major companies, Tokyo Shuppan Hanbai Kabushiki-gaisha (Tokyo Publications

Sales Company, Inc.), Nihon Shuppan Hanbai Kabushiki-gaisha (Japan Publications Sales Company, Inc.), Nihon Kyōkatosho Hanbai Kabushiki-gaisha (Japan Textbooks Sales Company, Inc.), Chūōsha Company and Ōsakaya Company, practically control the business. Ōsakaya Company, the last-listed of the five, conducts their business chiefly around the Kansai District while each of the other four maintains a country-wide sales network.

The above five companies, with some minor distributors, form the Publications Distributing Discussion Group (Toritsugi Kondan Kai), which work in close cooperation with the National Association of Retail Booksellers (Zenkoku Kouriten Rengō), an organization of some 10,000 retail booksellers, which amount to nearly a half of the entire retail booksellers in the country.

The business of the distributors consists of the following parts:

- (1) Laying-in Department, where books and magazines are taken in from the publishers.
- (2) Sales Department, which distributes the publications to retailers on allocation plans or upon orders from retailers. The Adjustment Section, as its subdivision, attends to rational planning for sales.
- (3) Transactions Department, which attends chiefly to the collection of payments from the retailers.
- (4) Shipping Department, which packs and ships the goods.

The leading distributors have close connections with the major publishers and big retailers in the way of business capital and consequently have a controlling voice in the policy-making for popular publications.

History of printing industry

The World's Oldest Print

There exists at the Hōryūji Temple in Nara, central Japan, the world's oldest printed matter, the date of publication of which has been made known. It is a *dahranī* (Sansk.) or a mystic Buddhist incantation which was printed during the period of from 764 to 770 A.D. The magic chanting is printed on a yellow paper of about 7 centimeters in breadth. It is believed that this Buddhist formula was printed from a simple copper relief.

The *dahranī* is placed in a *hyakumantō*, a midget pagoda of about 13 centimeters high. The pagoda is one of the 1 million such articles which, prepared to pray for the absolution in accordance with Buddha's doctrines, were distributed to the Hōryūji and nine other big temples in five provinces around Kyoto. (The picture of this *dahranī* is inserted in the beginning of Nagasawa Kikuya's "Japanese and Chinese Books, Their Printing and History".)

In China where paper and wood-block printing were invented, almost all prints of olden days have been scattered and lost. The oldest print in that country is a volume of the adamant *Prajna-paramita-sutra* printed in 868 A.D. It was excavated in Tung-hwang, Kansu Province, and is now

being preserved in the British Museum. It is a matter of great interest that in Japan which introduced the art of printing from China there exists a printed matter which saw its light as many as 100 years before the *Prajna-paramita-sutra*.

The Spread of Buddhism and the Development of the Art of Printing

With the spread of Buddhism, copying of Buddhist scriptures came to be regarded as a main form of services like *sutra* chanting. This opened the way for printing of Buddhist *sutras* from wood-blocks in the last stage of the Heian Period (1070-1150). *Sutras* were printed on mulberry paper from wooden reliefs, using the Indian ink.

Such a method of printing developed gradually with the origination of various Buddhist sects and their development. The form of letters and printing plates as well as the quality of paper also improved to a great degree.

Thus, the printing of things other than Buddhist *sutras*, such as poem books and teachings of Confucius, began in the middle of the 14th century.

Introduction of Movable Types into Japan

The art of printing in Japan made big strides as a result of the introduction of typography successively from both Korea and western Europe in the end of the 16th century.

In the early part of the second year of Bunroku (1592), generals of Toyotomi Hideyoshi conquered Seoul and there they found copper types and a printing case. These were brought to Japan later of the same year and were presented to the then Emperor Goyōzei.

The Emperor immediately ordered the publication of the Chinese classical moral book *Kōkyō* (The Book of Filial Duty) under the newly introduced method of printing. The book was published in many volumes in the following year, but none of them remain at present.

The introduction of copper types led to the printing of books from wooden types and in the fourth year of Bunroku (1595) three volumes of notes on four creeds of the Tendai Buddhist Sect and a volume of introduction to the mystery of Hokke doctrines by the Honkokuji Temple in Kyoto. These are the oldest type-printed matters preserved in this country to this day.

The late Emperor Goyōzei then ordered the publication of several other books, including a part of *Nihon Shoki* (The Chronicles of Japan) which describes the mythological age of Japan. These came out of press from 1597 to 1603. Each page of these books had eight 17-word lines and each types measured 1.5 by 1.7 centimeters.

Books printed from wooden types were also published under the leadership of Tokugawa Ieyasu, founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate Government. Ieyasu gave some 100,000 wooden types to Priest Genyū of the Enkōji Temple and ordered him to print many of his favorite Chinese classics. Thus in only a brief period of time, including the year of Sekigahara Battle (1600), more than 60 volumes of books, including Kunz-tzu Chia-yu, Liu-tao, San-lueh, Chishu and Chou-i, found their way into print.

Each page of these books contained seven to eight 17-letter lines. The type used, measured 1.1 to 1.2 centimeters in height and 1.3 to 1.5 centimeters in width. Small types used for notes measured 0.8 to 1 centimeters in height and 0.7 to 0.8 centimeters in width.

While printing these books, Ieyasu cast more than 100,000 copper types of various sizes for presentation to the Emperor Goyōzei. These types were used by the succeeding Emperor Gomizunoo, for putting *Kōchō Ruien* in print in 1621.

Ieyasu's copper types were cast under technical assistance of a Chinese called Lin Wu-kuan. They were made of bronze with the amount of zinc included in it accounting for some 10 per cent of the total. For making these types, wooden blocks were made first which were pressed on matrixes made of sands. Melted copper was then

poured on these matrixes to obtain the types which were later finished with files.

Using similar types, Ieyasu himself also printed 125 editions of *Ōkura Ichiranshū* which were published in 1615. He then ordered the publication of *Gunsho Jiyō* but died before it came out of press. The book was issued in 1619.

Stimulated by the publication of books at the request of the Emperor and Buddhist temples, printing of books in general private circles began. In 1602, 20 volumes of *Taiheiki* printed from wooden types were published by Fushundō, Japan's first publishing company. It was put into print in Chinese with the Japanese syllabary.

In the middle of the Keichō Era, around 1604 or 1605, the so-called *Saga-bon* books that had a beautiful appearance unparalleled in the world, were published. The block copies of these books were prepared by Honami Kōetsu, noted calligraphist of the day. The Japanese and Chinese letters were written in a beautiful script style and they were printed on thick white-washed rice paper. Various kinds of glasses and flowers drawn in mica patterns adorned all pages. Moreover, the books were attractively illustrated with Japanese-style paintings.

Types used were not individually separated; they were engraved collectively on wood-blocks.

Publication of two volumes of similarly printed *Ise Monogatari* in 1608 marked an epoch in Japan's history of printing. The *Saga-bon* comprised 13 kinds of books totaling 37 volumes, including such type-printed *Ise Monogatari* and *Hōjōki* and wood-block prints, such as *Sanjūrokkasen* and part of *Shin Kokin Wakashū*.

Kirishitan-Ban

The western art of printing was introduced to Japan by an Italian Jesuit missionary in the 18th year of Tenshō (1590) after one and a half centuries after it was developed by Johann Gutenberg (1397-1468).

After engaging in evangelical work for some time in the Shimabara district of Kyūshū, the missionary left Japan together

with a Japanese youth group to Europe in 1562. While he was staying in Goa, India, during the trip, he ordered a set of printing machine from his country and brought it to Japan with a view to utilizing it for propagating Christianity. A group of printing technicians he trained while in Goa also came to this country.

Although it was believed a considerable number of books of the so-called *Kirishitan-ban* were printed, the majority of them vanished together with the printing machine under the official oppression on Christianity in 1641. A total of 29 kinds of the *Kirishitan-ban* are still being preserved and these indicate that the printing technique introduced by the Italian missionary was of a really high standard.

They also show that the Christians cast not only types of Japanese letters but also italic types of Roman letters in Japan.

The Christians first used wooden types of cursive and semi-cursive Chinese and Japanese characters with *hiragana* syllabary and later cast lead types for both of them. However, wooden types were used even after the casting of lead types because lead was hard to get as it was used for manufacturing rifle bullets.

The first book printed from these types at Katsusa, where the Italian missionary landed with the printing machine, came out in 1591. The book which described in Romanized Japanese part of the activities of Saint Paulo and 30 other apostles of Christ as well as persecution they suffered was a small port octavo (10 by 16.5 centimeters) comprising a 340 page text and a 41-sheet postscript. The manuscript of this book was a translation by Japanese Christian author Gihōken Paulo and his son Hoin Vincente.

Printing was done first in Romanized Japanese and then in the combination of Roman letters and straight-lined and cursive Japanese syllabary. Books printed at first were for teaching Japanese to foreign missionaries. They included Christian literary pieces and dictionaries but later such Japanese literary masterpieces as *Heike Monogatari* and *Wakan Rōeishū* and a translation of Aesop's fables came out.

Worthy of special attention among these was *Taiheiki Nukigaki* which, it was believed, was published during the period of from 1602 to 1610. The book is made up of six volumes and was printed from elaborately cast types of cursive and semi-cursive Japanese and Chinese characters with *hiragana* syllabary. It was a bulky publication of the minoban size with the first and second volumes containing 49 sheets each, the third 60, the fourth 46, the fifth 46 and the sixth 31.

The latest publication was *Hidesunokyo* issued in four volumes by Gotō Tōmei, a Nagasaki trader, in 1611. The types used for this book were of the same as those used for *Taiheiki Nukigaki*.

No books with later dates of publication remain at present because of official oppression on Christianity.

Development of Plate Making

The method of type printing introduced from Korea began to give its way to plate making from around the Kanei Era. After around 1645, type printing disappeared almost completely because of an active demand for books and poor technique of type making. The conventional method of printing could in no way meet the increased demand for books which required reprinting of the same book.

Publication of Yomi-hon

With the development of commerce, a new people's culture and literature advanced. Novels depicting the life of common people, which were called *kana sōshi* and *ukiyo sōshi*, were published one after another following the publication of copies of *otogi sōshi*, *nara ehon* and other illustrated story-books issued in the end of the Muromachi Period (1530-50).

Kyoto was the center of publication of such literature at first, but Edo took its place after the great fire of Keireki in 1657. The first book of the *ukiyo sōshi* category was Ihara Saikaku's *Kōshoku Ichidai Otoko* issued in 1662. The initial edition was issued by Aratoya Magobei at Shianbashi, Osaka. It carried illustrations drawn by Saikaku himself. The first edition having been received with much appreciation and

sold out soon, another edition came out this time at Edo. It bore illustrations of Hishikawa Moronobu, the pioneer of ukiyo-e wood-block printing.

Rejoiced over the unexpected popularity, Saikaku wrote various similar novels, such as *Kōshoku Gonin Onna*, *Kōshoku Ichidai Onna* and *Nihon Eitaigura*. These were published by several publishers in Edo and Osaka as well as Kyoto. *Kōshoku Gonin Onna* contained illustrations by Yoshida Hambei, an ukiyo-e artist in Osaka.

The novels of Saikaku led to the publication of a large number of similar books by various writers. They comprised the so-called *kibyoshi-bon*, including Santō-Kyōden's *Edomare Uwaki no Kabayaki* published in 1775, with his own illustrations and Takizawa Bakin's *Nansō Satomi Hakenden* published in 1814 with illustrations by Katsushika Hokusai, *kokkei-bon*, including Jippensha Ikku's *Tōkai-dōchū Hizakurige* published from 1802 to 1809 and Shikitei Samma's *Ukiyo Buro* published from 1808 to 1812 and *ninjō-bon*, including Tamenaga Shunsui's *Shunshoku Umegoyomi* published from 1832 to 1833.

These books first came out in the form of a thin volume of five quires of paper but they later grew into bulky volumes of 10 to 20 quires. Some of them were made up of 20 to 30 volumes with each of them comprising 10 to 20 quires of paper.

The format of these books was of the half-size *hanshi*. They were classified as *aobyōshi*, *kibyōshi*, *akahon* (for children) and *kurohon* according to the colors of their covers. The illustrations were drawn by first-rate ukiyo-e artists of the day and this ushered in the prosperity of ukiyo-e wood-block printing later.

Prosperity of Ukiyo-e Prints

Ukiyo-e illustrations were used first for the aforementioned *Ise Monogatari*, one of the books called *saga-bon*. Illustrations at that time were printed in only one color—black. However, with the appearance in around 1670 of Hishikawa Moronobu (1618-1694), ukiyo-e wood-block printing made a spectacular development and even

books made up only such pictures came to be published.

Moronobu created, after painstaking studies and investigations, a unique art of pictorial wood printing using Indian ink. With his pictures drawn with exquisite delicacy and elaboration and a sharp black-and-white contrast and ornamental construction, Moronobu took the lead in the world of ukiyo-e wood cut printing. He made a vivid descriptions of life of common people of the day in his illustrations of such storybooks as *Ukiyo Hyakudai Onna*, *Kōshoku Ichidai Onna* and *Yoshiwara Sōkenki*.

In 1700, pictures printed in black and white came to be painted with vermillion and green by hand. These pictures were painted on large-sized sheets of paper measuring 40 by 29 centimeters, 76 by 29 centimeters and 33 by 16.5 centimeters. These pictures were in many cases portraits of stage actors by Torii Kiyonobu (1664-1729) and figures of beauties by Okumura Masanobu (1685-1764) and Suzuki Harunobu (1725-1770).

Such a method of printing was used even for illustrations.

In around 1740, wood-block prints to which were added colors of rose, pink and green later were introduced by Nishimura Shigenaga and about 20 years later those painted with the additional coloring by red, blue and green were tried out by Torii Kiyomitsu (1735-1785).

Full-fledged polychromatic wood-block prints were produced by Suzuki Harunobu in 1765. He first succeeded in printing nine-color pictures through the combination of three basic colors of red, blue and yellow. He then increased the number of color blocks to seven to ten kinds, thereby presenting full-color pictures which were called later *nishiki-e*.

Harunobu drew pictures of beauties in various strata of society, including daughters of tradesmen and samurai warriors. These wood cut prints came out in volumes named *Ehon Haru no Nishiki*, *Yoshiwara Bijin* and *Ehon Yachigusa*.

Nishiki-e was called *Azuma Nishiki-e* or *Edo-e* because they were printed chiefly in

Edo. Their golden age came from the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th centuries with the emergence of various talented artists, such as Katsukawa Shunshō (1726-1792), Tōshūsai Sharaku, Utagawa Toyokuni (1769-1825) and Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849).

Nishiki-e came out in different sizes. Generally, the picture was printed on one sheet of paper but sometimes it took the form of a serial of two, three or five sheets. The paper used was of a thick and high quality with some measuring 45 by 76 centimeters and others 26 by 19 centimeters.

Nishiki-e were printed with wood-blocks, made of cypress, cherry, box, magnolia hypoleuca and maple boards. Crosspieces were nailed at both ends of the block to preventing bending from drying.

Two ways of engraving the blocks were employed, that is, to draw a picture directly on the block and to draw it on a sheet of paper and then put it on the block for engraving. When the art of polychromy developed later, artisans specializing in the drawing of rough sketches either on the paper or on the block appeared.

The European-style etching was introduced by Shiba Kōkan (1738-1818), a disciple of Harunobu who extended his study from printing of beauties and portraits to landscapes. He studied the landscape printing from books he obtained from a Dutch then residing in Nagasaki.

Introduction of a New European Printing Method

In the first year of Kaei (1848), Motoki Shōzō, an interpreter in Nagasaki, obtained a set of printing machine and types brought to Japan aboard a Dutch ship. He printed from them and from types of his own make *Ranwa Tsūben*, a Dutch conversation book with a Japanese translation, four or five years later.

The book was a small one of only 50 sheets of the size of *minoban* quarto. This was the very beginning of modern printing in Japan.

Motoki's printing office came under control of the Shogunate Government in the

second year of Ansei (1855) under the recommendation of Arao Iwaminokami, the then magistrate in Nagasaki. The printing office, purchased by the Shogunate Government, was moved to a Shogunate Government office in Nagasaki and in the following year it turned out 528 volumes of Japanese-Dutch Syntax.

The book came out in a port octavo volume (19.8 by 12 centimeters) and contained a total of 101 pages printed from Roman and italic pica types.

Motoki who was made an official of the Government-managed printing office worked hard as interpreter at various parts of the country in the busy days of the later Shogunate regime.

In the second year of Meiji (1869), when he made an official of the Nagasaki Steel Foundry, he set up a printing institute in the mill compound. He invited an American printing expert who was en route home from Shanghai at that time and learned from him various modern methods of printing, including type-casting and preparation of the matrix, in only about two weeks.

He first completed Ming-style No. 2 types of Japanese characters and then those of square-style three-point types.

In 1870, he resigned post in the Nagasaki Steel Foundry and set up a type-casting plant and cast Ming-style of from the No. 1 to No. 5 sizes with the aid of those who were trained at the foundry's printing school in 1875.

Types cast at Motoki's institute were used first for Japan's first vernacular paper Kankyo Yokohama Shimbun which was issued in December, 1870. The paper was printed in No. 3 square-style types.

Motoki, after completion of types from the No. 1 to No. 5 sizes, sought to extend his business to Tokyo. He dispatched one of his disciples, Hirano Tomiji, to the new capital of Japan and set up a type manufacturing and sales office at the present Izumi-chō, Kanda, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo.

The newly set up office also carried out repair of printing machines through the employment of former gunsmith Kanazu Heishirō and his son. It was at this office

that the first Japan-made printing machine saw its light.

Introduction of Modern Printing Technique

Riding on the crest of civilization and culture that gained fast momentum following the Meiji Restoration, the western art of printing in Japan achieved spectacular improvement. Contributing most to the development of such printing techniques were a number of daily newspapers which came to be published successively at that time. These newspapers included the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun* and the *Yūbin Hōchi Shimbun* issued in 1872, the *Tokyo Kanagaki Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* issued in 1873, the *Hiragana Eiri Shimbun* in 1875, the *Chōya Shimbun*, the *Akebono Shimbun* and the *Osaka Nippō* in 1877, the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* in 1879 and the *Tōyō Jiyū Shimbun* in 1881.

Meanwhile, printing machines improved much in quality. The treadle-style machines gave their way to those of the cylinder style which was adopted generally for newspaper printing after the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* employed a 32-page duodecimo cylindrical machine in 1804.

In 1889, Takahashi Kenzō, Chief of the Cabinet's Gazette Bureau, returned from the Paris World Exposition with two sets of Marinoni rotary newspaper printing presses. Surprised by the high efficiency displayed by this type of printing machine, the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* imported the same type of machine in 1890. The new printing press driven by the power of steam was capable of printing a total of 20,000 copies of papers an hour. The capacity improved to 25,000 when electricity was applied as its motive power later.

Stimulated by the improvement of printing capacity at the Asahi, the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*, Asahi's rival, imported a set of similar press in 1893.

Meanwhile, domestic production of printing presses made big strides. With the brisk development of newspaper industry following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894, Tsuda Torajirō, a member of the Asahi Shimbun Printing Plant,

manufactured a printing press modelled after the Marinoni press, while, on the other hand, the Hakubunkan Publishing Company in Tokyo adopted a Marinoni press of the double octavo size in 1904, thereby opening a new phase in the field of ordinary printing. Meanwhile, a new type of newspaper printing press was devised by a man named Ishikawa Kakuzō.

In 1907, the Tōyō Printing Company adopted an all size five-color rotary press made by the König & Bauer Company in Germany and in 1914 the Hakubunkan Printing Company installed a similar machine while the Shūeisha Company equipped its printing plant with a two-color press of the octavo size manufactured by the same German company and a monochrome duodecimo rotary press made by the R. Hoe Company in the United States.

Development of Lithoprinting

The art of lithoprinting was introduced to Japan for the first time in 1887. It scored marked improvements after the Tōyō Printing Company imported a set of aluminium-type rotary lithoprinter from the United States in 1901 and the Shūeisha Company succeeded in making a zinc-style press in 1911.

The offset printing method was found in the United States in 1906. A set of this printing press was imported to Japan for the first time by a certain printing company in Ginza, Tokyo, in April, 1914. It should be remembered here that a printing press built on the basis of the same principles by a Japanese named Hamada Hatsu-jirō had been delivered to the same printing office about a month before.

Hamada devised a hand-driven offset press in 1915 and an automatic one in 1918. In 1922, he completed two-color automatic offset press ahead of all other countries. This printing press was exported to various countries of Asia.

Hamada later set up the Hamada Printing Company which is now reckoned as one of the biggest printing press makers in Japan.

With the introduction of offset printing developed the method of photolithography.

In 1919, a polychromatic lithoprinting press was completed at the Ichida Offset Plant and a set of Bleistein Photo Composing Machine was imported from the United States. This opened the way for the manufacture of various types of similar equipment by the Japanese.

Development of Gravure

A dusting process gravure press was completed at the Toppan Printing Company in Tōkyō for the first time in Japan in 1906. This method, however, failed to win lasting popularity because of inferior capacity. Photogravure came to prosper in Japan with the import of rotary gravure screens from the Max and Loewi Companies in Germany in 1914.

In 1920, the first rotary-style gravure press was completed by Tsujimoto Hidegorō in Tokyo. A newspaper supplement printing by this machine at the Osaka Asahi Shimbun in 1922 won wide popularity for such a method of printing.

In only a few years after this, three-color gravure printing came to be made with the import of high-efficiency machines from the United States and Germany.

Present Standard of Printing Technique

Japan's world of printing suffered a fatal blow from World War II. During the war, it was subjected to Government oppression as a peace industry and its facilities were demolished almost entirely under successive air-raids. However, it made a comparatively early comeback after the war because Japan took a new start as a cultural state.

The introduction of American printing methods, developed on a mass production principle, gave a big stimulus to the Japanese world of printing which tended to rely on manual labor. The first of the changes that took place influences was the development of polychrome printing and the second an increase in the speed of printing. The former resulted from the demand for color printing of primary school textbooks and

the other publications and the latter from an increase in general publications.

Polychromatic printing is done mainly under the offset method in contrast to the relief method being followed in the United States. Machines being used are generally of Japanese make and this resulted in a marked improvement of the quality of such machines in Japan.

Various new polychromatic printing machines were devised by many industrial companies, such as the Futaba & Co., Hitachi Manufacturing and Hamada Precision Industry.

Rotary presses for printing newspapers in color also scored improvements as a result of efforts made on the part of newspaper companies from around 1949. Four to six-color printing is now being done under the relief method.

In the field of color gravure, spectacular improvements are being achieved with high-efficiency machines having been completed by various domestic makers. In 1950, the Shibaura Kōki Company completed a set of eight-color rotary gravure press with a printing capacity of 250 sheets a minute and in 1952, the Hamada Seiki Co. built a highspeed polychromatic rotary gravure press of the Universal type at the request of the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*.

In other fields of printing, marvelous developments are being registered. Notable is the latest trend to shift the printing method from lithography to relief printing. Spearheading this move is the Toshō Printing Company which is seeking mass production of color-printed textbooks. The company has imported a 10-color relief-style printing press from the United States for this purpose. This press has a similarly high efficiency as the one for printing the "Life" magazine of the United States.

Also noteworthy is the use of monotype which was accelerated by the postwar language policy of the Government and the resultant restriction of the use of Chinese characters.

Various types of monotype were introduced by the Tokyo Machinery Manufac-

turing, Nippon Typewriter and Komatsu Manufacturing. The SCIR-type monotype devised by the Nakagawa Manufacturing Company in 1955 is said to have the most promising future among machines of the similar category. It is not of the typewriter-style introduced previously but of the key-puncher system under which types are set automatically in accordance with the application of key-punched word tapes.

Present Status of the Printing Industry

The printing industry is entitled to legal protection under the Special Measures Law on Specific Small Business Rationalization enforced in 1955. Printers were allowed to form under this law a printing industry adjustment association. The association which was a grouping of prefectural printers' groups was organized at the end of 1956.

Until the legislation of this law, the printing industry lacked such an organization mainly because of varied financial backgrounds of printers and business scales.

Printers taking part in the association can restrict jointly the expansion of facilities and the amount of production and also adjust printing rates for their common prosperity.

Apart from this association, another group of 35 printing firms—all of a big financial background—has been organized. It is called the Japan Printing Industry Association.

The present conditions of the Japanese printing industry as of 1953 are shown in the following tables compiled by the Japan Printing Industry Association:

Table 1. Printing Offices By Scale

Scale (No. of Employees)	No. of Offices
1 to 4	4,750
5 9	2,140
10 29	2,259
30 49	400
50 99	225
100 199	58
200 499	20
500 999	3
Over 1,000	3
Total	9,858

Table 2. The Number of Printing Offices by Type of Printing

Type of Printing	No. of Offices
Type Printing	3,059
Lithoprinting	376
Special (See Note)	26
Type and Lithoprinting	341
Type Printing, special	29
Lithoprinting, special	35
Type and Lithoprinting, special	85
Others	19
Total	3,973

Note: The "special" comprises gravure, collotype and seal press printing.

Table 3. The Number of Relief Printing Presses

Type of Machines	Size of Paper	No. of Machines
Rotary Press	Double Shiroku (Shirokuban measures 18 by 12 centimeters)	2
	Shiroku	37
	Shiroku (2 color)	3
	Shiroku $\frac{1}{2}$	11
	Double Kiku (Kikuban measures 23 by 15 centimeters)	43
	Double Kiku (2 color)	3
	Kiku	38
	Kiku (2 color)	3
	Kiku $\frac{1}{2}$	6

Two-Revolution Press	Automatic	Shiroku $\frac{1}{2}$	33
		Double Kiku	15
		Double Kiku (4 color)	2
		Kiku	23
		Shiroku	34
		Shiroku (2 color)	4
		Shiroku (5 color)	1
	Hand-driven	Shiroku	143
		Shiroku $\frac{1}{2}$	87
		Double Kiku	2
		Kiku	170
		Kiku (2 color)	1
		Kiku $\frac{1}{2}$	42
Platten-type Press	Shiroku		363
	Shiroku $\frac{1}{2}$		556
	Shiroku $\frac{1}{4}$		3,086
	Shiroku $\frac{1}{8}$		926
	Double Kiku		21
	Kiku		365
	Kiku $\frac{1}{2}$		1,118
	Kiku $\frac{1}{4}$		1,378
Total		Kiku $\frac{1}{8}$	181
			8,720

Table 4. Special Press

Type of Machines	Size of Paper	No.	
Gravure	Cylindrical	Shiroku	6
		Shiroku (2 color)	5
		Shiroku $\frac{1}{2}$	7
		Kiku	3
		Kiku (8 color)	2
		Kiku (2 color)	3
		Kiku $\frac{1}{2}$	2
	Platten	Shiroku (automatic)	8
		Shiroku $\frac{1}{2}$	13
		Shiroku $\frac{1}{4}$	4
		Kiku (automatic)	6
Collotype	Shiroku $\frac{1}{2}$	1	
	Shiroku $\frac{1}{4}$	9	
	Kiku $\frac{1}{2}$	1	
	Kiku $\frac{1}{4}$	15	
	Hand press	21	
Seal	No. 1 (over 12 centimeters)	12	
	No. 2	2	
	No. 3 (over 9 centimeters)	6	
Total		126	

Table 5. Lithoprinting

Type of Machines		Size of Paper	No.
Offset	Rotary	Shiroku	1
		2 color	1
		4 "	1
		5 "	1
		Double Kiku	
		2 color	6
		4 "	1
		Kiku	1
		4 color	2
		6 "	1
		8 "	2
		Both sides	4
	Automatic	Shiroku	156
		2 color	61
		4 "	3
		Shiroku $\frac{1}{2}$	28
		Double Kiku	7
		2 color	9
		Kiku	32
		2 color	2
	Kiku $\frac{1}{2}$	10	
	Hand driven	Hard Rolled	4
		Hard Rolled $\frac{1}{2}$	29
		Shiroku	216
		2 color	10
		Shiroku $\frac{1}{2}$	525
Shiroku $\frac{1}{4}$		62	
Kiku		451	
2 color		3	
Kiku $\frac{1}{2}$		124	
Kiku $\frac{1}{4}$		22	
Litho-printing	Hand-driven	Trial printer	150
		Shiroku	6
		Shiroku $\frac{1}{2}$	57
		Shiroku $\frac{1}{4}$	133
		Kiku	19
		Kiku $\frac{1}{2}$	239
Total		821	
		3,200	

XIX THE FORMATION OF THE THOUGHTS OF THE JAPANESE AND THEIR SPIRITUAL CHARACTERISTICS

Introduction

The island country of Japan which is situated at the east end of Asia and is surrounded by the sea, is only a small country blessed with a mild climate and beautiful natural scenery. And the people who are native here have created a history and traditions of their very own during the long period of their existence. From olden times, they took up the teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism, but in recent times, Christianity and modern western scientific civilization have had their influence and have been somewhat incorporated with the older civilization, so that a culture peculiar to themselves, and not found elsewhere, has been formed. Generally speaking, every race has formed its own peculiar culture in accordance with its special climatic and historic character. This is more especially true when heterogeneous elements of culture are introduced and taken up by a people. There must have been some ground prepared else this could not be done. And this prepared ground is the spiritual life possessed by the race. However, although they were in possession of such a ground work it would

not have developed perfectly, had it not come under the influence of these outside elements of distinguished thought and culture. This is true of the Japanese. They have accepted and assimilated various thoughts and religions, without losing their own peculiar characteristics. Glancing back at a few of the factors which played an important part in the formation of their particular religion and thought, we shall point out their spiritual characteristics.

Shintō has generally been recognized as Japan's proper religion, and has determined the lives and sentiments of the Japanese, who have had close relations with its tradition and social system. It taught no fixed doctrines from the beginning, but it combined well with the thoughts and sentiments of the Japanese, so that its influence cannot be neglected.

In close parallel with the festival for the ancestor gods and the national heroes, came the spirit of respect for the Emperor and his court; and both had great significance in the administration of government and in the social system. At the same time the desire for the preservation of one's house

and family and the disposition to respect the traditions of human society played an important part, so that not only the ideals of values and consecration but also the virtue of obedience to preserve the honour of one's house, were important factors informing Japan's proper religion. The spirit of ancestor-worship, as if it were a religious idea, is still vigorously alive in the thoughts and sentiments of present-day Japanese.

Confucianism came from China, and exercised a real influence upon the thought of the Japanese. Its teachings supplied us with considerable material for the organization of our social and political systems, and gave us its ethical ideas. Though *Shintō* in the early period played an important role in the moral life of the Japanese, it did not definitely define the meaning of loyalty and filial piety. Confucianism gave decided terms to such conduct, and a system and method of practicing each of them. The philosophy and religious cult of *Rōsō* of China had some influence, but they did not become main currents of thought among Japanese, owing to the respect for human morality and the tendency towards simplicity of the Japanese. On the contrary, when combined with the inclination towards magic, which the Japanese already had, they became rather generalized, and declined in the course of time.

Buddhism originally emphasized the importance of the human reason. It purified the religious and artistic feelings of the Japanese and refined or uplifted their religious life and gave it practical vigour. Buddhism was first imported by those who longed for infinity, to answer a demand of the nation, but it furnished philosophical speculation with abundant material.

The Japanese were imbued with a clear insight into a profound mysticism never before dreamed of by them. Besides this, literature and art were much influenced, and thus the Japanese cultivation of simplicity and mysticism, peculiar to them, was born. Japanese Buddhism came to have an unusual form quite different from that on the continent. And it is a remarkable fact

that even the traditional codes which have disappeared from present-day India and China, are still preserved in Japan.

Thus, the thoughts and religious consciousness of the Japanese were formed not so much by harmony as by discord. It is said that, *Shōtoku Taishi*, who is the first distinguished founder of Japanese culture, compared *Shintō*, Confucianism and Buddhism to the root, trunk, and fruit of a tree. *Shintō* is the root planted deeply in the soil of the personality of the Japanese and their national traditions, Confucianism is the trunk and branches as the *Ritsuryō* system of Moral Standards and Educational Ideas; while Buddhism produced flowers of religious sentiment, which bore fruit in the lives of the people. These three religions have successfully combined with each other up to the recent age, and have formed the spiritual traditions of the Japanese.

Indeed as far back as the 14th century, the differences between Buddhism and other systems of thought was first seen. The combination of these religions was loosened for a while, but they were intimately connected and fused in the minds and feelings of the Japanese. The Japanese of today, therefore, can be said to be the heirs, the inheritors of these thoughts, whether they are conscious of it or not. The spiritual characteristic of the Japanese which has come out of the compromise and fusion is but one thing—magnanimity.

Throughout the process of absorption and assimilation of foreign culture such events as persecution and religious wars were rather exceptional phenomena. This fact may be due to the character of the Japanese who do not like going to extremes or being influenced by prejudices. At the same time it may also be owing to the particular nature of the thoughts and religious themselves, which were transplanted. Confucianism was entirely ethical in its nature, quite free from doctrines or dogmas, while Buddhism was an excellent human religion. Until the 17th century when stubborn, but men learned in the subject of Confucianism, censured Buddhism, an antagonism between them was hardly felt. Moreover, the censure was not actually made on the thoughts

or religion, but because of its effects upon the nation and the administration. On the other hand, however, this struggle was not carried on in a spirit of harmony and mutual understanding through a spirit of magnanimity, its tendency was to make people assume a conciliatory attitude for convenience sake. In their attitude people were lamentably wanting in their spirit of thoroughly confronting criticism, and would not seek for a solution of the difficulties in logical conclusions. Furthermore, the remarkable point to be noted in connection with the spirit of magnanimity is the relation between the nation and religion. Indeed, *Shintō* was always supported by both governors and governed and became the object of their worship in every part of the country, but it was never made a national religion by any act of the government. Meanwhile Buddhism has had its influence as a secondary national religion for some time and has played a part in national administration, but it has never persecuted or tried to suppress any other religion, nor has it become self-complacent. Confucianism had once been used as an influential factor in national administrations, but it has never become boastful of its excessive authority.

Thus the rulers of Japan maintained their political power, controlling religious groups and systems and the people followed them. Such a state continued up to the time when the people came to be controlled by the throne which was then esteemed as the

highest authority in religion, thought, morals and control of the centralized administrative power. But as soon as the country was divided up into feudal lands, religious groups began to struggle with each other, till finally the feudal lords in possession of the various lands entered into a struggle for more lands. Thus came about the age of war from the 15th to the 16th century. In this age of confusion Catholicism came to Japan only to be persecuted in a short time.

Soon the modern ages ended, and the present ages come, where liberty of human beings and respect of individuals are emphasized. The struggle for liberty and self-esteem was what resulted from the absorption of Western Modern Civilization. The stream of time did not allow the clinging on to the old systems which were outworn. The teachings of Protestantism which had newly come to Japan seemed to have a significance which could elevate the Japanese spirit and develop these ideas of human liberty. The results, however, did not necessarily prove so. As has often been said, without referring to the national character such as a certain naivete, a satisfaction with the present world and an esteem for some special ethics, it could never be deeply rooted in Japanese, nor could it pervade the whole land could possibly become flesh and blood of Japanese culture and produce results in their own form of human culture. Protestantism should have taken this same road.

The Current of Modern Thought

Formation of modern times

General Ideas

The problem with which the Japanese were confronted through the Meiji Reformation was the preservation of national unity by a new administration of government and the promotion (advancement) of civilization in accordance with the prevailing state or condition of the world. The one part of the problem was to form and

control the centralized power made necessary by the dissolution of feudalism, and the other was the realization of a plan for the Emperors personal administration. As may be seen in the mottoes of the Restoration, both plans were coloured by conservations and nationalism. However, the Japanese at last awakened from their long sleep, by contact with Western culture, thought it necessary to take everything from abroad quickly and step along in harmony with western advances. But this

literally meant a complete conversion of the people's way of life, and an emancipation from all feudal politics, systems, and customs. So the arrival of this age showed a pulling of the two ways of thinking in opposite directions restoration and enlightenment. However it turned out to be not so much an antagonism as a mixture, and it came to characterize long afterwards the history of thought in Japan.

Civilization, Culture and Ideas of Liberty

The enlightenment of civilization and culture in the early period of the Meiji Era was thriving quite wonderfully, hand in hand with the importation from England of the utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill, and the liberal democracy of Rousseau of France. In other words, the new ways of thinking, both European and American, on administration of government, society and manner of life, were adopted. Consequently new and unfamiliar ways of living were seen one after another. Schools for the teaching of English, French and other languages were begun and thrived, while private school where Chinese and *Kokugaku* had been taught, were abolished. At the same time, newspapers and magazines were published, until finally the manner of life of the people in general was completely transformed. *Bushi*, the warrior gave up his sword; chonmage the Japanese peculiar fashion of hair dress was abandoned, and the hair was cut, and finally the *kimono* gave way to European dress. Thus various modes of life were wonderfully changed into European style. Outside of the cities, in the farming villages, the old customs and fashions still prevailed.

Together with the implanting of modern Western thought, the requirements for promoting liberty and impartiality were strengthened. Among the people Fukuzawa Yukichi, an active thinker, worked assiduously, and insisted upon the liberty and equality of the people, declaring that human rights came from Heaven, using as his motto. "Before Heaven, all men are equal". It does not make one man to be above another man, or one man to be below

another. Also he attacked feudal notions of morality and encouraged practical learning for practical use. Due to such a way of thinking about liberalism, the movement towards securing liberty and human rights advanced, and in literature political novels advocating these ideas were much in fashion. But when this movement towards liberalism and respect for human rights was strengthened, social anxiety increased, and a reaction set in, and thoughts of restoration of national characteristics and revolt against Europeanization were in evidence. This reactionary movement showed itself in the form of restoration of Japanese morals, awakening movements among the Japanese, and an attack of Buddhism on Christianity. But this reaction came to an end for the time being, at the promulgation of the Constitution (1889) and the establishment of the National Diet in the next year. After the establishment of the constitution, the administration with the *Tennō* as its center came to have absolute authority. This arrangement exercised a decisive influence upon thought, culture and all other things, while the ideas of liberty and human rights necessarily declined. The only other thing to be noted was a movement among women in the late years of the Meiji Era. It consisted of an endeavour to improve the old thoughts about the position of woman and it endeavoured to influence politics towards some recognition of their rights as human beings. This movement, however, proved grievously unsuccessful.

Development of Thoughts on Socialism

The rapid development of capitalism at the turning point of the Chino-Japanese War from the 27th year till the 28th of Meiji (1894-1895) made socialism thrive also in Japan, deepening the laborers' consciousness that he, too, had some rights. The capitalists from feudal *shizoku* would not treat the labours who were from the farming village with impartiality. Knowing less of modern life, their situations and lives were exceedingly narrowed, and labour movements were seen here and there. Kata-

yama Sen and Abe Isoo worked vigorously as the heads of labour movement. But their work, sad to say, could hardly be said thorough and little was accomplished.

The rapid rise of imperialism through the Russo-Japanese War from the 37th year till the 38th of the Meiji Era (1904-1905) made social inequalities become a more serious problem, the former socialists who were Christians withdraw, and such radicals as Kōtoku Shūsui and others appeared. Because of the loose organization of the laborers themselves and the radical character of their leaders, the situation at the time seemed to tend towards anarchy. But at the point where it became a case of high treason to proceed further the movement towards socialism in the Meiji Era came to an end. Because of the influence of the Russian Revolution in the middle period of the Taishō Era, the movements introduced by Ōsugi Sakae, Kawakami Hajime and others, and also the activities towards democracy begun by Ōyama Ikuo thrived for the moment because of the political and economical circumstances after the World War I. Then, some remarkable works were produced in literature, but such works gradually declined in popularity, at the turning point produced by the issue of the Welfare Law. Through the world-wide panic in the early period of the Shōwa Era. Marxism made a sudden and rapid rise into prominence. It spread to some extent in various circles of social life, but it came to an end because the doctrine of a return to national characteristics arose and also due to the opposition of the government.

Absorption and Digestion of Western Philosophy

The philosophy of the Meiji Era was exclusively concerned with politics, and Empiricism and Positivism were mainly imported. As a pioneer in philosophical learning, Nishi Amane did a great work. With the establishment of the National Diet, which became gradually more and more academic, the philosophy of German Idealism began to be implanted. On the other hand, however, evolutionary materialism was making an insistent demand for

attention, while the doctrine of rapid social progress was.

With the advance of capitalism after the Russo-Japanese War, romanticism appeared in the world of literature, while the researches of Kant and Hegel were the main currents in the world of philosophical thought in Japan. In the Taishō Era, philosophy laid its first foundations in Japan, and soon reached world-level, Sōda Kiichirō was the first philosopher to develop some original thoughts on the subject, coming out of the philosophy of the period of enlightenment. After the middle of the Taishō Era, *Bunka-shugi* was thriving, while students of philosophy were doing research work with slow but gratifying results. From the end of the Taishō period till the beginning of the Shōwa Era, however, the learned circle was gradually inclining towards Hegelianism. The reason for this was, of course the rise of nationalism and the influence of Marxism which had come, taking advantage of the economic panic which then occurred. In the process of absorbing German philosophy, Nishida Ikutarō, founded a philosophy, a creation of his own, but built up on this foundation. By a combination of his comprehension of Western thought with his experience of Eastern thought he developed the idea of "place" as the "absolute nothing". He is by right called the leading philosopher of Japan. But the distance between the idealistic tendency and materialism in the world in general was growing wider and wider, until finally an attempt was made to unite the two. At the time of the Manchuria Incident in the 6th year of Shōwa (1931) social conditions in Japan were in a distressing state. In the world of thought the philosophy of *Jitsuzon* began to prevail, while at the same time the self-consciousness of the race was increased and the philosophy of *Nippon shugi* (Japanism) came to be foremost. In the Second World War, this way of thinking became wonderfully prominent, and philosophers took great pains to promote the idea of *daitōa* (Great Eastern Asia). This way of thinking was thoroughly opposed by the government, until finally independence in

learning or freedom to learn what one wished to learn was prohibited.

Problems of Religion

The influence of *Meiji-ishin* (Meiji Restoration) upon Buddhism is quite beyond imagination. The new government would get the support of restoration from *Shintō*, and it publicly excluded Buddhism through the issue of the law of "Separation of *Shintō* and Buddhism". Movements towards the abolition and exclusion of Buddha were seen here and there, till Buddhism was finally rid of its economical foundation. And the government removed the ban which forbade the eating of meat and fish and allowed the monks to marry, and so some priests returned to secular life to escape such relaxation.

In the face of such a dangerous decline, Buddhists did not plan any direct action against the government, but awaited a favourable opportunity, meanwhile adapting themselves to the policy of the new government. As for Christianity, the government suppressed it more and more in accordance with the policy adopted since the Bakufu Administration, and the idea of enforcing unity of national opinion through the employment of *Shintō* and harmony between religious rites and administration. Afterward, however, the government found it necessary to loosen up its oppression in order to keep in communication with the early civilized countries and to elevate the direction of the international situation of Japan. Again, they could not fail to see how much of modern culture had been taken up together with Christianity. Because of this state of affairs, the Movements of Christians in the country were getting gradually more active. On the other hand, taking advantage of the more moderate policy of the government, Buddhists developed some movements continued for the protection of their religion throughout the country. It was during this period that such distinguished priests as Fukuda Gyōkai and Shaku Unshō appeared. The depressed world of Buddhism revived and could acquire again a position almost equal to Confucianism and *Shintō*. About the

time of this movement, a theoretical reorganization of Buddhism was carefully arranged by Hara Tanzan, Inoue Enryō, Murakami Sensei and others. Together with the importation of new methods used in Western countries, the opening up of enlightening works followed one after another, while a combination with Western philosophy was attempted. During this period also, a movement of Spiritualism begun by Kiyozawa Mitsuyuki was in high esteem.

Thus, with the end of the prohibition or exclusion of Buddha, the Ministry of Religion was established, and Buddhism was unified and controlled by *fukkō* (Restoration). Soon with the increase of the influence of nationalism, it became more and more deeply coloured by the principles of national characteristics.

Again, opposition against Christianity was removed, and Christians devoted all their efforts to advancing its mission. And aided by the current of a new liberalism, it advanced in its work of social relief spurred on by its own love of humanity. The establishment of the Salvation Army by Yamamuro Gumpei is one of the results of this impulse. Moreover it was a good thing that Japan had Uchimura Kanzō, an earnest and ardent Protestant whose fidelity to his creed was so strong that he never sacrificed it to national rights. Up to the present time through Taishō and Shōwa, Christianity has devoted itself to social relief movements and has gone along, step by step on the road of Japanization and the strengthening of nationalism.

Trends in modern Japan

The spiritual shock which the Japanese got through the defeat in the 20th year of Shōwa (1945) was exceedingly severe, because the spiritual support based on the belief of her invincibility which had been believed in since the dawn of her history had collapsed. All Japanese completely lost their bearings. Some indulged in a deteriorated hedonism, while others trembled on the brink of the gulf of nihilism. The former rejoiced at the emancipation from

the miseries of war, while the latter suffered from a sense of frustration caused by the complete loss of any spiritual foundation on which they could rely. The desire to escape from this shock showed itself in the prevalence of sensuous literature, existentialism and nihilism respectively. Besides this, the Declaration of Potsdam and the Occupation Policy of McArthur were common problems imposed upon all of the stunned and perplexed Japanese. Therefore, it was quite reasonable that all Japanese should look for a solution of the fundamental causes of the problems with which they were faced. This solution seemed to be found in adopting the democracy of the Western world. Therefore the democratization of Japan was literally and thoroughly carried out in all fields—administration, economics, culture, education and others, together with liberty of speech, freedom of religion, of thought, and respect and protection of fundamental human rights. Thus the way of thinking that had inspired were practices were criticized, not excepting Buddhism and Confucianism. Of course, more especially the ideas of the Tennō system was the focus of discussion. Because the Tennō system itself had been the central principle of national supremacy, besides being the backbone of Japanese nationality. And Shintō which was especially recognized as its theoretical background sustained a fatal shock. Shintō which had been especially protected came to be treated just as other religions, and was deprived of all its privileges. On the other hand, new religions extended their influence among the completely depressed religions and Christianity developed taking advantage of the assistance of the Army of Occupation and other things. Through the loss of economic support, and because of farm reformation, Buddhism sustained a severe shock, and separation of its various sects took place, but they went their narrow way carrying out their peaceful movements and social works.

The criticism of the idea of the Tennō system which had been noted by the world as well as by Japan itself, brought about a change in the idea of *Tennō*. Namely

Tennō was changed from *Arahitogami* (living god) to what meant a mere symbol of the nation. In other words, he, (the ruler of the nation) came down from the celestial world to the terrestrial. But the strong feelings of respect of *Tennō* could not be wiped out. This fact shows that Japan's unconditional surrender was completely accepted by the Japanese, while holding still to their nationality. Today in Japan, most of the Japanese cherish not so much respect as love for and intimacy with their Ruler.

The ideas of Western European democracy, which replaced the ideas of *Tennō*, pervaded the whole of Japan for several years after the war and built up a firm foundation, till it had established itself step by step in the lives of the people in general. But it was still a problem because the ideas of democracy did not come to the Japanese naturally or from within through their own endeavours, but were given to them by the hand of the victor through the mere accident of defeat. Therefore the people were more liable to emphasize the formal and superficial meaning of democracy, and its deeper meaning was not apt to become with them a principle of life. Indeed, the principle of democracy came into sight in the shape of equal rights of men and women and other fundamental morals, but rights were claimed without the slightest sense of human responsibility. The causes of the fact that, since the Meiji Era, the thoughts of liberalism have often been taken up, and yet they have not been thoroughly rooted in Japan, are not few in number. It is recognized that the attitude towards a long cultivated life and the tendency of exaggerated respect for human morals had been an obstacle in the way. Doubtlessly, the alterations in European and American policy made in accordance with the ever-changing international political situations had deepened the distrust of democracy.

We can hardly regard Marxism as an influence of thought in Japan after the war. Marxism which arose in the early period

of the Shōwa Era vanished for a time due to pressure put upon it by the government. But with the release of those who had propagated it, after the war and the economic catastrophe that befell Japan, it was spread all over Japan, as if a field of dry grass were suddenly set on fire. Some went so far as to think that a revolution would come very soon. Again in the field of learning, many distinguished works under the name of social science were issued and widely read. Also in all other fields of learning, researches after the same method as social science were publicly and actively made. Marxism however, could not be supported by all Japanese, and its influence was gradually weakened at the time of the "Red Purge". The character of the Japanese who do not like extremes and violence was an important factor in its decay.

The thought which controls the present-day Japan has not yet taken a clear and definite shape. Roughly speaking, however, there are two ways of thinking; the one being that of the Tennō system, aiming at the gradual recovery of independence by Japan, the other being a racial movement for peace and independence, which is rooted in the people's life. We cannot deny the fact that the former, which adjusts the extremes of democracy, is coloured somewhat by *Fukko-chō* (mode of classical revival). Again, the latter is closely connected with the movement for the emancipation of all Asia, keeping alive the racial tradition, and what would support this is, of course, Marxism.

With the delicate international situation in the back ground, the problems of facing realities as well as attaining ideals of the Japanese are doubtlessly serious.

Confucianism

Confucianism is an ethical system which was composed by Confucius of China (B.C. 551-479) about 2500 years ago. It is believed that he inherited the saints' moral code from Yao and Shun who are recognized as saints from of ancient times in legend till the time of Wên, Wu and Chou-Kung of the Chou Dynasty. He preaches Jen (universal human love, *Jin* in Japanese) founded on the Scripture Shih-ching, Shu-ching and others. Afterwards Confucianism experienced several changes. The philosophy of Chuhsi which arose in the Sung Era in the 12th century and the philosophy of Wang Yang-Ming which arose in the Ming Era were a new Confucianism which grew up under the influence of the Philosophy of Buddhism. Quite different from such a religion as Christianity, belief in god is not taught in Confucianism.

It exercised much influence upon the life of Japanese. As political philosophy it exercised influence upon systems, while, as ethical thought, it controlled the spiritual life of the Japanese. Confucianism which came over to Japan went through a process of Japanization, because of the difference in

our climate and history to that of China.

It is a prominent characteristic of the changes that, in China the ethics of *kō* (filial piety) was emphasized while in Japan *chū* (faithfulness to the Emperor) was emphasized, and Confucianism became the foundation of Shintō philosophy.

Introduction of confucianism

It is said that it was in 284 that Confucianism came over to Japan by way of Pakche on the peninsula of Korea. It is told in legend that Achiki came to Japan, contributed a scripture to Tennō, and in the next year Wani contributed *Lun-yü* (Confucian Analects) to him. After that many *Gokyō-hakase* came to Japan, and quite different from the introduction of Buddhism. Confucianism was introduced into Japan peacefully. The reason was that Confucianism was not a religion in which god was worshipped, but an actual and practical system of Ethics. That Japan, which up that time had had no system of writing, should get Chinese Characters was quite an epoch-making event, in which

Japan first found a means to express its language. Lun-yü and other writings were read by members of the court, and they were eagerly digested during the following 300 years. In 604, the Constitution of 17 Articles of *Shōtoku Taishi* was issued. This constitution contained not ordinary laws, but what may be called ethical laws. Following upon this Buddhism was preached, and in its sermons many quotations from Confucian writings are found. In the matter of politeness, the relation of lord and subject, the fact that all the land of his subjects in Japan, belongs to *Tennō*, and other Confucian ideas are to be found. In those days, it was the *shizoku* system that was held in honour, and the throne of *Tennō* had not absolute power, and so the Confucian ideal, one Lord and ten thousand subjects was, perhaps, that of *Taishi*.

As communication between Sui, T'ang and Japan was brought about, many students went abroad. Minamibuchi Shōan, one of the students is said to have been the adviser in politics at the time of *Taika-no-kaishin* (Reformation of Taika). Various systems of *Taika-no-kaishin* were influenced by those of Sui and T'ang. The ideal of *handensei* (Handen system) of Japan in which a certain area of the land is given to all people because of the national possession of it, is quite the same as that of Confucianism. When *ritsuryō* (laws) were enacted, the foundation of all teaching in Japan was made to depend upon Confucianism. Those thoughts of Confucius that were only evolutionary thoughts, however, were taken out of his writings, and Confucius was deified in the universities.

The people in general were intimately acquainted with Buddhism through the establishment of temples and in other ways, whereas only the aristocrats were familiar with Confucianism.

Confucian morality, the philosopher's form of administration which exacts in the administrator noble character, were not adopted, but merely the formalities, in which ceremonies, were arranged; and the position of lords and subjects were strictly classified, were taken up.

Introduction of the new confucianism

From the beginning of its introduction, Buddhism and Confucianism had a tendency to fuse, and in the Kamakura Period many priests went to China from Japan, and some Chinese priests came to Japan and became naturalized Japanese, and *Shushi-gaku* (Chuhsih Learning) was imported, Gen-e lectured on it in the court for the first time. Thus Confucianism, which had hitherto been considered a learning inherited only in the families of *Hakushi*, was handed over to the priests of Zen sect. Shunjō (1166-1227) who is said to have returned from China with 256 volumes of Confucian books, and many books by Shushi were then introduced. And Tsu Yūan, a noble priest of Yūan, who came to Japan was well informed on the subject of *Shushi-gaku*. Thus, Zen priests of Kyoto supported Confucianism and the blending of Confucianism and Buddhism became more and more deeply carried out. The five morals of Confucianism were recognized as the same as the five commandments of Buddhism. By the labours or activity of Zen priests, Confucianism was spread as widely as from Kantō to Kyūshū and Shikoku, and from *Gosan* (five temples of Kyoto) such learned men of *Shushi-gaku* as Fujiwara Seika (1561-1619), and Hayaishi Razan (1583-1657) were produced.

Japanization of confucianism

Tokugawa Bakufu (Tokugawa Administration) and Confucianism

It was in the Age of Edo that Confucianism made wonderful progress and was Japanized. *Bakufu* made *Shushi-gaku* the learning sponsored by the Government for the following reasons. In *Shushi-gaku* the cosmos or world was explained as originating from the dualism of *ri* (principle) and *ki* (phenomenon), and in the regular movements of the sun and the moon they discovered a principle, so they concluded that, there should be law founded on this law

in human society. The stable principle in human society is ethics since the time of Confucius. He teaches the justice of ethical relations between the upper and lower classes, between lord and subjects, and in the family between father and son; elder and younger brothers. This principle or justification of relationships was very useful to the Tokugawa Bakufu (administration) which was possessed of political power. The strict classification of the social statuses of *samurai*, farmers, industrial workers and merchants, the justification of *samurai's* authority, his absolute obedience to his lord, and other relationships were considered to be justified and rationalized by *Shushi-gaku*. And, by the use of the idea, "it was the will of Heaven", the orthodoxy of *Bakufu* was intended or expected to be rationalized, and by encouraging such new learning, it was hoped the human spirit would be helped and refreshed while the country was passing from a world of war to that of peace. Thus Hayashi Razan, who served Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1614) was in control of the administration of learning for generations, the office passing from father to son.

Shintofication of Confucianism

Confucianism had a tendency to combine with *Shintō* from ancient times. Both Fujiwara Seika and Hayashi Razan advocated a combination of *Shintō* and Confucianism. In the opinion of Yamazaki Ansai (1618-82) Confucianism was so completely "Shintofied" that he advocated *Suika Shintō* in his older years. These were people who returned to secular life from the priesthood and entered into *Shushi-gaku* and so *Shintō*, Confucianism and Buddhism might be said to be fused in them.

Besides *Shushi-gaku* which was the government sanctioned learning, there was *Yōmei-gaku* (Learning of Wang Yang-Ming) among some of the people. *Yōmei-gaku* was taken up in Japan by Nakae Tōju (1608-1648). He also advocated the combination of Confucianism with *Shintō*, which Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691) succeeded in bringing about. Banzan went so far as to say that he could reconcile *Shintō* with Confucian writings. In addi-

tion to the spiritual cosmology of *Yōmei-gaku* and the deep respect for the human conscience, *Yōmei-gaku* of Japan conceived the existence of a President of the Cosmos in the depth of human conscience. Thus *Yōmei-gaku* was made into a religion, and prevailed in the upper class of tradesmen and farmers.

Bushidō and Confucianism

The *samurai* from the Kamakura Period until the Age of Civil Wars had ethical principles. The experience of having to be ready to face death at any time on the battle field, naturally taught them how to live. The moral obligation of absolute obedience to their Lords and to their fathers, required them to be fearless of death. Their high esteem of honour made them condemn foul conduct. Unless they were self-controlled, they could never deserve the name of *samurai*. The habit of setting little value on his own life resulted in cruelty to others, and gave birth to a morality which showed itself only in a narrow regard for his own house or lord or what belonged to them, but did not extend beyond these. It lacked all regard for mankind as a whole. This way of *bushidō* was transformed by Confucianism. For instance, Nakae Tōju interpreted the way of *bushi* as the same as the way of *shi* (*kunshi*) in Confucianism. He placed *bushi* in the place of *shi*, which was one of the rankings of *tenshi*, *shokō*, *kyō taifu*, *shi*, and *shojin* in the Chinese classifications. The organization of *Bakufu* was quite similar to that of Chou Dynasty in China, and *bushi* were expected to practise the way of *jingi* (mercy and justice) as their ruling principles. Thus *bushidō* really came to mean Confucian Ethics. The habit of not fearing death required that a man become valorous, and practice mercy and justice. Yamaga Sokō (1622-1685) taught that the duty of *bushi* was to practice the ways of *gojō* (five rules). To fight with bow and arrow was supposed to be the way to put these rules in practice and in their daily actions and words to follow the teachings of Confucianism. Among these there remained some *bushidō* of the preceding age, whose sole principle was to think as little



← "Watazahi" or crossing of river in Edo Period.

People in Edo Period had to cross large rivers on coolies' back or by palanquin because the Tokugawa Shogunate banned to build bridges on large rivers crossing main roads for the convenience of military defence.



← Express train of a private enterprise (Photo—Odakyū Electric Railway Co., Ltd.)

Limited express train of the Tōkaidō Line (National Railway) (Photo—Museum of Transportation)



← Tokyo Station



Various means of transportation ↓



← Subway in Tokyo



↑ Ferryboat in the Inland Sea



↑ Sightseeing buses on Mt. Norikura

↓ Tokyo International (Haneda) Air Port (Photo—Japan Air Lines)



↑ South Pier of Yokohama Harbour

Tanker "Vedol"



"Burajiru-maru" on the ocean line (Photo—Museum of Transportation)





↑ Tokyo Central Post Office

Antenna of micro wave relay station,
Fukuoka Prefecture (Photo—Kokusai
Den Shin Denwa Co., Ltd.)



↑ International telephone service (Photo—Kokusai
Den Shin Denwa Co., Ltd.)

Postal service in early Meiji Period (Photo—Communication Museum)





↑ Television viewing at home



↑ Television studio, NHK, Tokyo

↓ Monitor room, NHK Television, Tokyo



↓ Cinema theatres in Tokyo



↑ Motion picture studio: (Photo—Motion Picture Association of Japan)





↑ Japanese newspapers



↑ Letter plate (Photo—Dainippon Printing Co., Ltd.)



↑ Printing factory



↑ Type picking



↑ Intertype



↑ Second hand book stores in Tokyo



↑ Yasukuni Shrine, Tokyo, enshrines soldiers died in war



↑ Tsukiji Honganji Temple, Tokyo, branch of Nishi Honganji Temple in Kyoto



↑ Higashi Honganji Temple, Kyoto

Confucian Temple, Yushima, Tokyo (Photo—K.B.S.)



↑ Catholic church at Ōura, Nagasaki



↑ Buildings of Tenri-kyō in Tenri City (Photo—Tenri-kyō H.Q.)



← Shinto priest



→ Shinshō-ji Temple, Narita



← Fukuzawa Yukiehi
(1834—1901)

→ Zen monks in meditation



→ Shinto priests of
Ise Shrine





←
University of Tokyo



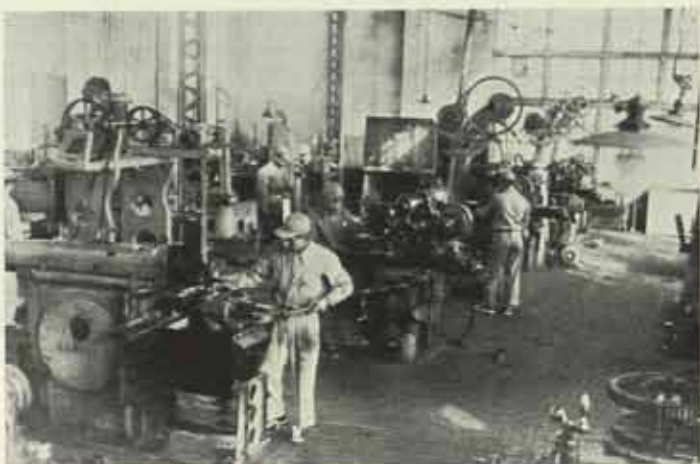
←
Kindergarten (Photo—The Nihon
Kyōiku)



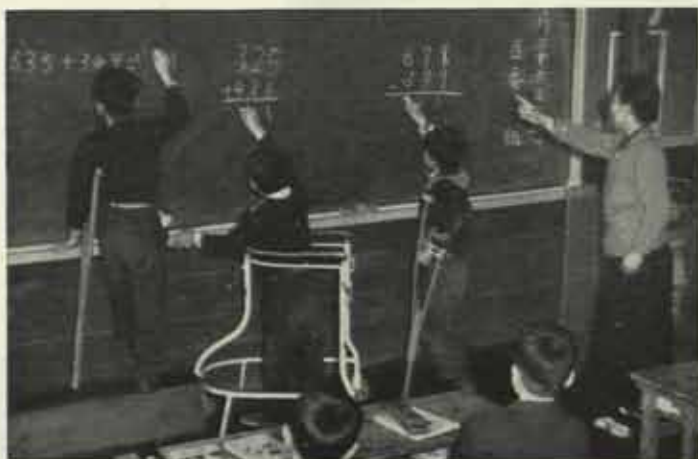
→
Elementary school (Photo—Ministry of
Education)



→
Elementary school



↑ Practice hour of technological upper secondary school, Osaka (Photo—Ministry of Education)



↑ School for physically handicapped children (Photo—The Nihon Kyōiku)



↑ Mobile library in rural area (Photo—The Nihon Kyōiku)

→ Tokyo National Museum



← Kanagawa Prefectural Modern Art Museum,
Kamakura

→ Hibiya Library, Tokyo (Photo—Fujita-Gumi)



← Student House of International Education
Association of Japan (Photo—Ministry of Education)

of the lives of others as of their own. Yoshida Shōin (1830-1859) in the end of *Bakufu* administration taught that the duty of *bushi* was to respect saints and wise men as their instructors, to endeavour to improve themselves by reading and to hold justice in high esteem. He believed and taught that *bushi* should be distinguished not only in arms but also in art and literature, and declared that merely despising death, had no meaning. *Bushidō* can be said to have been elevated by Confucianism. Indeed its teachings were completed by the ideas of life and death contained in Buddhism, but the principle teachings were explained by Confucianism.

Popularization of Confucianism

Shushi-gaku as the government prescribed learning chiefly pervaded the class of *bushi*, but various state school were attracted to the classes for merchants and farmers. Itō Jinsai (1627-1705), Ogyū Sorai (1667-1729) and others belonging to the old school aimed directly at following the teaching of Confucius without including the interpretation of *Shushi-gaku*. Quite different from the strict principle of *Shushi-gaku*, in which human feelings and desires were disregarded, they tended to affirm the true nature of human desire. The class of merchants were therefore, somewhat amused by such thoughts. They laughed at the idea that *bushi* had to be obliged to do their duty, whereas they thought highly of duty without having any such obligation. Further, the learning which was especially aimed at the merchants was *Shin-gaku* (Ethics). *Shin-gaku* of Ishida Baikei (1685-1744) and others was mainly founded on *Shushi-gaku*, and taught special practical morals to which the ideas of honesty taken from Shintoism and the awakening of Buddhism were added. They preached simply how to order one's daily life, quoting familiar examples and gave encouragement to the merchants. Again, Ninomiya Sontoku's (1789-1865) teachings on gratitude were meant for the farmers. He taught that practicing natural virtue in every-day attributing this human power to Providence is gratitude.

It was an idea that gained much popularity, for by it Buddhism and Shintoism were fused into one, with Confucianism as their foundation.

Ideals of Loyalty and Confucianism

The idea of loyalty plays an important role in the later period of the *Bakufu* Administration in the theory of responsibility found in Confucianism in Japanese Classical literature and in *Shintō*. But it was especially in *Mito-gaku* that the ideal was crystallized. In *Shushi-gaku* there were two branches, or divisions, one was an interpretation of Confucian writings, while the other a history which makes clear man's moral obligations and responsibilities. In the *Mito-han*, one of the three houses of Tokugawa, this study of history was practiced. It was only since the last half of the 17th century that the work of compiling a Great History of Japan was commenced. This was done under the direction of Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293-1354). Chikafusa studied the *Tzū-Chih-T'ung-Chien* written by Ssū-ma Kuang (1019-1086) from the view point of responsibility and wrote the *Jinnō-Shōtōki*. The work had for aim the clarifying of the ethics of the relations between Emperor and subjects, and was directed towards showing by reasoning the lawfulness of the *Nanchō* (South Dynasty) by means of history from the Age of the Gods. He declared that the Imperial line which inherits *Sanshu-no-Jingi* is the lawful line. This opinion may be said to have been influenced by Buddhism. For example, in Zen sect the transmission of the mantle from a master to his disciple proved the real succession. The Great History of Japan takes up the spirit of the *Shōtōki*. When there was a question of *Tennō* becoming the Lord of Japan, people criticized the *Bakufu* Administration, its real influence was questioned, and things came to a deadlock. Having studied the Great History of Japan, intensively, Rai Sanyō (1780-1832) wrote, his *Nippon-gaishi*, reviewing in the form of an outline Japan's history after the establishment of the

Kamakura Bakufu. He declared that a general possessed of real power over the army interfered with the administrative affairs and he advocated that *Tennō* should have both powers in his own hands. The language of his book being both concise and fluent exercised much influence upon its readers. Thus the spirit of loyalty to *Tennō* was gradually increased among the people. The principles of *Shushi-gaku* which *Bakufu* employed merely to support its own administrative power, changed into an influence which would afterwards cause its down fall. *Mito-gaku* taught respect for god and Confucianism, and the influence of Yamazaki Ansaï must not be overlooked. The *Kōdōkwan*, the school of *Han* deified *Takemikazuchi-no-kami*, the god of arms, and established the Shrine of Confucius. Tokugawa Nariaki, Lord of Mito clan, (1800-1860) Fujita Tōko (1806-1855) Ezawa Shōshisai (1782-1863) and others were the active agents who lead up to the Meiji Reformation.

Teachings of Rōshi (Lao-tsu) and Sōshi (Chuang-tsu) and Literature

Together with the teachings of Confucianism, those of Lao-tsu (5th century B.C. first half) and Chuang-tsu (later half of the 4th B.C.) came to Japan. Disregarding the artificial ethics and other teachings of Confucianism they aimed at inaction and pure nature. Their teachings were not adopted in administrative circles nor in Ethics. But their influence upon literature cannot be overlooked for they influenced the lives of the Japanese from another angle and were blended with their vital feelings. This fact can be verified from the *Kaifūsō* collection of poems in the Nara Age. As their teachings were mixed up with the Buddhism already in China, and were also combined with the pessimism of Buddhism, they became the foundation of the teachings and literature of the hermits from the Heian to Kamakura Age. Yoshida Kenkō (1282-1350) was a Buddhist and yet in his essay, the *Tsurezure Gusa*, the idea of seclusion from the world,

mixed with Buddhism can be found. And this idea occurs again in the merchants way of life in the Edo Period. The ideas of inaction and a return to nature was made use of to protect themselves from the raging torrents of the world. The attraction for the moon and flowers which was combined with the desire for seclusion turned out to be Bashō's (1642-1694) *haikai*. His aim was to plunge himself into the beauties of nature, express the delights of tranquility in his poetry, and live above the world. This tendency in Japanese literature cannot be overlooked in connection with the cult of Buddhism. The Chinese poetry and prose, introduced together with *Shushi-gaku* by Ten priests of *Gosan* (five temples) were the work of T'ang, and in the Edo Period the form of poetry produced by Ming and Ching were introduced. The Chinese poetry composed by Rai Sanyō, and Yanagawa Seigen (1789-1858) was not inferior to the poetry composed by the Chinese themselves. They became wonderfully adept in composing Chinese prose in this age, and most learned men wrote books of Chinese prose. In essays and accounts of travels we find splendid lines of appreciation of the beauty of nature and the pleasure of drinking *sake* (wine), and in the writings of learned men who thought little of worldly lives, this is perceived. Even in Confucian Administrative systems and in Ethics some germs of such a way of thinking of Lao-tsu and Chuang-tsu were concealed in the depths of their minds and showed itself in their refinement of life. This is characteristic of Japanese feelings about life, and is still deeply rooted among our people as shown in their art and literature.

Confucianism of the Present Day

With the abandonment of the policy of national isolation, many and various western ideas have come into Japan. Among these are the utilitarianism of England, Freedom and the rights of the people from France and also various forms of Christianity. The former Confucianism and its accomplishments were contemned, and books on *kambun* were thought so little

of that they became buried in the dust of second-hand bookshops. In the early period of the Meiji Era, all our endeavours were bent on rapid digestion of western civilization and culture. But the Government of Meiji opposed those who advocated freedom and the rights of the people, and aimed at restoring and strengthening the government under the Tennō System. With this in view the restoration of Confucianism and *Shintō* was planned. As one of the policies for the restoration and protection of Confucianism the *Shibunkai* was established, the president of which was elected from among the Imperial family. In the 15th year of the Meiji Period, *Meiji Tennō* (the Emperor Meiji) ordered his attendant lecturer, Motoda Eifu, to compile the *Yōgakukōyō* (Outline of Education for Youth). This book was written with the purpose of teaching youth the Ethics of Confucian *chū* and *kō*. This form of education suppressed the idea that all men are created equal and endowed by Heaven with equal rights, which means that the Emperor and the beggar have the same rights. As in Japanese Confucianism, implicit obedience to the lord was strongly inculcated, all ethical teaching was meant to lead to a reasoned conversion from the idea of *chū* to loyalty and faith in *Tennō*. The idea of *Tennō* as the center of all authority was based on a strange combination of the German idea of a nation and Confucianism education was made to take this direction. It was embodied in the School Law which was enforced from the Imperial universities to the primary schools and was issued in the 19th year of Meiji (1886). As the Imperial universities began as the place where *Tennō's* officials were to be formed, it was quite natural that it should have such an educational program. The idea that the people had certain inalienable rights was completely disregarded through the promulgation of the constitutional law in the 22nd year of Meiji, in which all rights were said to be in the hands of Meiji. In the following year the Imperial Rescript on Education was promulgated, and it determined exactly what the spirit of the people should be. In the Imperial Rescript on Edu-

cation in which in the first paragraph the virtues of the ancestors of *Tennō* are extolled, the doctrines of *Shintō* and Confucian Ethics are strongly emphasized. Obedience to parents, kindness to brothers, harmony in families, belief or trust in friends were set forth as virtues to be cultivated, and service to the nation was especially emphasized, but other social ethics seemed to be rather set aside. This form of ethics continued in the education of the Japanese for a long period. The claims of Japanism which arose as a result of the Sino-Japanese War were all founded on Confucian Ethics. But the people began to revert to the ideas of *bushidō* spirit and to concern themselves about the East. Education was still controlled by Confucian ethics but the thoughts of the people were not so strongly influenced by Confucianism.

But we must not forget that though the people were familiar with western thought, because of their training in childhood and youth, they were still more strongly influenced by what Confucian ethics had accomplished in Japan. In the Taishō and Shōwa eras things remained almost the same with only a few changes.

Since the 10th year of Shōwa, the war machinery became stronger and stronger in Japan, Confucianism was made use of to arouse and inculcate patriotism. Essays on *ōdō* (essay on administration to stabilize the lives of the people under the control of sage-emperor) justified and made reasonable war for Japan. The idea of universal brotherhood and love which Confucianism originally taught, could not be shown to the people in its pure form, but Japanese Confucianism as it had been transformed during the Edo Period, was given them as its fundamental teaching. As part of McArthur's policy during the occupation after the war, the democratization of Japan was planned. With the disappearance of shrines from the nation, all Confucian elements were excluded from education. The classics of China were always part of the education of a Japanese from primary schools to universities. But it was con-

sidered that this study of Chinese classics fostered the aggressive policy of Japan. So the study of these classics was no longer obligatory and the elements of Japanese Confucianism were entirely excluded from Japanese textbooks.

In addition to the fact the learning of Confucianism was considered to have helped to make Japan feudalistic, even the use of *kanji* was said to be feudalistic because the Chinese classics were written in *kanji* (Chinese characters). It was argued that the learning of these complicated characters, so much more difficult than Roman letters, had the tendency to make the thinking power of the Japanese less plastic and prevented them from becoming democratic. Movements towards romanization and the use of *kana* only of Japanese came into being and only a limited use of *kanji* was permitted by law. The use of *kanji* was not only limited for practical use, but it was a tragic fact that the *kanji* themselves were thought to have the significance of Confucian feu-

dalism. Thus the problem of *kanji* became very complicated. Research work among the Chinese classics was also likely to be considered a deviation from democratization of Japanese Society. Indeed it seemed to be impossible for Confucianism ever again to be the success it was in the Edo Era. However, Confucianism, that is, the teachings of Confucius, and further, the research work upon Chinese culture, is again being followed up. Kuo Mo-juo (1892-) is teaching the developmental character of the ideas of Confucius, and it seems that, also in the New China itself Confucianism is now being reconsidered. Again Prof. H.G. Creel of Chicago University in the U.S.A. is considering Confucius from quite a new point of view. Under these circumstances, people are going to reexamine the teachings of Confucianisms quite apart from its political aspect. Its present situation is that these researches are being forwarded as a part of the research work of the East.

Shintō

Outline

Shintō is a religion proper to Japan. In the early period of *Shintō* there was no founder like Jesus in Christianity or *Cotama* in Buddhism. Nor were these any writings or doctrines which were definitely systematized. And yet it still plays a considerable role in the religious feelings and lives of the present-day Japanese. The center of *Shintō* was *kami*, and *kami* were gods. As we all know, *Yaoyorozu no Kami*, the *kami* of *Shintō* were not monotheistic but polytheistic. In ancient times in Japan such natural things as, the heavens and the earth, the sun and moon, mountains and rivers and other things were called gods, while leaders of tribes, heads of clans, and all those who had wonderful countenances and power were also called gods. These miscellaneous gods show the undeveloped state of the political communities in old Japan. But just as these communities were

brought into unity by a strong tribe which is considered the ancestors of the present Imperial Household, so their gods were also subordinated and made subject to *Amaterasu Ōmikami*, the ancestor of the Imperial Household. Another name for *Amaterasu Ōmikami* was *Ōhirumemuchi*, which symbolized the Sun. The numerous gods were believed to have close relations with the sun and water. This is a notable fact. Through it, it is supposed, that the Japanese race of olden times belonged to those who originated the sun myths and that it was a race closely connected with the beginnings of agriculture and fishing. It was a fact characteristic of Japan in olden time, that *matsurigoto* (festival) was also *matsurigoto* (administration or government). In order to welcome and honour the gods by holding a festival, the people had to cleanse both body and soul. The method of cleansing was called *harai* wiping away the dust. *Misogi* meant washing way the dirt from body and soul in the

sea, waterfall or river. In older times in Japan dirt was sin. It was believed that the gods disliked dirt and that human sin aroused the god's anger against the dirt of the people. The consciousness of sin did not come from reflection upon one's own interior life but it was something done against the god's will.

This connected it directly with the administrator of government. It was generally considered that not to incur the anger of leader's clans, the god's posterity, was the way that people should follow. From feelings of respect for their clan leaders, came the respect of the old-time Japanese for the ancestors of the clans called *ujigami*, and the respect for *Tennō*, the supreme leader of all clans, as in the direct line from *Amaterasu Ōmikami*.

The conscientious practice of absolute obedience changed rapidly and decayed, in the countries passage through Buddhism, Confucianism, and *Dōkyō* and with the collapse of the clan system. The respect for Gods and *Tennō*, too, had decayed, but only the idea of absolute obedience to the leaders.

Though it did not thrive very well, the belief in *Ko-shintō* which had at one time decayed, was revived and continued up to modern times, by such different schools as *Ise Shintō*, *Suika Shintō* and *Fukko Shintō*, till they grew strong again at the establishment of the New Meiji Government. The administrators of the Meiji Era planned to revive *Ko-shintō* as a means of unifying the ideas of the people and so they oppressed Buddhism and other religions. In the 3rd year of Meiji (1870) it was planned to make *Shintō* the national religion, but the plan was not supported by the people in general, and proved a failure in the face of serious opposition. Since this turning point, the movements of *Ko-shintō* declined gradually. In the 15th year of Meiji, the government made two divisions of *Shintō*: Sect *Shintō* and Shrine *Shintō*. It gave special assistance to Shrine *Shintō* and placed it under the control of the government. Religious practices were banned to shrines, and *Shintō* priests came to be treated as officials. The worship at

shrines was practiced according to the instructions given by the government and the people were ordered to visit shrines for worship whenever possible. The government, which in this way succeeded in elevating considerably the people's reverence for the gods through the shrines, took pains to educate the people in this way to worship *Tennō* as a living god. This policy was more and more strengthened, as the international status of Japan rose. Thus in Japan of the Shōwa Era (since 1926) those who believed in the superstitious *Tennō*-centered militarism increased considerably in number. For the Japanese of those days who were strongly influenced by European individualism and liberalism which had been introduced in the early years of the Meiji Era, the feelings of respect for the ruling House and instinctive admiration for the brave, was quite a different sort of thing from the attitude of some nationalists. The influence of nationalism, which grew stronger and stronger in the political world of the time, praised militarism and endeavoured to influence the opinions of the people, till they finally came to the abnormal belief that *Tennō* should rule the world. The historic defeat in the 20th year of Shōwa (1945) was a fatal shock to the abnormally "progressive" thought of Japan in those days. The religious reverence which had surrounded shrines and *Tennō* collapsed completely. To-day, ten years later, the feelings of Japanese toward shrines and *Tennō* are gradually changing into the normal feelings of respect. The assistance given to the shrines by the government stopped completely, and they were left to support themselves. But they seem to have revived somewhat recently. Generally speaking, absolute obedience to the authorities of *Shintō* as an obligation, has disappeared from the lives of the Japanese of our day.

Teachings of Shintoism

In *Shintō* the highest virtue is considered that in obedience to the god's providence one gives up one's own will and depends

completely upon that of the god. In *Shintō*, therefore bodily experiences are thought highly of and logical speculation is dispensed with. The important points of *Shintō* are the complete acknowledgment of the two following doctrines.

- (1) Government as prescribed by religion.
- (2) *Tennō's* line is the direct line of *Amaterasu Ōmikami*, and is sacred.

It was since the great influence of Buddhism came in the 8th century that *Shintō* in which bodily experiences are valued came to have some speculative elements in it.

Shintō which was mixed with Buddhism was founded by Saichō (767-822) who founded the *Tendai-shū* from the 8th to the 9th century and Kūkai (774-835) who founded the *Shingon-shū*. According to Kūkai, Buddha is identical with *Amaterasu Ōmikami*, and the various other gods, of *Shintō* are reincarnations of Buddha and Bodhisattva. This idea was developed further and from the end of the Heian Era till the beginning of the Kamakura Era. The opinion of *honji* and *suijaku* that Buddha is *honji* (the origin of all gods) and various other gods are *suijaku* (reincarnations of Buddha) was taught, till Buddhism invaded more and more the territory of *Shintō*. The best examples are *Ryōbu Shintō* of *Shingon-shū*, *Sannō-ichijitsu Shintō* of *Tendai-shū* and *Hokke Shintō* of *Hokke-shū*. *Ryōbu* of *Ryōbu Shintō* is also called *Ryōkai* (two worlds). In *Tendai-shū* the world is separated into two divisions, the world of principle being called *Taizōkai* while that of phenomenon *Kongōkai*. It is taught that *Dainichi Nyorai* which symbolizes *Taizōkai* is identical with *Amaterasu Ōmikami* of the *Ise Naigū* (Inner shrine of Ise), and *Dainichi Nyorai* who symbolizes *Kongōkai* is identical with *Toyoke no Ōkami* of the *Ise Gegū* (Outer shrine of Ise). Besides this, the various phenomena of the world were explained by the doctrines of *Shingon-shū*, and it was further demonstrated that belief in *Shingon-shū* reaches by a direct road to *Shintō*. *Ryōbu Shintō* is one of the attempts to harmonize *Shintō* and Bud-

dhism. *Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō* was the form which was taught in *Tendai-shū*. *Sannō* is the god of a mountain in China. Saichō, founder of *Tendai-shū*, took the name of the mountain and called the protector of Mt. Hiei, *Sannō*. And he declared that the four principal gods of *Shintō* are re-incarnations of *Sannō*. Since that time many *Shintō* Shrines were built on Mt. Hiei and various phenomena connected with *Shintō* were skillfully combined with the doctrines of *Tendai-shū*, while *Sannō* was being propagated as the supreme god of Japan.

The characteristics of *Hokke Shintō* are found in the teachings of *Sanjū Banshin* (thirty gods of protection). This was first taught by *Tendai-shū* and after the death of Nichiren (founder of *Nichiren-shū*) it was preached very much among the *Nichiren-shū* believers. It is the belief that the thirty gods of *Shintō* are always protecting the *Hokekyō*, the writings of *Nichiren-shū*. Such *Shintō* teachings harmonizing with Buddhism gave feelings of confidence to those who feared the god's punishment, although in their hearts they believed in Buddhism. It was used as an introduction to Buddhism. This belief was given expression in Shrines and temples, till people saw the fruits of it in *Gongen* and *Jingūji*. The idea was that Buddha or Bodhisattva appeared at one time in the world and was then transformed or reincarnated as the God of the Japanese. Many gods were given the name of *Gongen*, and were served by priests. *Kumano Gongen* and *Nikkō Gongen* were the most noted. *Nikkō Gongen* was Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616), the founder of the Tokugawa Bakufu Administration, who was deified as a holy body. *Jingūji* is the temple belonging to a shrine. In *Jingūji* there were shrine priests, that is priests belonging to shrine to serve the gods, and at the same time performing the ceremonies of Buddhism. The *Jingūji* of Ise is famous.

Through the mixture of Buddhism and *Shintō* religious cults, the duties of the priests were much changed. For example, the work of the priests of both forms of religion were changed. So that it came

about that Buddhist priests took charge of matters pertaining to the future life, such as funeral ceremonies, doctrine, preaching, arrangements for meetings, etc., while *Shintō* priests were charged with exents that concerned this world, births, matrimony, seasonal festivals and prayers for success in war.

Later on *Shintō* was seriously influenced by *Dōkyō*. In the middle of the Kamakura Era, Watarae, a *Shintō* priest of the *Ise Gegū*, complained that the *Ise Gegū* was considered inferior to the *Ise Naigū* and he took steps to elevate it to the position of the *Naigū*, and to free it from the control of Buddhist teachings and produced some documents of his own, introduced into them the teachings of *Rōshi* and *Eki* and at length founded a sect called *Ise Shintō*. Following this, and showing the influence of Confucianism upon *Shintō*, *Yoshida Shintō*, *Juke Shintō* and other sects appeared. These sects of *Shintō* all insisted on the divine character of the Imperial Household and the absolute worship of *Tennō*. This formed a solid foundation of the Imperial Household.

It was in the *Suika Shintō* of Yamazaki Ansai (1618-1682) that such an idea (the worship of the Imperial Household) was most strongly insisted upon. Again the Hayashi, a learned family belonging to the Tokugawa Bakufu Administration gave a series of lectures in Kyoto and inspired the people with the idea of absolute worship of *Tennō*. As a result of the researches in the Japanese classics, Kamo-no-Mabuchi (1697-1769), Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843) and other learned men undertook the work of restoring the form of *Ko-shintō* into something purely Japanese for it had been distorted by the admixture of Confucianism and Buddhism. Among these the aptitude for learning of Hirata Atsutane was so wonderful, progressive and illuminating that most people who insisted upon the teaching of *Sonnō* (idea of worshipping absolutely the Imperial Household) at the end of the Edo Era were influenced by this sect. It is said that the motivating power in the movements to abolish Buddhism

which had taken place in the early period of the Meiji Era was to be traced to the students of the national classics.

Shrines

In Japan of olden times nature-worship was in a thriving condition. Flourishing woods and huge-stones were considered to be holy places or objects where gods came. Of course, there were no shrines in those days. As time went on, however, it was thought necessary to have huts to accommodate worshippers, houses for worship, buildings in which to store materials for festivals, etc., and soon some objects used as substitutes for gods came to be placed quite naturally in *hokora* and treated as divine things. In old Japan most people were engaged in farming, so the season for festivals for gods were determined in reference to farming. It was for this reason that February, April and November were selected. We generally find that the gods were created because they had some relation with agriculture and the production of food. With the establishment of various social systems, those who protect living groups (houses, villages and clans) leaders, ancestors of *uji* clans, heroes of conspicuous merit in the unification of clans, and *Tennō* for generation after generation were deified as *chinju kami*, *ubusuna kami* or *uji kami*. As the supreme ruler of all these gods, *Amaterasu Ōmikami* is worshipped in the *Ise Jingū*. *Ise Jingū*, accordingly, should be considered the most important of all shrines. *Ise Jingū* is said to have been established in the year 5 B. C.. In 478 B. C., *Toyoke no Ōkami* was deified as *Gegū* in the same *Ise Jingū*, while *Amaterasu Ōmikami* came to be called, *Naigū*. *Ise Jingū* was the *Ujigami* of the Imperial Household in olden days and ordinary people had been prohibited from making pilgrimages there. But since the end of the Heian Era (the last half of the 12th century) the prohibition was gradually loosened up, especially during the Edo Era (since the 17th century) people in general, frequently visited it and worshipped there. It has been said that at the end of the Edo Era, the wor-

shipper who came in groups were made use of by those who inclined towards *Kinnō* (loyalty to *Tennō*), and who were scheming to overthrow the Bakufu Administration, and that a multitude with divine tablets in hand, which they believed to have a divine effect, were repeatedly seen engaged in a frantic dance. In the age when the efforts were made to harmonize *Shintō* and Buddhism, priests called shrine-priests managed the shrines, and even the style of building of shrines were affected by Buddhism. This influence was evident till the end of the Edo Era. As soon as the Meiji Era began (1868-1912) *Shintō* and other sects were entirely separated, and *Shintō* itself was divided into Shrine *Shintō* and Sect *Shintō*. Quite indifferent to its religious character, Shrine *Shintō* engaged itself with the superintendence of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The shrines of the whole of Japan were classified and put into several grades, and it was decided that each shrine should have definite national aid according to its grade. Thus shrines came to be treated in an irreligious manner. In fact they were in a position superior to any of the sects as something above religion. This fact showed the steps by which the ideas of *Ko-shintō* was advanced until *Tennō* was considered to be absolutely divine. The shrines in which heroes who distinguished themselves in promoting national unity were deified, and the Yasukuni Shrine and Gokoku Shrine where those who died on the battlefield were deified were especially cared for. Thus shrines were altogether utilized for political purposes by some politicians in order to promote national unity and spirit, and to center all in the nation and in *Tennō* and to further the militaristic spirit. But even if the Japanese were not driven to shrines by such a distorted policy, their natural feelings tended towards such worship at shrine because of their goodness and simplicity. Japanese are fond of uniting themselves with the great and beautiful natural world, quite as much as with a god, and so the solemn atmosphere of shrines appealed strongly to them. They were already prepared by their natural and

spiritual aptitude to lead good human lives. So to the Japanese in general who visited shrines, it mattered little who was deified there. By the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) and various wars since 1931, the Japanese were deprived of their husbands, fathers and sons. The places where these dead were enshrined suddenly increased greatly in number. But although the visitors who came to worship at these shrines may have been consoled through the holy experiences of communicating with their beloved dead, yet it could not do much to promote militarism. Since the end of the war in 1945, these shrines have stopped praising the deeds of the dead but tried to console the dead souls, and this was the original purpose of shrines.

The shrines which were no longer supported by the state after the war, established the *Jinja Honchō*, and took their first steps towards recovery. Many shrines of the whole country joined in it. About 80,000 shrines of the 110,000 are members of this organization.

The *Jinja Honchō* has *Jinja-Chō* in each prefecture, and has kept up relations with each other by corresponding with them. But recently it seems to have gradually taken the leadership of them. This is seen in the movement to make *Ise Jingū* the center of Shrine *Shintō*. The condition of shrines is not a flourishing one at the present time, so various side-works are now being done by them to improve its financial condition. Among the leaders of *Shintō* attempts are being made to make shrines entirely religious. But having no influential religious organization or doctrines, the shrines are having great difficulty to succeed in these attempts.

Sect *shintō* and newly born religions

In the 15th year of Meiji (1882) the Meiji Government divided religious groups into three categories: Buddhism, Christianity and *Shintō* (which included all religious groups that were neither Buddhist nor Christian). Of this last group all

except *Jinja* were called *Kyōha Shintō* (Sect Shintō). In Sect Shintō, therefore, sects of various tendencies were mixed. These Sect Shintō bodies were arranged in five kinds.

Sects which Resemble Ko-shintō

All sects of this division have no founder in history. They are those which have inherited the customs and beliefs of olden times, and restored by the loyal people and the researchers into religion at the end of the Tokugawa Bakufu Administration. As scriptures, such classics as the *Kojiki*, *Nihonshoki* and others are quoted, and faith in *Tennō* and gratitude to the memory of ancestors are emphasized. The Sects belonging to this group are *Shindō Taikyō* (believers' number: 1,140,000), *Shinri-Kyō* (believers' number: 1,010,000) and *Izumo Taisha Kyō* (believers' number: 3,200,000).

Sects Influenced by Confucianism

These were sects that were deeply coloured by nationalism before the World War II. After the war, however, they were less so. In these sects the spiritual experiences of men's communications with god are emphasized, furthermore in these sects the ethics of Confucius is taught. *Shintō Shūseiha* (believers' number: 50,000) and *Shintō Taiseiha* (believers' number: 150,000) belong to this category.

Sects of Mountain Worship

Followers of this sect believe that gods live in mountains and they experience spiritual communications with these gods, practice purifying exercises in these mountains and do religious penances. *Jikkō-kyō* (Mt. Fuji believers' number: 210,000) *Fusō-kyō* (Mt. Fuji believers' number: 150,000) and *Mitake-Kyō* (Mt. Ontake, believers' number: 370,000) belong to the group.

Sects which Practice Therapeutics through Belief in the Healing Powers of Rivers

In this sect gods of *Ko-shintō* are enshrined, dust (sin) is cleansed away through river purification and spiritual

communication with the god is experienced. Through faith special therapeutics are practiced. *Shinshū-kyō* (believers' number: 840,000) and *Misogi-kyō* (believers' number: 840,000) belong to this.

Sects of Farmers which Practice Therapeutics through Belief or Faith

This sect in its practices has little in common with *Shintō*. When it was registered as a religious group it was not recognized as important enough to be suppressed by the government, and was merely classified as *Shintō*. Of course the gods of *Shintō* were worshipped in it and this showed its peculiar tendency after the war. The common characteristics of the sects were that each had been founded by a man of religious talent, very ordinary and simple doctrines were preached among the poor and helpless farmers, and in each it was taught that by giving up oneself, one could be endowed with the god's power which is universal in heaven and on earth, and in each sect diseases were cured by faith.

Kurozumi-Kyō. This sect was founded by Kurozumi Munetada (1780-1850). It is said that this man endowed with spiritual power was given a special mission by *Amaterasu Ōmikami* in the 11th year of Bunka (1814). The founder's "Seven Commandments", belief, humiliation, self-conceit, sympathy, diligence, gratitude and faith), *Gokamon* and others are now used as scriptures. The belief in therapeutics, in which rubbing of the afflicted parts and hypnosis are mixed, are now practiced by this sect. Most of the believers of this sect live to the west of Nagoya, and its center is situated in the city of Okayama. Believers' number 670,000.

Konkō-Kyō. This sect was founded by Kawada Bunjirō (1814-1883), an ignorant farmer. Throughout his long religious life, he felt that a holy mission was given to him to be the medium of spiritual communication between men and the Great Father of the Universe, *Tenchi Kane no Kami*. The name of *Tenchi Kane no Kami* cannot be

found in the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*. In the early period of Meiji Age, the three gods of *Shintō* were taken into it, but since 1846 only this one god came to be worshipped. The founder was not made a god. In this sect, charms (removal of misfortunes, rescue from misfortunes, relief from misfortunes), ceremonies, penances and other practices were completely abolished, and the creative spiritual power of the believers is emphasized. Temples (churches) are the medium of salvation through spiritual communication between men and gods. The head office is at Konkō Machi of Okayama Prefecture. The believers' number 620,000.

Tenri-kyō. Of all *Shintō* sects, this is the most influential. Nakayama Miki (1789-1887) is the founder of this sect. She was a great woman, though a farmer's wife. Through a spiritual communication from *Tenriō-no-mikoto*, she began a movement to found a sect. She was terribly persecuted at first, but in Meiji 21 (1889) it was first recognized as a sect of *Shintō* and was able to practice formal religious

services. The most conspicuous characteristic was cures of diseases through faith, *Yōkigurashi* and *Hinokishin*. *Yōkigurashi* might be called movements towards a brighter life. *Hinokishin* means believer's service of free labour. The great divine palace which is now being established at its headquarters of Tamba, as the result of *Hinokishin* makes evident the peculiar practices of this sect. Their change of doctrine after the war is of no account, except some small attempts to separate themselves from *Shintō* but these have not been carried out as yet. Believers of this sect number 1,630,000. But none of the sects of *Kyōha Shintō* has been much changed in its teachings after the war. From the point of view of religious administration, however, the separation and independence of new sects has so often happened that the former thirteen sects have organized the Association of *Kyōha Shintō* in order to have closer connection with each other.

The movements of new and smaller sects, which have branched off, are not worth describing.

Buddhism

History in outline of Buddhism

Introduction of Buddhism

Buddhism was founded by Gotama Buddha of India in the 4th century B. C. It is said that the Buddhism of Japan began with the introduction of Buddhist images and writings from Pakch of the Korean Peninsula in the 13th year (552) of the Age of *Kimmei Tennō*. In the early period of its introduction, Buddhism was nothing more than a belief held by some clans. It was not then, at all national in character. But it was owing to *Shōtoku Taishi* (574-621) that Buddhism began to be popular in Japan. *Taishi* determined to take up the distinguished culture of the continent through Buddhism, and thus elevate the culture of Japan from its primitive state. Besides, he desired to establish the administration of government of Japan, then in

the process of national unification, upon the foundation provided by the teachings of Buddhism. *Taishi* encouraged Buddhism in the "17 Articles of Constitutional Law", and he himself attempted an interpretation of the three scriptures, *Hokke*, *Shōman* and *Yuima*.

Nara Buddhism

After the death of *Shōtoku Taishi* in Wadō 3 (710), the capital of Japan was established at Nara, and Buddhism began to be taken up as a means of national control. *Shōmu Tennō* (701-756) desired to allay the political unrest and set the nation at ease by means of the virtues taught in Buddhism. He prepared *Hokekyō* in many parts of the country, and in Tempyō 13 he ordered the building of *Kokubunji* temples and *Kokubu Amadera* (nunnery) in certain places of the country. Besides this, he established the *Tōdaiji* at Nara and const-

ructed the *Daibutsu* (Great Buddha Statue) as the symbol of a united nation. Just at this time, the Six Sects which had then been completed was introduced into Japan. They are *Sanron*, *Jōjitsu*, *Hossō*, *Kusha*, *Kegon* and *Ritsu*. They are called *Nanto Rokushū*. Buddhism was in those days theoretically under Chinese Buddhism. Theoretical research work was thought much of in those days. The influence of the learning contained in the Buddhism of those days has continued up to our day. After the death of *Shōmu Tennō*, Buddhism was used for political purposes. This fact made the order of its priesthood relax, and put a heavier economic burden upon the nation.

Therefore *Kammu Tennō* desired to free the administration of government from the Buddhism of Nara, and so he removed the capital from Nara to *Heiankyō* (Kyoto) in Enryaku 13 (794). While the Buddhism of the Heian and of Nara eras was separated from governmental influence and declined, new forms of Buddhism were spread by two priests: Saichō (737-822) and Kūkai (774-835). Saichō introduced *Tendai-shū* from China in Enryaku 24 (805) and built Enryaku-ji Temple, while Kūkai introduced *Shingon-shū* in the following year, and established Kongōbuji Temple in Mt. Kōya. Saichō taught the doctrine that all people are possessed with the possibility of becoming Buddha, and he was attacked by the old Buddhism of Nara, especially by *Hossō-shū*, whose doctrine was that people have a limited possibility of becoming Buddha. Besides, he threw away the law of the old Buddhism which priests should observe, and request *Tennō* that he would establish a place in Mt. Hiei where the new law would be in force, in which the minimum conditions of observance were required to become a real priest. When the request was granted, he was fiercely attacked. Saichō's desire was only realized after his death. Further Saichō claimed that the most important mission of Buddhism was the protection of the nation. Kūkai assumed an exceedingly compromising attitude with the Old Buddhism and taught the peculiar doctrine of the *Shin-*

gon-shū, which declared that people can become Buddha just as they are. The reasons why the two new sects of religion spread rapidly were the fact that this new doctrine was preached and that an attempt was made to harmonize *Shintō* and Buddhism. The attempt to identify gods with Buddha was tried for a long time. Saichō explained that the various Buddhas of Buddhism were quite the same as the various gods of the former *Shintō* of Japan, while Kūkai expounded the doctrine that gods are the reincarnations of Buddha, and he himself called the doctrine *Ryōbu Shintō*. This attempt proved wonderfully successful. At the end of the Heian Era, however, people became exceedingly keen about learning the mysterious art of preventing disasters; how to destroy their enemies in the field, how to prolong life by saying the prayers for attaining the personal desires of the aristocrats. Both sects, *Tendai-shū* and *Shingon-shū* were affected by this and thus the new religion lost its favour. Then a new Buddhism (Kamakura Buddhism) germinated, having as its chief origin the doctrine of *Jōdo* (Pure land).

Kamakura Buddhism

Political and social instability and the degraded state of Buddhism at the end of the Heian Era gave birth to fears of impending catastrophes and caused great uneasiness among the people. But as there was no relief from this in the old Buddhism of Nara and Heian, new forms of Buddhism appeared one after the other in the hope of dispelling it. At this point, when the political center shifted from Kyōto to Kamakura and political rights were taken from the aristocrats and given to *bushi*, *Jōdo-shū* of Hōnen (1133-1212), *Jōdo Shingon* of Shinran (1173-1262) and *Ji-shū* of Ippen (1229-1289) preached that all men are saved from this actual world of sin and evil in *Jōdo* (Pure land) by *Amitabha-amitayus-buddha* (the Buddha of infinite light and life), and the doctrine of *Jōdo* which appeared at the end of the Heian Era was developed further. *Nichiren-shū* (*Hokke-shū*) of Nichiren (1222-1282), *Rinzai-shū* which was introduced by Eisai

(1142-1215) from China, *Sōtō-shū* of Dōgen (1200-1252) and others came to be believed in one after another. In these sects people were required to live their lives believing only in Buddha's promise of salvation or of acquiring ecstasy in which they would live an eternal life while pursuing their own ordinary life. They were quite free from all troublesome ceremonies. Furthermore, it was not necessary for believers to build temples or towers, nor to contribute to *Shōen*. Besides this, Ryonin and other priests made pilgrimages throughout the country and were engaged in various social works, and thus this new Buddhism suddenly captured the mind of *bushi* and people in general. Of all the new sects of Buddhism, the sects like *Jōdo-shū* and *Nichiren-shū*, the doctrines of which were so easily grasped by the people, got many believers among farmers and people in general, while the sects like *Zen-shū*, which required a strong will, secured followers from the class of *bushi*, new leaders in these days, and became its principal spiritual supporters. The works of note which were written by famous priests of this time are the *Kyōgyōshinshō* by Shinran, the *Shōbōgenzō* by Dōgen, the *Kōzen Gokokuron* of Eisai and the *Risshō Ankokuuron* by Nichiren.

Buddhism of the Muromachi and the Sengoku Ages

Succeeding the preceding age in the Muromachi Era a new Buddhism attracted the attention of *bushi* and people in general. Especially was *Zen-shū* treated with much consideration by the Bakufu Administration, and had much to do with the various phases of politics and culture. "Gosan Literature" was the culture produced mainly by Zen priests. They created *Kan-bungaku* (learning of Chinese prose) which was distinguished for its quality and quantity.

Meanwhile *Shin-shū* and *Nichiren-shū* had caught the belief of the farmer class, and the influence of these groups were gradually extended. At the end of Sengoku Age (War Period) the position and privileges of Buddhist groups were somewhat

nullified by Oda and Toyotomi, who aimed at the unification of the whole country. Thus the land which had belonged to the temples through contributions made to them was taken away, and a redistribution was carried out. So that the temples became far less influential and the influence of the new Buddhism diminished.

Buddhism of the Edo Era

The Tokugawa who finally had the whole country within their grasp at the end of the Sengoku Age removed the Bakufu their capital to Edo (Tokyo) and formed a strong feudal organization, and the general thought trend changed from Buddhism to Confucianism. In those days the relation of center to periphery was established in the sphere of Buddhism by the condition of feudal society. And because the Bakufu Administration took the policy of compelling all the people to be registered at some temple as a means of oppressing Christianity, the state of religion at the temples could not fail to become duller and more easy-going. Besides, as any movement towards freedom of religion was prohibited by the *Bakufu*, Buddhism became so negative and inactive that it was fiercely criticized by *Shintō* and Japanese classic scholars after the middle of the Era, and at the end of the Bakufu Age in such a big *han* (clan) as Mito, Aizu and Satsuma movements to abolish Buddhism were started.

During this time though many distinguished priests appeared, they could not present the decadence and decline of Buddhism.

Buddhism after the Meiji Era

The Meiji Government adopted a policy to separate *Shintō* from Buddhism in the 4th year of Keiō (1868). The government made *Shintō* the religion that was to lead the people and desired to separate gods from Buddha. This fact did not necessarily mean the destruction of Buddhism, but this degradation of the Buddhist world since the Edo Era gave birth to movements to abolish it. The result was a re-arrangement of temples, images of Buddha and instruments for ceremonies and other events were destroyed, and the various

Buddhist privileges were much reduced. But even during this time of humiliation, many distinguished priests endeavoured to re-establish Buddhism, and so the world of Buddhism again became active little by little. In the Taishō Era the followers of Buddhism performed many social works, arranged an educational system for the sect and did everything to meet the demands of the new age. In the Shōwa Era, with Japan's overseas advance, Buddhism has come to be deeply coloured with nationalism. During the time a compulsory union of the sects of Buddhism was carried out. As the result of the defeat in the war in the 20th year of Shōwa (1945), while Buddhism became quite free from government control, separation of sects and desertion from them were taking place one after another.

One of the most severe shocks sustained by the groups of Buddhism was the "Law of Agricultural Land Adjustment". Because the temples of Buddhism were possessed of spacious grounds, upon which they were economically dependent, they suffered a severe loss in their economy by being obliged to release their land in accordance with the Law. The temples of today are carrying on various social works in order to support themselves. But in spite of such economical distress of Buddhist temples, an Association of Young Buddhists are endeavouring to promote Buddhism and some groups are making progress in the political world.

The beliefs of various sects of Buddhism and its present state

Shortly after the introduction of Buddhism people's powers of speculation was not sufficiently developed to comprehend, the doctrines of Buddhism and its place in Japanese culture, but simply accepted it as it was when introduced into Japan. It was not until the Nara Era, when the people were more accustomed to the philosophy of Buddhism, and when its Japanization had considerably advanced that various sects appeared in the world of Buddhism. From the end of the Tempyō Era (729-

749) to the beginning of the Tempyō-Shōhō (749-757) the so-called *Nanto Rokushū* appeared, and in the Heian Era two more sects were added. More new Buddhist sects were added to these in the Kamakura Era. During that period, *Sanron*, *Jōjitsu* and *Kusha* of Nara disappeared and after that *Ōbaku-shū* was introduced from China in the Edo Era.

At present, as representative sects and denominations of Buddhism we can count 13 sects (*shū*) and 56 denominations. The thirteen *shū* are *Hossō*, *Kegon*, *Ritsu*, *Tendai*, *Shingon*, *Jōdo*, *Shin-shū*, *Yūzū-nembutsu*, *Ji-shū*, *Rinzai*, *Sōtō*, *Ōbaku*, and *Nichiren*. Of these sects, only *Hossō*, *Kegon* and *Ritsu* were influential in culture and politics in the Nara Era. But afterwards they lost their influence, being opposed by new Buddhism. They are now only of historical interest.

We shall briefly describe below the teachings of the main sects and their present state.

Tendai-shū. Its headquarters is in Mt. Hiei of Kyoto. It is the sect founded by Saichō in Enryaku 24 (805) and has greatly influenced the cultural and spiritual life of the Japanese. The teaching of this sect succeeded the *Tendai-shū* of China. It contains the complete fundamental doctrines of Mahayana Buddhism. Saichō's purpose was to harmonize all beliefs with the teachings of *Hoke-kyō*, and he emphasized the belief that all men would be saved. It was the most flourishing form of Buddhism in the 9th and 10th centuries. It was at this time that he expounded the doctrine that all the gods of *Shintō* were identical with the various Buddhas of Buddhism, and he thus laid the foundation for Buddhism to be spread among the people. Since then it gradually lost its influence and was divided into small sects. Of all sects it is one of the smallest today. The famous Mii Temple (formerly called Onjo Temple belongs to this sect).

Shingon-shū. Of this sect there are several sub-sects. The temple where the founder Kūkai placed his head office was the Kongōbu-ji Temple on Mt. Kōya of Wakayama Prefecture. The philosophy of

this sect is a pantheistic mysticism mixed with realism and idealism. The *mandala* which associates or identifies the system of Buddhas in Buddhism with the *Dainichi-nyorai*, god of the cosmos, as its center, is made the object of belief and worship. It is taught that men can become Buddha while living in this actual world, through the worship of this *mandala* and saying *Shingon* (*Darani*, a spell which has a mystic meaning). Just as did *Tendai-shū*, *Shingon-shū* planned a unification of *Shintō* and Buddhism in its most prosperous period. The plan had considerable success, but the sect decayed in the last half of the Heian Era. After that, *Kakuban* (1095-1143) appeared and opened *Shingi Shingon-shū* (Neo Shingon sect). But both *Shingi* and *Kogi* (old) were soon divided into several sub-sects. *Kongōbu-ji* and *Ninna-ji* are famous temples of this sect.

Jōdo mon. There are *Jōdo-shū*, *Jōdo-Shin-shū*, *Yūzū Nembutsu-shū* and *Ji-shū*. They all believe in the teaching of *Jōdo* (Pure land). The doctrines of *Jōdo* are contained also in the preaching of *Tendai-shū* of Saichō. But it was first widely spread in the last half of the Heian Era (12th century). The object of this belief is *Amida-butsu* (Amitabha). As it was taught that men can be saved only by believing in *Amida-butsu* and saying this name, the preaching of this sect was easily understood by people in general. Since the 13th century, *Jōdo-shū* and *Shin-shū* have been divided into many sects, but they are the biggest sects of Buddhism in Japan. *Yūzū Nembutsu-shū* was first founded by Ryōnin (1072-1132) in Eikyū 5 (1117) by Ryōnin. The characteristic of this teaching was that one's love of Buddha communicates with other's love of Buddha, while other's love of Buddha is communicated to one and upholds one.

Jōdo-shū was first founded by Hōnen (1133-1212) in Eian 5 (1175). Its headquarters is in Chion-in Temple of Kyoto. In this sect people believe in various other Buddhas and *Bosatsu* (Bodhisattva, saint next to Buddha) than in *Amida-butsu*. It is taught in this sect that the best way

for people to save themselves is to believe implicitly in Buddha and only say "*Namu Amida butsu*". *Shin-shū* was first founded by Shinran (1173-1262) in Gennin 1. Shinran denied that life at the temple was above the ordinary world, and showed that real religion does not require a life above that of the world. In this sect only *Amidabutsu* is believed in. The famous temples of this sect are the *Higashi Hongan-ji* and *Nishi Hongan-ji*, both in Kyoto and Tokyo.

Ji-shū was first founded by Ippen (1229-1287) in Kenji 2 (1276). It is taught in this sect that belief is salvation.

Zen-shū. There are three sects: *Rinzai-shū*, *Sōtō-shū* and *Ōbaku-shū*. In the doctrines of *Zen* tranquility of mind is most emphasized, which is common to all sects of Buddhism. It is taught that tranquility of mind is the same as Buddha's ideal. It was after the introduction of *Rinzai-shū* that the teachings of *Zen* became independent and formed another sect. In this sect the aim is that persons acquire mystical experience, in which their lives come into direct contact with the life of Buddha, through concentration of mind, sitting and keeping strict silence, without reading or interpreting scriptures.

Rinzai-shū was introduced by Eisai (1142-1215) from China in Kenkyū 2 (1191). The noted temples of the sect are *Kennin-ji*, *Nanzen-ji*, *Daitoku-ji*, *Myōshin-ji*, *Tenryū-ji*, *Kenchō-ji* and others.

Sōtō-shū. *Sōtō-shū* was first founded by Dōgen (1200-1253) in Antei 1 (1227). *Eihei-ji* and *Sōji-ji* are the main temples of the sect.

Ōbaku-shū. *Ōbaku-shū* was introduced into Japan by a Chinese priest, Yin-yüan in Eiō 3 (1654). The form of *Zen-shū* was handed on from the Age of T'ang and Sung in China and it was quite different from *Zen-shū* of Japan, but belongs to *Rinzai-shū*. Its headquarters is at *Mampuku-ji* of Uji in Kyoto.

Nichiren-shū. It was first founded by Nichiren in Kenchō 5 (1253). Its center is at *Kuon-ji* on Mt. Minobu. This sect has developed from the doctrines of *Tendai-shū*. But has characteristic practices.

Hoke-kyō is the only scripture of the sect. *Mandala* is the chief object of worship. It is taught that men can get the power to fuse themselves with eternal life, by saying repeatedly the *daimoku* (subject) of "*Namu-myōhō-reengekyō*".

Characteristics of the buddhism of Japan

The first characteristic of the Buddhism of Japan is that it is founded on the teaching of Mahayana. In Hinayana Buddhist commandments are highly valued and the training aims at perfection of one's own person. But in the Buddhism of Japan the aim is that all men become Buddha. Such a doctrine as that of Mahayana is different from that of India or China, and it finally took the form that people can become Buddha while staying at home, instead of entering the priesthood. This doctrine is attributed to *Shōtoku Taishi*. This doctrine of Mahayana was further developed by Saichō in the Heian Era into a more profound one, and was still further developed in the Kamakura Era when it grew into the teaching that was more suited to the Japanese and stimulated their human powers through the endeavours of Hōnen, Shinran, Dōgen and Nichiren.

Buddhism of Japan founded on the doctrines of Mahayana did away with all discrimination between priestly life and secular life, and it recognizes no superiority of men over women. Such a democratic character is one of the notable characteristics of Japanese Buddhism and cannot be found in the Buddhism of India which highly values the commandments, nor in the theoretical Buddhism of China. It was in the Kamakura Era when secular Buddhism, especially *Jōdo shin-shū*, appeared that this fact was made evident. Hōnen taught that the prayers of saints and of common people have the same merit, and that people are instantaneously saved by *Amidabutsu* merely by reciting prayers.

Another characteristic of Japanese Buddhism is found in its relation to the state. When first introduced into Japan it had nothing of the character of a state religion,

but *Shōtoku Taishi* conceived the idea of putting the state under the protection of Buddhism and gave it a mission to guard the state. This was proved to be the idea of Saichō as seen by the words, "the first mission of Buddhism should be to protect the state". He always prayed that gods and Buddha would protect the state, that it might be ever in peace and that the Imperial Household and all the people might ever live in peace and happiness. Moreover, he believed such prayers would be granted only if they were said by priests who had undergone long training. Also in the case of Kūkai, he disciplined himself with the object of protecting the state and households, and of stabilizing others as well as himself. Such was the character of Buddhism in the Heian Era, but it was to be succeeded by that of the Kamakura Era which proceeded in a different way. Eisai insisted that the nation must be protected by making Zen flourish, while Nichiren taught that the sole way of making the nation peaceful and stable was to spread the doctrine preached in *Hoke-kyō* and cherished his three infallible prayers, "I shall be the pillar of Japan. I shall be the eye of Japan, and I shall be the great vessel of Japan". Thus Buddhism which had been ultra-nationalistic in character became a "social" Buddhism the aim of which was the happiness and prosperity of the people as well as that of the government. Again later on, it became the Buddhism of the nation and the house. We find this characteristic also in China, that the welfare of the state and its head were indeed prayed for, but in Japan Buddhism was concerned with the rights of the nation, being closely connected with the ideas of *Shintō*.

Buddhism and the culture of Japan

Before the introduction of Buddhism into Japan there was scarcely any culture worthy of the name. The beginnings of real culture came towards the end of the 6th century and was Buddhist culture. The favourable chance came for it with the policy of *Shōtoku Taishi* who wished to

promote Buddhism. *Taishi* took up the best culture of the continent as well as the teachings of Buddhism, and some distinguished architects and others came to Japan from abroad. Towards the 15th year of the Suiko Dynasty (607) the Hōryū-ji Temple, the oldest wooden building in the world, was constructed. Besides, many noble statues of Buddha, such as the three statues of Buddha of Hōryū-ji, and *Miroku Bosatsu* statue of Kōryū-ji were carved. These techniques advanced rapidly with the rise of Buddhism, till in the Nara Era, the great temple, Tōdai-ji, was produced together with making an enormous statue of Buddha called *Daibutsu*. Among the fine works of art of the day we can point out the engravings of *Shitenno* at Kaidan-in of Tōdai-ji, the *Fukukensaku Kannon* and *Gekkō Bosatsu* statues at Hokkedō of Tōdai-ji and others. Among the buildings erected are *Kondō* (Central Hall) of Tōshōdai-ji and *Hokkedō* of Tōdai-ji. Also there were such Buddhist pictures as *Kichijō tennyo* of Yakushi-ji and others. In the Heian Era, the *Kondō* and *Gojū-no-Tō* (five storied pagoda) of Murō-ji Temple were built. At the end of the age, with the development of the teaching of *Jōdo*, the tendency to produce *Jōdo* (pure land) in this world came to be seen in pictures, sculptures and buildings. Aristocrats enshrined *Amida-butsu* in the *Jibutsu-dō* of their own residences, made temples as their own residences to live in, till at length they left the famous Hōjō-ji, the *Byōdōin* at Uji, and others. In *Kōya-san* we find such pictures as the "*Seijū Raigō-zu*". As for literature, the *Nippon Ryōiki*, the first preachings of Buddhism in Japan, still remained. This result shows how deeply Buddhism had invaded the lives of the whole Japanese people. The results of these preachings showed themselves in the *Shaseki-shū* of the Kamakura Era. Besides all this we can find many other works such as the *Hōjōki*, filled with thoughts gathered from Buddhism in which life was considered to be temporary and changing. In sculpture, instead of statues of an immovable character, works of dynamic force, such as the statue of *Kongō Rikishi* at Nantaimon

of Tōdai-ji were produced. This was in answer to the demand of the class of *bushi*, who were controller in those days and were supporters of Buddhism. Throughout the eras of Kamakura and Muromachi, however, the thing that exercised the strongest influence upon culture was the teachings of *Zen-shū*. The influence of which other things than *Zen-shū* exercised upon Buddhism were limited to religious matters, but the thoughts found in *Zen-shū* entered into the very life of the Japanese, and brought about on all sides a flowering of culture. It was under a variety of conditions that the peculiar teachings of *Zen* came to be reflected in the works of artists, stimulating the activities of all the fine arts in Japan. Conditions were such that in the Ages of Kamakura and Muromachi, the temples of *Zen-shū* were the centers of culture. Zen priests went abroad frequently and entered into contact with Chinese culture and besides these, there were distinguished artists, learned men and thinkers at this time. In the Age of Muromachi the Bakufu Administration greatly favoured the Zen priests, and so these priests in Kyoto composed Chinese verse and tried to make interpretations of Chinese literature. The literature thus produced is called "Gosan Literature". Besides this, these priests imported the Philosophy of Chu-tzu, a sect of Confucianism from China. They made researches among it and exercised a considerable influence upon the later world.

A study of the structure of Zen temples was made by the builders of *bushi*, at it were fused with *shinden-zukuri* since the Heian Era, till such temples as *Kinkaku-ji* and *Ginkaku-ji* were constructed. Together with these, gardens meant to produce tranquility and show delicate taste, copied from nature such as the garden of *Saihō-ji* (temple of Moss), *Tenryū-ji* and *Daitoku-ji*, and the "stone-garden" of *Ryūan-ji* were produced. These traditional gardens were copied by private gardens in later years. Many Zen priests, Sesshū (1421-1506) and others, were engaged in drawing *suiboku sansuiga* (landscape pictures in water-ink) which had been introduced from China. They made use of the peculiar technique

of the Japanese, by which space and weight could be used to symbolize the infinite. *noh*, the peculiar plays of Japan, were performed in this age, and their tasteful and symbolic art show the influence of *Zen*, and also, *Noh* masks used in plays are productions which follow the traditional sculpture of Buddha's images. *Chanoyu* (tea cult) has developed from the combination of the life of Zen temples and tea, which Eisai brought from China in the Kamakura Era. With this, the building of *chashitsu* (room for tea ceremony) prevailed, and the *tokonoma* (alcove) of *Chashitsu* in which pictures, portraits and flowers are arranged has come down to the houses of today. Flower arrangements developed from the manner in which flowers were prepared to put in front of the Buddha. In literature, essays, such as the *Tsurezure Gusa* were written in which following in the footsteps of Buddha who observed human life, from the view point of the transmigration of souls and the ideas of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu, were mixed up with each other. In the Sengoku Era the training of *bushi* was mainly for the priests of temples. Later such training came to be given to the common people, till it developed so far as to be *terakoya* education (temple school). After the Edo Era, in the spiritual state of *wabi*, *sabi* and *karumi*, the influence of the teaching of Zen can be found.

Buddhism and the life of the people

The thing that has the closest relation with Buddhism in the life of the people of today is the funeral ceremony. The funeral ceremony of the Japanese is generally carried out with Buddhist ceremonies. And this introduction of Buddhism into funeral ceremonies began at the time when Japanese temples had a close connection with the people's beliefs and were considered as places for prayer. Later when temples were built as *bodaisho* (places where ancestors were commemorated) and combined with ancestor worship, then Buddhism entered into an inseparable relationship with

the family-system of Japan. It may be truly said that this fact shows that the relation of people and the god of *uji* (clan) were inherited from Buddhist temple worship. Furthermore, in the Edo Era it was decided that all people were to be registered at their respective temples, and all funeral ceremonies came to be held at temples. Moreover, in Buddhist temples *hōji* is held. *Hōji* is a service to pray for the soul of the deceased members of the family on their anniversaries called *meinichi* or *kinichi*. It is found only in Japan that *hōji*, a demonstration of Buddhism, was used to pray for the good of ancestors' souls. The custom of having a celebration to commemorate the ancestors at the family altar called *butsudan* in each house had been formed for the same purpose. In Japan the dead are given *kaimyō* (name given by priest) and this is inscribed on *ihai* or tombstones.

Originally, *kaimyō* was the name of a priest, who was given commandments and entered the priesthood. The reason why the name for priests was given to secular persons was because Buddhism taught that all become priests after leaving this world.

As Buddhist belief is connected with simple stone statue of *Bosatsu* of this kind simple people, we find, for instance, belief in *Jizō*. *Jizō* was originally *Bosatsu* (Bodhisattva) of Buddhism who stood between the world of reality and the world of the dead and saved those who were on their way to the world of the dead. *Jizō* (a very simple stone statue of *Bosatsu*) of this kind was connected with the idea of *Sakai-gami* a certain belief among common people and was built up at every turn of a road throughout Japan. They have been long familiar to the people as *Dōso-jin* (lit. road-ancestor-god).

As one of the principal annual events which are connected with Buddhism we have *Ulambara*, which is celebrated on the fifteenth of July every year. It is a service to console the souls of the dead which return to each home on that day. And we have two events of *higan* in spring and autumn, both equinox days being called *Chūnichi* (middle days). Seven days, in-

cluding *Chūnichi* with the three days before and after, are called respectively *higan* of spring and of autumn. On *higan* again we have Buddhist services to recall the memories of the dead. From the midnight of the year's end to the beginning of the new year bells are rung in Buddhist temples. This means that, through ring-

ing the bell, the human and worldly passions of last year are entirely washed away. Worldly passions are believed to be 108 in number, so the bells are rung 108 times. Thus Buddhism has relation to all sides of the people's life and its thoughts have permeated the people and exercised much influence upon society and culture in Japan.

Christianity

Introduction and propagation

Christianity was first introduced into Japan by Francis Xavier, a missionary of the Society of Jesus (Jesuit) in Temmon 18 (1549). The Jesuit Order was one of the religious orders founded at the time of the so-called Reformation which was instigated by Martin Luther, and it laboured assiduously in the foreign missions. Xavier sailed to Kagoshima, at the south end of Japan and got permission to propagate his religion from the lord, Shimazu Takahisa, and gradually won believers in the Kyūshū area. Soon after that, in Genkō 1 (1570) the port of Nagasaki was opened to the Jesuit missionaries, and it continued to be the starting point for the propagation of the catholic faith. In those days in Japan, the people were living in an Age of Civil War, the Muromachi Bakufu Administration had lost its influence and the lords were fighting against each other, each aiming at supreme power. The former religions therefore had lost their influence. Taking advantage of this state of things, Christianity which was just being introduced could easily succeed in gaining followers. As the lords of Kyūshū desired to trade with Portuguese ships because of the wealth and might of that nation, the missionaries took means to divert the trade from lords who did not allow them to propagate the Christianity, and directed it to those who did. Thus they succeeded in propagating it to a considerable degree.

The fact cannot be overlooked that the Christian missionaries not only built churches,

but also hospitals for lepers. This helped to spread the faith among the common people. Xavier tried to begin missionary works in Kyoto but this proved a failure. After two years' stay in Japan Xavier left the country. Afterwards Gaspard Vileara (? -1570) entered Kyoto at the risk of being burned alive, and succeeded in getting permission for his mission from Ashikaga Yoshiteru (1536-1565). It was ten years since Christianity had been introduced into Japan. Many *daimyō* and *kuge* of Kyoto were converted. During this time disputes about religion took place between the Christian missionaries and the Buddhist priests and some of the later were converted to Christianity.

The class of merchants which had newly arisen to some power were protectors of Christianity. Luis Frois (1532-97) a missionary, and others who were exiled from Kyoto for a time after the death of Shōgun Yoshiteru were able to continue their missionary work in the commercial city of Sakai. As believers, whether of high or low social class, could gather at churches. Churches became oasis for merchants who were being persecuted by the *bushi*. When Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) got control of the centralized political power in Eiroku 12 (1569), Frois and others were permitted to pursue their mission publicly. Though Buddhism, especially *Nichiren-shū*, objected vigorously, the training of Japanese Christian missionaries was begun in Ten-shō 8 (1580). Also, after Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) took over the reins of power after Nobunaga, he favoured Christianity.

But after his expedition to Kyūshū, he began to fear the increasing influence of Christianity, and issued the Law of Exile of Missionaries in Tenshō 15 (1587).

But it was not an absolute prohibition, but rather a tacit permission, and trade with foreign countries was not prohibited. Thus the trade with Spanish colony, i.e. the Philippines, continued, and the missionaries of the Franciscan Order came there and preached in public. There in contrast to the former work of the Jesuit missionaries, the Franciscan missionaries were arrested and twenty-six of them were put to death. These are now referred to as the twenty-six martyrs of Nagasaki.

The Christian *daimyō* of Kyūshū, Ōmura, Ōtomo and Arima sent missions to the Pope in Rome in Tenshō 10 (1582). This mission consisted of seven boys about 15 years of age, who went abroad partially for learning and partially to return thanks to the Pope for the propagation of Christianity in Japan.

This mission was well received everywhere in Europe. But when they returned to Japan in Tenshō 18 (1590) the Law of Prohibition of the Christian Religion had been issued. Through their travels abroad, their faith had been strengthened and some of them were afterwards martyred.

Prohibition and persecution

Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) was exceedingly magnanimous to Christianity before the foundation of the Bakufu Government was an accomplished fact. But he began to persecute it after the influence of England and Holland which were then Protestant, was felt in Japan in Keichō 5.

This happened because of the fact that these Protestant countries exaggerated, for their own commercial purposes, the danger of the propagation of Catholicism by such countries as Spain and Portugal, and slandered the missionaries and their work, declaring that their real purpose aimed at acquiring colonies for the mother countries. In Keichō 18 (1613) the Law of Prohibition of Religion was issued. Missionaries were exiled, churches destroyed, and the

persecution of believers became more and more cruel. With the promotion of the national isolation policy, intercourse with western European countries was interrupted and Christianity was strictly suppressed. In Kanei 14 (1637) an insurrection instigated by farmers broke out at Shimabara and Amakusa, against this suppression, which they had patiently endured for so long. After the formation of the Bakufu Administration, the lords of Shimabara and Amakusa persecuted Christians, and imposed heavy taxes on them. Farmers, suffering the perils of starvation, made Masuda Shiro, a mere Christian boy of 16 years old, their chief, and instigated a riot in which 12,000 people took part. Although some of these were not yet Christians, the riot gave much trouble to the army of the Bakufu Administration, and because of the strong faith of the rioters, was only suppressed after six months.

The strict ethics of Christianity especially Catholicism, conflicted in many points with the ethical views of the Japanese under the control of the Bakufu Administration. Absolute obedience to the lord and implicit belief in God were incompatible with each other and Christianity and ancestor-worship were irreconcilable. Some Christian believers destroyed shrines and temples, and even the tombs of their ancestors. And *harakiri* which had been regarded as a duty of honour among *bushi* was considered suicide among Christian, and forbidden, and as believers in the Christian faith many *bushi* rejected *harakiri*.

Besides, the strict commandment about monogamy was a fatal contradiction to the ideas of ethics in the feudal ages. *Bushi* considered it a duty to keep a mistress in order to preserve the household line of descent.

Furthermore, the emphasis on four distinct classes of society could not stand together with the Ethics of Christianity in which absolute equality before God was insisted upon. It would seem that the Bakufu administration persecuted Christianity because it had loosened its method of control over *bushi*.

In Kanei 17 (1640) the post of *Shūmon Kaiyaku* was established, and it took charge of the punishment of Christians. The discovery of Christians was rewarded with prize-money, and the *Goningumi* (group of 5 men) was organized for mutual protection. Besides, the religious test of *fumie* (the tablet of the crucifix to be trampled on) was instituted. Belief was also tested by ordering a supposed Christian to trample on a picture or statue of the Holy Mother, Mary. At Nagasaki, *fumie* became an annual event, and continued until the end of the Bakufu Administration.

Even in the face of such persecution, many cherished their faith in their hearts. At Urakami village, the whole village preserved their faith even to the Age of Meiji. It is an interesting phenomenon that Christian beliefs became mixed up with folk-belief, which resulted in the fact that Christmas was celebrated, and *Higan* was made a Christian anniversary and even after Christianity was allowed to be practiced publicly in the Meiji Era, these people kept their own peculiar form of belief, quite different from orthodox Christianity.

Opening up of the country and the introduction of sects of Protestantism

In the middle of the 19th century when the European and American came to Japan to secure markets for their merchandise, the Protestant missionaries accompanied them. After the Bakufu Administration entered into treaties of commerce with them, missionaries of various sects, including James Curtes Hepburn (1815-1911) came to Japan in 6 Ansei (1859). After the Meiji Period a new policy prohibiting religion was introduced and the Christians of Urakami were persecuted severely, and Protestantism, too, was persecuted. But having been criticized by various foreign countries a policy of tacit permission was begun.

In the fifth year of Meiji (1872) a prayer meeting was held in the J.H. Ballah English School, which afterwards developed into the

Japan Christian Church. These Churches in the early period took the way of pure evangelism, and carefully avoided arousing the antagonism of other sects. Most believers were from the lower ranks of *bushi*, and had a number of doctors and priests among them. The educated class and some discontented *shizoku* (bushi class) of those days, who could not join the *hambatsu* (clan) government were the leaders. They insisted upon temperance in drinking and smoking, and aimed at an ethics which prescribed impartiality of citizens of the four ranks of society, objecting to the ethics of feudal times. Thirty six students of the Kumamoto Yōgakkō entered into this form of belief as a group in the ninth year of Meiji (1876). They were called the Kumamoto Band. They did not want the support of foreign missionaries, but wished to be independent.

Some seemed to have been converted to the Christian faith from the upper class of farmers. The Japan Christian Kyōkai soon became *Itchi Kyōkai* and later on in the Meiji period it developed into The Japan Christian Church. Meanwhile in the seventh year of Meiji (1874) The Kumi-ai Church was established.

The first private co-educational school in Japan was begun by Mrs. Hepburn. It developed afterwards into the Yamate Girl's School and the Meiji Gakuin. A school for female education was first built in Japan by Christians.

Nijima Jō (1843-1890) who went over to America, established the Dōshisha against the prohibition of the government, as soon as he returned to Japan. Some members of the Kumamoto Band learned at the Dōshisha to become missionaries. The Kōbe Jogakuin, Aoyama-gakuin, Meiji Jogakkō, Rikkyō Jogakkō, Kōran Jogakkō and others were built one after another. Especially in the Meiji Jogakkō, young, learned men with a good knowledge of literature, such as Shimazaki Tōson, took charge of the classes, and the influence of Christianity upon literature was so wonderful that a magazine *Bungakukai* was issued for the first time. As for governmental schools, the Sapporo Agricultural School

(The Hokkaidō University of today) was most influential. In the ninth year of Meiji, William Smith Clark (1826-1886) from America was appointed head teacher of the school. During his stay at school for eight months, he educated the boys there, making much use of the Bible, and leaving to the boys, the encouraging words, "Boys be ambitious".

Afterwards Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930), Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933) and others were converted to Christianity.

When the Meiji Government was settled, and the self-consciousness of the people was more elevated, Christianity was again persecuted.

The government desired to cultivate the people's minds through *Shintō*, Buddhism and Confucianism. Yasui Sokken (1799-1876) a man learned in the teachings of Confucius, and others criticized Christianity, saying it was against the virtues of loyal and filial piety. Katō Hiroyuki (1836-1916) tried to show the irrationality of Christianity from the view point of evolution, and Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) from the view point of Utilitarianism. Among the opposers of new and old thoughts, the most favourable to Christianity were the views of those people who had liberal ideas about people's rights. The movement towards liberality in granting the rights of the people was inspired by the idea that human rights came from Heaven and they insisted upon the establishment of a House of Representatives chosen by the people. These were movement instigated by the desire of *shizoku* of discontent, and by the landed farmers. They belonged to the same social class as many of the Christians. Christianity which had enjoyed a short respite during the period of Europeanization, sustained a severe shock at the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education in the twenty-third of Meiji (1890). In the Constitutional Law, which was promulgated in the preceding year, freedom of belief was evidently given. But the course of education in Japan came to be fixed in the Imperial Rescript on Education, and items on the subject of freedom of belief in the

Constitutional Law proved to be sheer nonsense. At the time of the act of disrespect in 24th of Meiji when Uchimura Kanzō did not worship the Imperial Rescript on Education, Christianity was attacked by such leaders of nationalism as Inoue Tetsujirō (1855-1944) and others. It was called the collision of education with religion. The victories of the Chino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese wars promoted the consciousness of nationalism making it still more difficult for the believers in Christianity. Thus the believers in farming villages and towns decreased in number and only the class of salaried men in the big cities were left as its supporters. The beginning of a Japanized form of Christianity took birth at this time. Foreign missionaries were excluded, and Shintoic Christianity and even sects holding a mixture of Christian, Confucian and Buddhist teaching came into being. In Meiji 44 (1911) through a union of various sects the league of Japanese Christianity was organized. In the next year, the union of three religions was begun, but it agreed with the decision that it must pray for the welfare of the Emperor and elevate the virtue of the people. Thus Christianity was completely Japanized. Among these Japanized Christians some still held to their belief in the doctrines of orthodox Christianity. For example, Uemura Masahisa (1858-1925) endeavoured to hold to his pure belief in a secluded church by which he would be isolated from the contact with the world. In the other hand Uchimura Kanzō insisted that he would learn his religion directly from the Bible itself without being subject to a formal church system on earth and finally he advocated non-Churchism. Many men of letters after the Taishō Era (1912-1925) became his disciples, and still exert influence upon a limited circle of people.

Christianity which made no advance at this time was combined with social movements. Movements to encourage no drinking, and no prostitution and the improvement of hospitals and prisons were the good works to which those who still held to Christianity devoted themselves. The political

movement of Socialism was begun by Abe Isoo, a Christian. In Meiji 34, the Social Democratic Party was organized with Kōto-ku Shūsui (1871-1911) as leader. It is for this reason that a considerable number of Christians are found as leading members of the present political party called the Social Party. The Salvation Army, which could be called a militant army of Christianity, was established in Japan in Meiji 28 (1895). It has accomplished much social work.

Present status of Christianity in Japan

With the Manchurian Incident, Christianity lost its influence and was criticized as liberalist and individualist. Through the Law of Religious Groups various sects were compulsorily unified, till the sects of Protestantism became the *Nippon Kirisuto Kyōdan* (The Japanese Association of Christians) and those of Catholicism the *Nippon Tenshu-Kyō Kyōdan* (The Japanese Association of Catholic Christians). Thus they were completely systematized organizations in the war time. The allied forces who came to defeat Japan in Shōwa 20 (1945) abolished the Law of Religious Groups as part of their occupation policy. And national protection for *Shintō* was prohibited, and the separation of government and religion was planned. Christianity had more and more missions in Japan with the assistance of G.H.Q. which aimed at the democratization of Japan. Many Bibles in the Japanese language were sent by air to Japan. To expand the work of the missions, the translation of the Bible into the spoken language began to be made by many Japanese churches. Movement to advance Catholicism became very active. The 24th year of the Shōwa was just the 400th year after Xavier's first coming to Japan, and a special mission was sent to Japan by the Pope.

Nippon Tenshu Kōkyō Kyōdan consulted with the League of Religion Divisions and in Shōwa 27 (1952) it changed into the

Catholic Central Council. From the *Nihon Kirisutokyō Kyōdan* (The Nippon Christianity Group), *Seikō-Kai* (The Episcopal Church) and *Kyūseigun* (The Salvation Army) stood on their own feet and were separated from it. But the system was left as it had been. In Shōwa 22, the Cooperative Association with the Foreign Missionaries of North America was made.

During the ten years after the war, Catholicism increased until there were more than 100 churches, and the International Hospital of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, their orphanage and special institution for women were started, with many patrons. Since March of Shōwa 27 (1952) J.O.Q.R. (Japan Culture Broadcasting) was opened as a civil broadcasting, and its various activities are seen on many sides. As universities we find *Jōchi*, (Sophia) *Nanzan*, *Seisen*, and *Seishin* (Sacred Heart).

In contrast to the rather conservative actions of Catholicism, the *Nippon Kirisuto Kyōdan* announced its determination to observe the new constitutional law of May 1952, and thus took a considerable step forward. The activities of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have been rather widespread and they have many believers among students. It has very many universities. They are *Dōshisha*, *Aoyama Gakuin*, Tokyo Christian Women's University, Tsuda University, *Kansei Gakuin*, *Meiji Gakuin* and others. There are so many that the exact number is not known. Their universities are widely scattered in various cities such as Hiroshima, Sendai, Nagoya and other.

The *Nippon Seikō-Kai* (Episcopalian Church of Japan) devotes itself to social works, and has St. Luke's International Hospital and many other sanatoria. The Elizabeth Thunder's Home is an asylum which was founded to protect and care for abandoned children of mixed races. The *Nihon Harisutosu Seikyōkai* was established through Nicolai's (A Bishop of the Eastern Russian Church) who travelled abroad to America. In Meiji 24 (1891), the *Niko-raido* was founded, but after the Russian

Revolution it declined. After the last war, it joined in *Dokuritsu Jichi Kyōkai* of America. But there were some who believed in the *Seitō-Kyōkai* of Russia and so, sad to say, there were two antagonistic parties in it.

Besides these, there are more than forty other religious groups, such as *Nippon Fukuin Rūteru Kyōkai* (The Japanese Lutheran Church of the Gospel), the center of which is in Germany, the Nippon Holy Church, and others. They are however not large religious groups.

Christianity which became so influential that its believers increased to as many as 400,000 in number, does not seem to go on increasing, with the independence of Japan. The influence of Christianity was extended rather superficially following upon the cries for democratization of Japanese. And this fact made the essence of this religion penetrate less deeply, so that Christianity seems to be somewhat inferior in its power to spread, than some other sects that have appeared recently in Japan.

Religious Life of the Japanese

Religious life of the Japanese originated in folk-belief

Besides the religious observances which are carried on mainly in churches or temples as in Buddhism, *Shintō* and Christianity, the Japanese have folk-beliefs rooted in their customs and manners which are closely connected with daily life. Among the folk-beliefs there are not a few absurd things such as superstitions. As to the form of these folk-beliefs they may be described under the heading—"Customs and Manners", and so we shall describe here some common fundamental types of religious life among the Japanese.

God's Protection

It seems that the Japanese of olden times respected their gods as beings incomprehensible to men and who had strange powers, while they always deified things with great power that were around them and sought protection from them. For instance, the Japanese of ancient times had the custom of deifying houses and places which had some connection with food. Because they hoped in this way that they would be freed from dangers, diseases, infectious and contagious diseases, and poverty and could therefore lead a happy life. For example, the *kadomatsu* (pine tree at the gate), which is placed at the gate of every house at the beginning of a new year, is not for decoration, but what is called *himorogi*

in *Shintō* (the sacred place surrounded with *sakaki* trees for gods) and here the people await the god of the year and ask for the welfare of the home. The god of the year is the god who visits every door in January.

The Japanese avoid calling his name and only speak of him as the "god of the year", because he is the god of the New Year and "god of the oven", because he protects the oven. The god of the year is deeply connected with the ancestor god of each house. But it seems that the people considered, that in the course of some years after the death of people, they become purified, lose their own individuality and are united with the group of ancestral gods. And it is a custom in every Japanese house to prepare a tiny shrine called *kamidana* in every house, *Kōjin* at the kitchen, god of the oven at the oven, god of the well and other places. Apparently the people believed that the gods visited these places whenever they asked them to do so.

Gods as Symbols of Blood and Peace Relationship

The connection of Japanese with their gods is not a mere individual relation but it is considered from the point of view of a man's group with the symbol of that group. For example, *Ujigami* (god of the family) is indeed the god of each family, but at the same time he is the god of the whole group of blood relations. *Ubusuna-*

gami represents or is the god of all men who are gathered at some particular place. The people who belonged to the god, that is of whom he is the representative or symbol, are called *Ujiko*. Even today, soon after a child is born, it is taken to the *Ujigami* for worship. This ceremony is called *Ujiko-iri* or *Miyamairi*. *Ujiko-iri* is, in short, the ceremony of recognition that the child will become a member of such a group.

Transformed

In festival ceremonies which do not seem to have any religious meaning in the present-day-life of the Japanese were important farming cults in olden times. For instance, there were *Hina-matsuri* on March 3rd, *Tango-no-Sekku* on May 5th, and *Tanabata-matsuri* on July 7th. *Hinamatsuri* is the festival for girls, *hina* meaning doll. Such a meaning for it was first given in the middle of 18th century.

In olden times (and even at the present time in some farming villages) it was called "Play on the Hill", or "Play on the Beach", and dolls, that is, something made in the shape of a human figure, was played with on the hills, river-sides or sea-beaches and then were thrown into the rivers or left in the streets.

Of these customs the remains of the *Misogi* or *Harai* to cleanse the body at the beginning of the farming season in spring are still retained.

Tango-no-Sekku is now regarded as the festival for boys to show respect to arms. In olden times however it was the festival of virgins. It was one of the religious events for virgins to cleanse and purify themselves as a preparation for the planting of the fields. It is said the fragrance of the iris was used as the material for *Misogi* and *Harai*. Along with the formation of society for *bushi* (after the 17 century) the meaning of *Tango-no-Sekku* had been give a quite different meaning, and it has come to be regarded as an event for boys, because of the fact that the word *shōbu*, the Japanese for "iris" sounds like the word *shōbu* the Japanese for respect for arms.

Tanabata-matsuri is the festival of stars to celebrate the meeting of *Kengyū* (Altair) star with *Shokujo* (Vega) on the Milky Way. By adding the meaning of *Kichikōten* of China (the festival to pray for progress in the arts) to the meaning of the *Tanabata-matsuri*, it has come to mean prayer for progress in music, writing and sewing in addition to its meaning, the festival of the stars. In certain farming-villages the custom of throwing bamboo grass into the rivers and to clean the tools which have been brought out of the houses to the river side, still remains today. It is said that the origin of this was the purifying of the body before *Bon* began, which is one of the most important festivals for the worship of ancestors.

The days of which the number are made of two odd numbers, 3-3 (on the third day of the third month of a year), 5-5 (on the fifth day of the fifth month of a year), 7-7 (on the seventh day of the seventh month of a year), were selected as festival days. This was not determined from the beginning, but probably from the Chinese custom, by which they liked odd numbers as bringing happiness.

Farming Cults which have come down to Our Times

As we have shown above, the festivals of Japan were mostly connected with farming, but those which have survived today have lost their meaning as farming cults. We find instances of this in *Minaguchi-matsuri* and *Hassaku-matsuri*. *Minaguchi-matsuri* is the festival to honour the god of the fields, by placing an altar at a place on the farm near a field filled with water and offering on it something from the time of preparing the beds for rice sprouts till the time of planting. In the *Hassaku-matsuri* the people offered rice-sprouts to the god of the field and prayed for a good harvest on August 18th in the lunar calendar. For the farmers whose harvest depended completely upon the weather, cults to pray to the god of the fields was naturally considered of the utmost importance. These deeply-rooted customs have been transmitted to the present time.

Taboos

The Japanese of olden times had very many taboos. They considered that they were surrounded by holy spirits or by bad souls, and for that reason they had various taboos in order that they might be free from the spirits' anger. This might be called an expression of the personality of the Japanese of olden days, so humble were they, and so obedient to the authority of the spirits. Among their taboos were the taboo of day, taboo of place, taboo of eating and planting, taboo of animals and plants, taboo of direction, taboo of words, and others besides. They were the days and places which were related to gods, the things which gods disliked, or the direction which the bad soul was taking. They were all related to the gods in some sense.

Charms, Jugon and Fortune-telling

While the Japanese of olden times protected themselves negatively by the use of taboos, positively, they used charms, *jugon*, and fortune-telling to be free from disasters. The uses of charms were those of Yin-yang-tao (*Onyōdō*) from the continent, as

well as those already being used. What today is called "faith healing" fortune-telling to learn of disasters and personal happiness or unhappiness, and other things of like nature, were often employed. These customs have continued up to the present, and those who would know their own fortune or who depend on "faith healing" of the new religions are more numerous than is generally known.

Festivals as Recreation

Most of the Japanese in modern times do not seem to have implicit religious belief. Their creed of fusion with Nature, which is the traditional doctrine of the Japanese, has been fully expressed in the beliefs of *Shintō* and Buddhism. It seems that the Japanese people have not believed in special gods or Buddhas as separate persons, but rather that they have believed in gods and Buddhas of Heaven and Earth as multitudes of people.

We can not overlook the fact that *Nembutsu-kō*, *Daimoku-kō*, and other festivals of *Shintō*, which were often held by farmers in the Edo Era, were meetings for recreation organized by the farmers and common people who were not allowed to gather in groups publicly in those days.

New Religions after the War

New religions which have entered into the lives of the Japanese since the end of the War have had considerable influence. Most of these new religions existed as sects in various forms before the War. Some of them were sects of Buddhism, others those of *Shintō*. Thus, they were hardly active. Since the end of the War, most of them have formed an independent organization, known as the "Association of Religious Groups" till they can develop and seek a place among the established religions. At present they number 156 groups, including 41 juridical persons under the direct control of the Minister of Education, and 112 other groups. Besides these, we find rather many other sects of Buddhism and *Shintō*, which are practically new religions.

These groups, possessing various characteristics, can hardly be classified systematically. We shall, however, classify them under the five following headings for the sake of convenience.

Monotheistic groups

Generally speaking, these sects preach that there is one God who is the Creator of all things; that men are the sons of God, and that God desires His sons' happiness and health. Their common characteristic is found in the love of neighbor, and the desire for human welfare and peace. Fortune-telling and charms are scarcely used. The group of *Seichō-no-Ie* and *P. L. Kyōdan*, which will be described afterwards belong to this system. Besides these there are some sects which are almost of the same

character, but take the best features of Buddhism, Christianity, and *Shintō*, and those which take up the best elements of *Jinja-Shintō* and the *Shintō* sect.

Polytheist groups

In these groups *Shintō* gods are worshipped, and the main teachings are that men should live according to the gods' will, and work for human prosperity. In the groups of this system, ceremonies and magic are rare.

Groups that believe in a saviour

In this sect, the belief is that the founder appeared in this world as a mediator between god and men and blesses people with charity. Furthermore the belief is that the founder reanimates men as the sons of god, builds God's Kingdom on earth, and contributes toward the peace of the world. Like *Sekai Kyūsei Kyō* (The World Salvation Group) which will be described afterwards, many sects of this type practice "faith healing", but in some groups of this kind neither fortune-telling nor belief in charms are found, only dances of ecstasy are performed.

Religious groups influenced by Yin-yang-*tao*, Confucianism and Taoism

The chief tenet of this sect is that the *logos* is the origin of all beings, or *logos* of the cosmos, and men should live and love their neighbors according to this *logos*. Prayers, fortune-telling, and magic, as well as faith healing are frequently practiced.

Religious groups which emphasize offerings to ancestors

In this sect, *Hoke-kyō* is considered the scripture, *mandara* (the illustration of the real state of the cosmos) the object of belief, and the people are taught that they can be prosperous and free from unhappiness through the offerings to their ances-

tors, and through lives of repentance: *Reiyū-kai*, *Myōchikai-Kyōdan*, *Risshō Kōseikai*, *Busshōgonenkai Kyōdan*. Besides these four, there are *Seichō-no-Ie*, *Sekai-Kyūsei-Kyō*, and *P. L. Kyōdan*, seven in all, belonging to the system of Buddhism. Each will be explained in turn.

Reiyū-kai

Established in Taishō 14, it is a religious group of the system of *Nichiren-shū*, which began as a miracle-religion. Believers are given special names and are ordered to recite *Hoke-kyō* in special *Kana-moji*.

This sect preaches that people can be free from unhappiness by making offerings to their ancestors. It is a peculiar characteristic of this group that the accounts of the believers' experiences are given after the recitation of *Hoke-kyō* and the offerings are made twice a month. The believers of the sect number 2,150,000 at present. It is a fact worthy of note that seven new groups have become independent, and as many as four of them have more than 100,000 believers.

Myōchikai Kyōdan

Separated from *Reiyū-kai* in Shōwa 25, its doctrine and practices are almost the same as those of *Reiyū-kai*. Believers number 540,000 at present.

Busshō-gonenkai-Kyōdan

Separated from *Reiyū-kai* in Shōwa 25, its doctrine and practices are the same as those of *Reiyū-kai*. Believers number 340,000 at present.

Risshō-Kōseikai

This sect was established in Shōwa 13. *Hoke-kyō* is its scripture. It teaches that man should observe the doctrine of *Nichiren*, deify mandala as the object of respect, deify his ancestors, do his best to repent, and practise *Bosatsu*. The members are 820,000 at the present day.

Seichō-no-Ie Kyōdan

This sect was begun, they hold, in Shōwa 5, after the inspiration of Taniguchi Masa-

haru by God's revelation in the preceding year. The principal image is called *Seichō-no-Ie-no Ōgami*, is the reality to be found in the depths of the images of all religions. Their doctrine is a combination of *Shintō*, Buddhism, and Christianity. Their beliefs are that men are God's sons and should establish the Kingdom of Heaven on earth through a right view of life, a right way of living, and right education which form man for the observance of the law of life. Worship, prayer, and religious meditation are much valued. Believers number 1,450,000 at present.

Sekai-Kyūsei-Kyō

Okada Mokichi, founder of the sect, was once one of the principal members of *Ōmoto-kyō*. He left the sect in Shōwa 9, and established a new group, having faith-healing as its main work. The sect teaches that the disasters and unhappiness of mankind will disappear with the exclusion of clouds on individual souls. Furthermore,

it teaches that when men get perfect harmony of truth, goodness and beauty and it prevails all over the world earth will become Heaven. Healing by spiritual remedies, and natural farming without chemical fertilizer were advanced and much talked about. Members of the sect number 350,000 at present. After the death of its founder it is on the decline.

P. L. Kyōdan

The body which worked actively as *Hito-nomichi Kyōdan* before the War began again as *P.L. Kyōdan* after the War, taking as its principle, "Life is Art". This sect holds that we should be conscious of the fact that all men are the sons of God, and so should show the perfection of our character. Men should be aware of the blessedness that life is art, and should contribute towards the permanent peace and welfare of mankind. P.L. is the abbreviation for Permanent Liberty. The members are 460,000 in number at present.

Taoism and Islamism

In China, Taoism, a kind of religion had many adherents from ancient times, and had much the same status as Buddhism and Confucianism. The main characteristic is that those who follow it try to obtain the physical and spiritual welfare of men by means of medicine, spells, prayer and other ways. The customs of this sect were introduced into Japan long ago and were mixed with the folk-belief of the Japanese. The most evident form which was introduced into Japan was *Onyōdō*. It came in by way of Pakche of the Korean peninsula in the beginning of the 7th century. The principal thought of *Onyōdō* consists of *Inyō-Gogyōsetsu*. *Inyō* is used for the anticipation of good or ill fortune of all things, reasoning from the principle of the dependence on each other or the antagonism of heaven and earth, sun and moon, day and night, men and women, and other such contrasting pairs as come under our everyday observation.

In *Gogyōsetsu* all beings are considered to consist of five elements, *moku* (wood), *ka* (fire), *do* (earth), *gon* (metal), and *sui* (water) and through the combination of some of these, good or ill fortune can be told. Onyōists foretell the fortune of directions, days, personal lives, social events, natural phenomena, and other things good or ill, happy or unhappy. The members of the sect got situations in the Court and possessed power over both the Court and the common people. Even today some of these customs, such as fortune-telling, lucky and unlucky days, and others still survive, though not to any great extent.

From olden days up to the present, Islamism has not entered into the religious life of the Japanese. Mohammedans who lived in Japan before the War were 400 in number, and most of them were foreigners. The mosque which was established in Tokyo in Shōwa 13 (1938) was the only one in Japan. It may principally be due to the

fact that the Mohammedans' mission was not so inspiring, that most of the common people were Buddhists, and that the religion

of a nomadic race of the desert did not appeal to the emotional life of the Japanese who live in the monsoon area.

XX EDUCATION

Preface

Modern Japanese education is primarily based on the Government Order of Education adopted in 1872.

Before the Meiji Restoration, Japan had been ruled by the Tokugawa Shogunate for 300 years under a feudalistic system.

Under the Shogun, education for children was conducted in two different ways. For children of warriors who constituted the ruling class there was a special institution where all sorts of military arts were taught. These institutions for warriors' children were set up in main cities and towns.

The children of merchants, on the other hand, were taught at *terakoya* (temple schools) which were founded in the latter part of the Tokugawa Shogunate when the merchants began to exercise their influence on society. Here, the merchants' children were taught reading, writing and mathematics. The *terakoya* were privately operated and the pupils required to pay tuition. As compared with the educational institutions for warriors' children the *terakoya* were inferior in facilities.

The Meiji Restoration in 1868 was the beginning of a new Japan. In place of the feudalistic political, economic, social and cultural structure, Japan adopted a modern national system. At the same time the old

education system, according to which the children of warriors and merchants were educated separately, was replaced by a modern system.

The Government Order of Education classified the structure into elementary schools, middle schools and colleges and universities. With no social distinction, the schools were open to all. This order is regarded as the foundation of the modern education system.

During the 12 years between 1885 and 1897, it was further systematized. The Elementary School Order, the Middle School Order, the Imperial University Order and the Normal School Order were set up while compulsory education of three years was introduced.

During the following 17 years between 1898 and 1915 the system was further consolidated. In those years Japan emerged victorious from the Russo-Japanese War and important industries developed.

A special feature of this period was the extension of compulsory education from three to four years in 1900 and again to 6 years in 1908. At the same time, the tuition system was given up and all compulsory education was made free. As a result, the attendance of school children increased by 90 and later to 95 per cent.

Another feature of this period was the promulgation of the Vocational School Order, the College Order and the Girls' High School Order. Vocational education and education for women were highlighted in this period.

During the following 24 years between 1916 and 1940 or the years following World War I, Japan's education facilities increased quantitatively. Along with industrial progress the country's capitalistic economy expanded. Private and public universities were founded. At the same time public and private high schools were set up.

At the same time for the advanced education of elementary school graduates who started working after completing compulsory education, part-time schools were set up for working youths and the boys between 12 and 19 years of age were compulsorily educated at such institutions.

The years between 1940 and 1945 must be called the period of wartime education. Every educational effort was concentrated on the war. The national school system was introduced and the school years in middle and high schools were shortened. Selfless devotion to the country and labor service was the guiding spirit of education.

The educational renovation in 1945 immediately following the end of World War II brought about a great change.

Following promulgation of the new Constitution in 1947 the Fundamental Law of Education and the School Education Law were enacted. The system set up in 1872 was democratized and a new era for Japan's education started.

The education structure was greatly simplified due to introduction of the 6-3-3-4 school system. The prewar school system

in Japan had been adopted from that prevalent in west European countries. With a variety of schools it might be called a multi-track system when compared with the new system according to which everybody goes up to the universities through the same process. This can be called a single track system.

Secondly, the purpose of education was changed. As provided in the Fundamental Education Law, respect for individual worth and cultivation of spontaneity became the guiding spirit. By means of such an education a democratic and cultured country should be established, which will ultimately contribute to the welfare of human beings and realization of world peace.

Based on this spirit many concrete plans have been formulated including the extension of six years to nine-years compulsory education, granting of scholarships to children of underprivileged families, co-education system based on an ethical and scientific foundation. Formerly, boys and girls studied in separate schools and the government-operated universities were exclusively for male students.

Other changes were the democratic administration of education, decentralization by which administration should be carried out in the districts to suit local social conditions, establishment of the local education boards, democratization of textbooks by which government-regulated textbooks were abolished and encouragement of self-studies by student.

The new school system introduced in 1947 has been successfully put into effect, but after 10 years there is a tendency for more renovations. Already some changes have been made.

Elementary and Secondary School Education

Elementary and secondary educational institutions include kindergartens, elementary schools, lower secondary schools, upper secondary schools, and special schools which are regarded as upper secondary schools. However, the first four constitute the main

educational institutions. Of these, attendance of elementary and lower secondary schools are compulsory.

Special schools include those for the blind and deaf and handicapped children.

At kindergartens, children between three and five years of age are enrolled. There are at present 6,013 kindergartens where 651,235 children are being cared for according to the May, 1957 report.

At elementary schools, pupils between 6 and 11 are educated for six years. This education is compulsory. Every year, 2,000,000 children enter and about the same number of pupils are graduated. In May, 1956 there were 12,616,311 pupils in 22,381 schools (excluding branch schools). Teachers numbered 345,326 (excluding branch schools).

It is generally believed that most school-age children attend schools, but due to poverty and illness about 0.3 per cent of school-age children are not enrolled.

Lower secondary schools give compulsory education for three years to pupils between 12 and 14 years of age. In May, 1956, the schools numbered 12,736 (excluding branch schools) and the teachers totaled 200,794. There were 5,962,449 pupils. About 0.5 per cent of the pupils in the same age bracket were absent from school.

Upper secondary schools take in those who have completed compulsory education and give them a higher liberal and professional education. The pupils range in age between 15 and 17. The schools are divided into full-time and part-time institutions. In May, 1956 there were 2,967 schools including 1,468 which operated only full-time and 1,499 which operated both full-time and part-time classes. The number of pupils were 2,155,815.

As to part-time schools there were 364 (principal schools which give part-time education) and 22,614 teachers (excluding branch schools). Pupils here numbered 545,904.

There are 172 special schools where 29,595 pupils are studying.

As to the size of schools, the number of pupils in one school is rather large because of the country's dense population. Most school buildings are large, but in small mountain villages and remote islands where economic and cultural development is lagging one teacher school is still in operation.

The average number of children at kindergartens are 100 per kindergarten and the average number of pupils at elementary schools are 500 per school. In one classroom there are usually 44.2 or 36.5 pupils in the care of one teacher.

Because of the annual increase of school pupils this situation of a large class under one teacher has not been improved.

At lower secondary schools the average number of pupils are 400 in one school. The ratio of pupils and teachers is 46.9 or 29.8 pupils for one teacher. This ratio has not changed much.

The number of pupils at upper secondary schools including full-time and part-time institutions, are 2,701,717. According to curricula the number of pupils can be divided as follows:

General course	59.4 per cent
Commercial course	14.7 "
Industrial course	9.2 "
Homemaking course	8.4 "
Agricultural course	7.5 "
Fisheries course	0.8 "
Total	100 "

As shown above, pupils enrolled in the general course make up more than 50 per cent of the total while those enrolled in the industrial course are few. This fact is being discussed.

According to the provisions of the School Education Order, elementary and lower secondary schools are maintained by cities, towns and villages while special schools are financed by prefectural governments.

As to kindergartens and upper secondary schools the former are generally maintained by cities, towns and villages and the latter by prefectural governments.

There are also a few elementary, lower and upper secondary schools attached to the teachers' training course of national universities. In such cases they are used as a place for practice by the students enrolled in the teachers training course.

Conspicuous progress has been manifested in education by private kindergartens and upper secondary schools. Of the total

of 6,013 kindergartens, two-thirds are privately operated.

As to upper secondary schools, out of a

total 3,331 schools, 907 or 27 per cent are private institutions. The majority of private schools are located in big cities.

Process of Entrance to Schools

In April, 1956, the number of pupils enrolled in the first grade of elementary schools were 2,404,103, of whom 523,285 or 21.8 per cent had been to kindergartens. In spite of the amazing development of kindergarten education it can be said that pre-school education is not yet generalized.

Entrance from elementary schools to lower secondary schools is taken for granted as the latter is also compulsory. This is not the same in the case of private institutions.

To enter upper secondary schools after completion of compulsory education, applicants must take entrance examinations, except in a few cases. Entrance examinations somewhat differ in different prefectures, but it is common for examinations to be based on subjects taught during the three years in lower secondary schools and are given early in March. Results of the examinations plus the scholastic records of the applicants in their lower secondary schools are used as yard stick to decide admission.

About 50 per cent of the lower secondary school graduates go up to upper secondary schools. Though the number of institutions has increased the number of applicants shows steady increase.

The percentage of those going to upper secondary schools is as follows:

1953 graduates	48.3 per cent
1954 graduates	50.9 ..
1955 graduates	51.5 ..

The ratio of applicants and enrollment, except in the case of a few schools with specially high standards is not so far apart. Only 11 per cent of the applicants fail in the examinations.

On the other hand, competition for entrance to universities is stiff. At present,

theoretically, the method of test is based on written examination, physical examination and recommendation from principals of the upper secondary schools from which the applicants were graduated, but in practice the result of the written examination is used as the measure to decide success or failure.

The entrance test is based on subjects taught in upper secondary schools. In the majority of universities, scholastic achievement is tested on Japanese literature, social studies, mathematics, science and one of the foreign languages (usually English). At some private universities, applicants for the liberal course are tested on Japanese literature, social studies and one foreign language and those applying for a science course are examined on mathematics, science and a foreign language. Examination papers are prepared by every university independently.

The percentage of those going to universities in April, 1955 was 18.4 per cent of the 131,526 upper secondary school graduates. The majority of those going to higher educational institutions is made up of graduates of full-time schools. The percentage of entrance to universities is getting smaller and smaller each year as competition becomes stiffer and stiffer.

Every year the number of upper secondary school graduates going to preparatory schools for a year or two more, has increased. The ratio of admittance between the immediate graduates and those who have been to preparatory schools has become larger in favor of the latter. Because of this fact authorities concerned are considering the examination method. Applicants known for high standard are often 10 times more than the capacity number for acceptance.

Competition to enter well-known upper secondary schools has become alleviated due to the enforcement of Regulation on attendance district after the war, but still such competition remains. The problem of superior and inferior standard at schools does not merely concern upper secondary schools and universities, but lower secondary and elementary schools as well.

The Fundamental Education Law provides for equality in education. In consideration of this law the central government as well as civic organizations in local districts have exerted constant efforts to mitigate the difference. However, the gap between schools in urban and rural is large.

In October, 1956 the Education Ministry sponsored investigations of scholastic standards in Japanese language and mathematics at some elementary, lower and upper secondary schools in nation-wide. As a result it has become evident that the scholastic achievement of the pupils in remote villages is about half of that achieved by the pupils in the residential areas of big cities. This difference is also true between those in urban and rural.

Therefore, it is urgent to improve educational facilities as well as to send more qualified teachers to elementary, lower and upper secondary schools in agricultural, fishing and mountain areas.

Pre-school Education

The purpose of education at kindergartens is to take care of pre-school age children in a suitable environment and to help them grow physically and mentally. Today, kindergarten education is not only to supplement training at home but it is regarded as part of school education for those between three and five years of age.

The kindergarten curricula, program and facilities are regulated by the Kindergarten Standard Law set up in May 1952.

The recent progress of kindergarten education is significant. Establishments numbering 2,076 in 1943 were increased to 3,422 in 1953, marking an increase of 75 per cent. In 1956 the number increased to 6,013.

Furthermore, children of working parents are taken care of at day nurseries set up in accordance with the Child Welfare Law.

Elementary School Education

Elementary education means compulsory education given for six years at elementary schools.

After the last war, the nation adopted a new method replacing that used by the national elementary schools in prewar days. The contents and method of guidance have been greatly improved.

As to the curricula a social studies course has been introduced and the reorganization of school subjects realized. For this purpose the Education Ministry compiled a course of study which was supplied to all the schools. Each school was then requested to reorganize its curricula based on this course of study.

As a whole importance has been placed on guidance for self-study. Evaluation of studies has been carried out from different standpoints. Renovation of the entire school administration is an outstanding characteristic of postwar education. Particularly noteworthy are the establishment of school libraries and introduction of audio-visual education with the result that the children's self-reliance has been promoted.

The elementary education curricula, courses and method of handling are evident in the study course compiled by the education authorities who were appointed by the Education Ministry. However, this course of study is provided to teachers to

be used as a basis when formulating the curricula. Each school is expected to formulate its curricula on the basis of the course of study and operate them to suit the interest and capacity of pupils, special local characteristics and actual condition of each school.

The elementary education curricula, in the beginning, included Japanese language, social studies, mathematics, science, music, painting, handicraft, homemaking and physical education plus individual research. The ratio of study hours was set by the course of study. Thus replacing ethics, education for citizenship, Japanese history and geography which were taught in pre-war days social studies, homemaking and individual research have been added after the war.

The addition of social studies in the curricula is the most significant change and renovation in postwar education. The purpose of teaching social studies is to cultivate the social attitude and adaptability of children, so that they will be able to adjust themselves to society, to establish correct human relations and finally contribute to the community in which they live.

In the first grade, children are guided to understand family life, school life and the life of their neighborhood. As they grow older they are guided to understand regional social life, life of Japan today in connection with its past and future and finally the life of Japan in relation with the world. It can be said that the outcome of this kind of education is noteworthy.

Hours for individual research have been set up to promote the children's spontaneous activities. In order to do so the children have taken up activities according to their individual interest and capacity, and participated in club activities regardless of school grades. To take up special duties by turn and work on committees which are not included in school curricula, are some of the projects undertaken under the guidance of teachers.

The names of study subjects have not been changed, but the contents and the method of handling have been improved. For instance in the study of the Japanese language, besides reading and writing as

before, guidance is given in hearing and speaking so that the children will learn how to use proper words on different occasions.

Pupils above the 4th grade are taught to write Japanese in Roman characters. Such innovations in teaching the Japanese language and characters have completely changed the teaching method.

Teaching of morals is not limited to ethics as formerly and the whole school life is regarded as a part of the moral teaching.

As to the ratio of class hours a flexible policy has been adopted by which the entire school hours of one year have been divided in consideration of special school functions and differences of study subjects. The apportioning of hours for study subjects was revised in April, 1951 and the same method is in use to date. Individual research has been replaced by extra-curricula activities. The following shows the contents of the curricula.

Study Subjects and Ratio of Hours
(Percentage distribution of school hours
in a typical elementary school)

Subjects	Grades		
	1-2	3-4	5-6
	%	%	%
Japanese language, Mathematics	45-40	45-40	40-35
Social studies, Science	20-30	25-35	25-35
Music, Painting, Handicraft	20-15	20-15	} 25-20
Homemaking	—	—	
Physical education	15	10	10
Total	100	100	100
Total school hours in a year	870 hor.	870 hor.	870 hor.

(The above-total school hours include hours for extra-curricula activities)

The above-mentioned nine subjects are grouped into four divisions. The first division, including Japanese language and mathematics, is for the development of the basic means for study. The second including social studies and science, is to help children experience social and scientific problems. The third including music, painting, handicraft and homemaking, is to help

children taken an initiative in creative activities. The fourth, namely physical education, is to promote and preserve good health. Classroom studies are conducted today along such lines.

Along with the renovation of the curricula a new method has been adopted in giving guidance in study subjects. The Education Ministry has provided varied materials regarding the teaching method and planning in the course of study. At the same time the ministry has compiled many guidance books for teachers and sponsored study meetings for teachers and consultants for local education boards.

Guidance in the course of study must be conducted on basis of the children's life experience so as to prompt independent work and at the same time promote their individuality. For this purpose there are some cases where children are divided into groups according to their ability when teaching the Japanese language and mathematics.

Also guidance is being given to suit local circumstances and needs of children.

For teaching materials, teachers are instructed not to depend solely on textbooks.

Therefore, various kinds of equipment must be used. Particularly, the use of audio-visual aids and libraries is being encouraged.

Soon after the last war, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation revived its school program and year after year the program has been expanded. Besides the program for each grade, a broadcasting for teachers has been added. A better use of the course of study has been realized and the use of radio receivers propagated. At present, the majority of schools possess radio receivers. The use of moving pictures and slides has also been expanded. According to the investigation in August, 1956, 12.7 per cent of elementary schools owned 16 mm sound movie film projectors, 82.9 per cent slides and 40.8 per cent tape-recorders.

School libraries play an important part and most elementary schools are equipped with libraries, today.

Evaluation of the result of the course of study is important not only to learn the achievements by the children but as an important foundation on which further study will be conducted.

Secondary School Education (including both lower and upper secondary schools)

Lower secondary school education

The most important change with regard to the reform of the education is the new 6, 3, 3, 4 (6 years and 3 years) compulsory school system.

According to the old system elementary school of six years was followed by five-year middle school, four or five-year girls high school, three to five-year vocational school which were regarded as middle school, two-year advanced course which was attached to elementary school and part-time school. Thus, the so-called dual system was in use.

The need for a single system to give equal opportunities had been considered. Then in 1947 in accordance with the School Education Law a single system, namely the 6, 3, 3, 4 was adopted. The three years following elementary education are regarded as part of the compulsory education. Thus the nine-year full-time compulsory education system was introduced.

"At lower secondary schools, general education should be given on the foundation of elementary school education, to suit the children's mental and physical progress", says the School Education Law. In order to put into effect the above-mentioned provision the following curricula have been decided.

Allocation of School Hours in Lower Secondary Schools

Subject	Grade		
	1	2	3
Compulsory			
Japanese language	175—280	175—280	140—210
Social studies	140—210	140—280	175—315
Mathematics	140—175	105—175	105—175
Science	105—175	140—175	140—175
Music	70—105	70—105	70—105
Painting and Handicraft	70—105	70—105	70—105
Physical education	105—175	105—175	105—175
Vocation, Homemaking	105—140	105—140	105—140
Total	910—1,015	910—1,015	910—1,015
Optional			
Foreign language	140—210	140—210	140—210
Vocation, Homemaking	105—140	105—140	105—140
Others	35—210	35—210	35—210
Special educational activities	70—175	70—175	70—175

It must be noted that the subjects are divided into compulsory and optional and that in the vocational and homemaking courses there are five subjects, namely agriculture, commerce, fishery, industry and homemaking. Pupils are allowed to select one or more subjects.

The administration method, guidance in the course of study and evaluation are the same as mentioned in the case of elementary education.

Guidance and vocational guidance are regarded particularly important as many of the graduates of lower secondary schools will immediately take up jobs upon graduation. In view of the importance of guidance an increasing number of schools employ counselors.

Upper secondary school education

Upper secondary schools have replaced the former secondary schools (middle schools, girls' high schools and vocational schools) and constitute the latter half of the former secondary schools.

The aim of higher education is "to give higher liberal education and technical training on the foundation of secondary education to cultivate qualifications to become useful elements in the community and the nation", and "to elevate general culture and help pupils acquire professional skill".

School facilities and compilation of study subjects are based on the Standard of Upper Secondary School Facilities formed on the basis of the regulations of the School Education Law.

The upper secondary school course of study subjects and hours are indicated in the following graph. As apparent in the graph the characteristic of the new upper secondary school study subjects is that two methods, namely the optional and point systems have been adopted.

The upper secondary schools, as a merger of the former middle schools, girls' high schools and vocational schools, are charged with the task of preparing pupils to proceed in diverse directions in the future. The same institutions are also expected to help pupils develop their individuality.

Besides the optional subjects, five subjects including Japanese language, social studies mathematics, science and physical education are regarded as indispensable for those who receive upper secondary education. However, criticism and attack on the optional system have become so strong that the compulsory subjects have been increased replacing optional subjects. This new regulation was enforced in April, 1956.

All pupils are required to take eight subjects as compulsory subjects, namely Japanese language A, 3 subjects in social studies, mathematics 1, 2 subjects from science and health and physical training. Furthermore,

those who are enrolled in the full-time general course are required to take six credits in arts, music, homemaking and vocation.

Those in the vocational course are required to take 30 credits in vocational subjects. Thus, by increasing compulsory subjects the excess of the optional system has been remedied.

As to special educational activities and guidance the same method is used as in the case of elementary and lower secondary education. Particularly, the importance of guidance for upper secondary school pupils has been stressed.

The basic principle used since 1956 in the reform of upper secondary school education is given here. 1) Education must be conducted in consideration of the fact that education is complete at this stage. 2) The course of study has been formulated in consideration of the fact that the general and vocational courses should have their distinctions. 3) The general course is divided so that pupils will be able to study according to their individuality and progress. Particularly, in the advanced

grades specialized study is emphasized. 4) In order to make education effective the plan for the course of study and subjects have been reformed. It should be noted that according to the condition of each school and circumstances under which the pupils are placed subjects have been classified and the pupils are allowed to choose out of the different classification.

In the first year of upper secondary schools, the pupils received basic education and in the second and third years they study in smaller groups according to their individuality and future plans.

As to the change in the course of study the social studies must be noticed. From sociology the general social study and current events have been ousted and instead social studies has been included. The social studies course includes the teaching of politics, economics, sociology and ethics. In this course, pupils are expected to acquire a basic knowledge of the philosophy of life and ethical thoughts.

The subjects and credits in upper secondary schools are as follows: (This was adopted in April 1956).

Field, Subjects and Credits in Upper Secondary Schools

Field	Subject	Number of credits
Japanese language	Japanese language A	9-10
	Japanese language B	2-6
	Chinese classics	2-6
Social Studies	Social studies	3-5
	Japanese history	3-5
	World history	3-5
	Cultural geography	3-5
	Mathematics I	6-9
Mathematics	Mathematics II	3
	Mathematics III	3-5
	Applied mathematics	3-5
	Physics	3-5
Science	Chemistry	3-5
	Biology	3-5
	Geology	3-5
	Physical training	7-9
Physical training and Health	Health	2
	Music	2-6
Arts and Music	Fine Arts	2-6
	Handicraft	2-6
	Calligraphy	2-6
	1st foreign language	3-15
Foreign language	2nd foreign language	2-4

For vocational training the following subjects are offered:

Domestic art	General homemaking and other	23 subjects
Technology	Machine practice and other	136 subjects
Fishery science	Fishery and other	28 subjects
Agriculture	Farming and other	39 subjects
Commerce	Commerce and other	19 subjects

An Example of Allocation of Credits in General Course

Field	Full-time School			Part-time School			
	grade			grade			
	I	II	III	I	II	III	IV
Japanese language	4	5	5	3	3	4	2
Social studies	5	4	4	4	4	2	2
Mathematics	6	3	0	3	3	3	0
Science	5	3	3	3	3	3	0
Physical training and health	3	4	4	2	3	2	2
Foreign language	5	3	3	3	3	3	3
Music, arts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Domestic art	4	6	6	4	4	4	4
Vocation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	32	28	25	22	23	21	13

Part-time schools are divided into two, namely, those which are open regularly in the evenings and others open during a certain period in daytime. In the latter, lessons are given on certain days of a week and closed during the farmers' busy season.

To make educational opportunities equal, optional subjects, compulsory subjects and necessary credits are the same as those required of pupils of full-time schools. As the school hours are short the school years of part-time schools are over four years. Also, for working youths who live in villages far from schools the branch school system has been adopted recently.

Correspondence Course

Education by correspondence in upper secondary schools is conducted on the same level as that of full-time schools. The subjects and text-books are the same and the same amount of credits are required. One or more correspondence schools have been set up in each prefecture. There were 70 such institutions in May 1955, with 17,965 pupils enrolled, of whom one-third were, at the same time, going to part-time schools.

For the benefit of working youths who can not go to upper secondary schools, a system of examination which will qualify them to enter universities, was established in 1950 by the Education Ministry. This examination under the sponsorship of the Ministry is conducted once a year in each prefecture. In this test the subjects for which the applicants have obtained required credits are exempted.

Education at miscellaneous schools

At miscellaneous schools, various forms of education are given and there is no regulation as to entrance qualifications, school years and subjects.

In 1955 there were 7,305 such schools with an enrolment of 958,292 pupils. Every year the number of pupils has been increasing. Of these schools 95 per cent are private institutions of which 17 per cent are supported by civic organizations and juridical person.

Among miscellaneous schools the national midwives and nurses training institu-

tions require upper secondary education as qualification for applicants whereas in many others the qualification is lower secondary school education. Classified by schools, 56 per cent are Japanese and

Western-style sewing schools, 10 per cent bookkeeping and abacus schools, six per cent knitting schools and 3.5 per cent preparatory schools for those who wish to enter universities.

Textbook System

Formerly, the textbooks used at elementary and lower secondary schools were compiled by the government, but after the last war the authorized system was adopted, the same as in the selection of textbooks for upper secondary schools. Because of this new system, textbooks are now compiled and published by private companies. Textbooks must be compiled in accordance with the outline of guidance, but at present there are all sorts of textbooks. This fact has changed the textbook administration.

Formerly textbooks were absolute, or in other words it was the teachers' duty to teach the pupils what was written in the textbooks. Today, in the new education setup, textbooks are not the absolute authority. They are used to arouse interest in pupils and as material to help pupils solve questions.

Authorization for textbooks is gained by application either by the authors or publishers to the Education Minister. After deliberations by Ministry officials and the Research Council made up of men of learning and experience, the selection is made. The authorized textbooks are then sent to the schools in all prefectures through the

education boards. After display of textbooks the education boards carry out further deliberation and make final decisions.

In 1955 there were 92 publishers who published textbooks for elementary, lower secondary and upper secondary schools.

Through the efforts of many people the authorized system replacing the national textbook system (only for elementary schools) enabled civilian publishers to compile and publish textbooks according to democratic principles. This new system has contributed to improvement of textbooks.

However, 10 years after the adoption of the authorized textbooks, advantages and disadvantages of this system have become evident to the public. Some of the criticisms are that authorization is done rather carelessly, that there are too many varieties of textbooks, that prices are too high and that the publishers' competition to obtain authorization, has become too apparent and harmful.

In view of the above-mentioned criticisms the Education Ministry appointed officials in 1956-1957 to make thorough investigation before authorization is granted and deal with other matters concerning textbooks.

School Buildings

The largest problem after the last war was lack of school buildings. This was mainly due to the destruction of buildings during the war and to the extension of the six-year compulsory education to the nine-year system. However, in spite of financial difficulties, an increase in buildings has been realized. During the four years between 1949 and 1953 additional buildings of 8,900,000 square meters for elementary schools and 1,395,000 square meters for

lower secondary schools were constructed.

The additional buildings were needed partly to be used as lower secondary and elementary schools to accommodate the increased number of pupils and also to replace those destroyed during the war and others which had deteriorated.

The problem of lack of facilities has not yet been solved. There are still many overcrowded and sub-standard classrooms while at many schools the double-session system

is employed due to lack of facilities. About 12 per cent of elementary schools and 12.6 per cent of lower secondary schools are still faced with the above-mentioned situation.

Building expenses are paid by cities, towns and villages in the case of elementary and lower secondary schools and by prefectural governments in the case of upper secondary schools and special institutions for the handicapped.

The central government has given subsidies. For additional buildings necessary to operate the new compulsory education system, the central government has provided a half of the construction expense; for rehabilitation of war-destroyed buildings a half of the expense; for rehabilitation of facilities damaged by natural calamities, two-thirds of the expense and for buildings

to ease the overcrowded situation, one-third of the expense.

Total expenditures for the construction of buildings for public elementary and lower secondary schools in 1953 are ¥38,648,000,000. Of the total, government subsidies constituted 12.7 per cent, expenditure paid by prefectural governments 6.7 per cent, by cities, towns and villages 58.6 per cent and government bonds 8.9 per cent. Private contributions amounted to 3.1 per cent, but recently the private donations have become much smaller.

94 per cent of the schools are wooden buildings which become damaged easily in time of natural disasters and fire. The Education Ministry, therefore, has been advising the building of reinforced concrete structures or use of prefabricated materials since they are much stronger against typhoons and earthquakes.

School Lunches

School lunches are mainly served in elementary schools, but in big cities it is also provided for lower secondary schools. There are a few cities where the same system is in use at upper secondary schools, schools for the blind, and the deaf and dumb and other institutions for handicapped children.

The purpose of school lunches is to promote understanding of nutrition, improvement of food and of health.

In 1954 the National School Lunch Law was enacted. The Government gave subsidies for the construction of facilities and in 1956 subsidies were also granted to lower secondary schools. Gradually the school lunch system has become widely adopted.

There are three types in the school lunch system. In the first a complete lunch including milk and bread is provided, in the second, milk and one side-dish are prepared without bread and in the third one of them; side-dish, milk or soup is provided.

According to the survey of June, 1955, 6,115 elementary schools provide a complete lunch and 2,143 milk and one dish, 1,002 milk or soup.

Including the 3 types of school lunch, 9,260 elementary schools constituting 34.4 per cent and 884 lower secondary schools or 6.4 per cent of lower secondary schools provided lunch. In elementary schools 54.2 per cent of pupils and in lower secondary schools 5.8 per cent of the pupils received lunch.

The expense for facilities is borne by each institution, but government subsidies are also given. For cost of food and personnel the parents are responsible, but the government gives help in material. In this connection the Japan School Lunch Association inaugurated in 1955 by the Education Ministry is playing an important role under the supervision of the ministry.

PTA's are also giving assistance in the form of cooking service and improvement of facilities.

Health and Hygiene

For the purpose of preservation and promotion of health of pupils schools are equipped with a health room and employ a school doctor and a dentist. A regular physical examination takes place once a year.

The results of the annual physical examination, usually conducted in April, must be reported to the Education Ministry. According to the reports the pupils' physical standards which were lowest in 1946, were higher in 1954 than the highest achieved in 1939. This was true with the pupils of all grades.

The height of pupils between 6 and 17 was 0.2 to 1.1 cm. higher in 1955 than in 1954. Particularly in lower secondary schools pupils showed an increase of 0.6 to 1.1 cm. in height. In weight, particularly those between 12 and 16, increase was conspicuous. In bust measurement not much increase was shown among elementary school pupils, but among those be-

tween 12 and 17 years of age a slight increase was seen.

Those suffering from tooth trouble have increased greatly. About 60 per cent of elementary school pupils and more than 40 per cent of lower secondary school pupils have dental defects. Short-sightedness has also increased. Among elementary school pupils 10 per cent, among lower secondary school pupils 14 per cent and among higher secondary school pupils 23 per cent are short-sighted.

Contrary to the increase of short-sighted pupils those with intestinal parasites numbered more than half of the pupils during the last war, but have decreased to one third.

Among elementary school pupils 86 per cent received the service of school doctors in 1955 and 92 per cent of lower secondary pupils were also examined by school doctors. Besides doctors many schools retain the services of dentists and pharmacists.

Training, Status, Pay and Union of Teachers

For teachers' training there are 46 teachers' colleges, or one college in each prefecture, as well as faculties of education in universities. Basically the course should be for 4 years, but in order to meet the emergency for need of teachers there are still some two-year courses. As the increase of school pupils has stopped it is expected that the two-year course will be discontinued soon.

Trainees at teachers' colleges and faculties attached to universities in 1955 are as follows:

Teachers for national schools are appointed by the Education Minister. Those who teach at public schools in prefectures and cities, towns and village are appointed by the education boards in the respective localities. Most of the upper secondary, lower secondary and elementary schools and

Total	21,500
Elementary school teacher-trainees	13,740
4-year course	6,000
2-year course	7,740
Lower secondary school teacher-trainees	7,760
4-year course	5,520
2-year course	2,240

others for the handicapped, blinded and deaf and dumb are public schools.

Teachers are paid by the owner of the school but those teaching at elementary and lower secondary schools where compulsory education is effective are paid by prefectural governments. However, according to the Law Concerning the National Treasury's Share of Compulsory Education Expenses a half of their salary is paid by the government. In music, painting, art,

physical education, calligraphy and fishery, teachers are trained at classes attached to national universities as the number of teachers of such subjects cannot fill the demand.

Teachers for the schools for the blind, deaf and dumb and the handicapped are trained at 10 national universities.

Training of kindergarten teachers is carried out at the 2-year course attached to some national universities and also at 33 private 1-year training institutions.

Those who work at national schools are public officials and those teaching at schools financed by prefectural, city, town and village offices are called local public officials. They all come under the National Public Service Law and the Local Public Service Law, but as teachers have special responsibilities they are subject to the Law for Special Regulations concerning Educational Personnel.

Teachers must have certain certificates. Qualifications for kindergarten, elementary and lower secondary schools are the same, but upper secondary school teachers are required to have a higher education. Certificates are of two kinds, namely regular and emergency.

According to the Educational Personnel Certification Law those who wish to become teachers must obtain a certain number of credits at universities. By graduation time they must make 124 credits which must include a certain number of credits in liberal art subjects and in the teaching profession.

According to the investigation conducted by the Education Ministry in 1953 the ratio of male and female teachers was 53 to 47 in elementary schools, 74 to 26 in lower secondary schools and 84 to 16 in upper secondary schools. The ratio of emergency teachers against regular teachers was 18 per cent in elementary schools, 9 per cent in lower secondary schools and 3.7 per cent in upper secondary schools. The ratio of emergency teachers was greater in the schools in remote mountain areas.

Pay and welfare of teachers have been elevated after the war. There are 3 pay lists: one for elementary and lower second-

ary school teachers and the other two for upper secondary school teachers and university professors, respectively. As compared with the salary paid to government officials the pay for teachers is not less and often higher than the former.

The Public School Mutual Aid Association and the Private School Mutual Aid Association look after the welfare and rehabilitation of teachers. For those who have retired, a pension is paid to national and public school teachers and an annuity is given to retired private school teachers by the Mutual Aid Association.

Teachers have organized themselves into 2 groups, namely the teachers association and the teachers union. The former encourages research work to be done by teachers and the latter aims to improve their working conditions. However, the largest in size and most active is the Japan Teacher's Union. This is a federation of teachers' unions organized in prefectures.

The Japan Teachers' Union is made up of the teachers' unions organized in cities, towns and villages, unions in prefectural higher secondary schools, unions of teachers at special schools in prefectures, teachers unions at universities and unions at private upper secondary schools in all prefectures. This union generally called the *Nikkyō-so* (Japan Teachers' Union) was organized spontaneously with the aim to protect the teachers in the chaotic social condition after the war. The purpose of the union is to elevate the economic and political status of teachers, and endeavor to democratize education and conduct research to contribute to the building of a democratic nation.

To realize such aim the union's motto is to promote maintenance and improvement of working condition, democratization of scholastic research, establishment of democratic education, cultural development of teachers and contact and cooperation with other organizations. The union takes an active part in general elections and wields its influence on the legislation of Diet and local assemblies and on administrative organs. At the time of elections for the House of Councillors and the House of Representatives and prefectural, municipal

and village elections many candidates from the Japan Teachers' Union have been elected. This fact has attracted public attention and invigorated the political activities of the union.

In consideration of the above-mentioned tendency of the union, the government presented to the 18th session of the Diet a bill proposing a partial revision of the Law Governing Provisional Measures for Securing Political Neutrality of Compulsory Education and the Law for Special Regulations Concerning Educational Personnel. The government wished to maintain the neutrality of educators by this proposed revision.

Besides political and economic struggles, the union purports to elevate union-consciousness by sponsoring an annual all-nation education research rally.

On the other hand, the union's political propensities have come to be criticized. Particularly, according to the Local Education Administration Law, enacted in

1956, the union's political activities are to be strictly watched by prefectural, municipal, and village boards of education. The union's action must be re-evaluated.

The union members are said to number 600,000. The Japan Upper Secondary Teachers' Union was organized in 1951 by the upper secondary school teachers who became dissatisfied with the Japan Teachers' Union and withdrew from the union. At present it has a membership of 37,600. Not all of the prefectural upper secondary school teachers have joined this new union.

As to the purport of the new union it says the union aims to elevate the social and economic status of members by means of firm cooperation and exert efforts for progress and democratization of upper secondary school education to build a democratic nation. In purpose it does not differ much from the Japan Teachers' Union, but in action it is more or less like other labor unions.

Universities

According to the education system revision after the war the higher education organs have been classified into three groups, namely the four-year universities, junior colleges and graduate schools.

The graduates of upper secondary schools are qualified to enter either universities or junior colleges. The former provide four-year courses or six years for medical students and the latter two or three years. Students to enter the graduate schools are selected from among university graduates. They study two or more years for an M.A. degree and more than three-years for a doctor's degree.

The purpose of universities which are the center of learning, is to give wide knowledge, to teach special arts and science and ultimately to elevate the students' intellectual and moral abilities. The aim of higher education thus differs from that advocated formerly.

The new characteristic of higher education can be summed up as follows: Serious consideration is given to liberal education.

Along with professional education an university is a place where students will be given a wide and rich background in culture, civics, natural and other sciences and ideological knowledge so that professional knowledge and technique can be utilized properly. It is to help students establish a wholesome philosophy of life and outlook on the world. In this way the university hopes to produce outstanding leaders for society and for the country.

The U.S. Education Mission's Report pointed out that higher education in Japan lacked opportunity for liberal education and professional training was too narrow with too much importance given to vocational type of training. Today's education has been planned to correct the aforementioned shortcomings.

Another characteristic is to stress the importance of professional training along with scholastic research and to realize coordination between the two. Formerly, there was a tendency for scholastic research and vocational training to be con-

ducted independently. The result was that on one hand education ended in academic controversies lacking creative capacity and ability for adaptation, and on the other the vocational training lacked a scholarly foundation. To correct this mistake the new university curricula have been so planned that there is a wide scope of subjects out of which students can select.

The stress on liberal education and opportunity for choice are the outstanding characteristics of the present university education.

However, there are criticisms regarding the new form of education. Industrial employers are of the opinion that university graduates after the war lack technical knowledge and their scholastic attainment is not as high as those who were graduated from prewar universities.

Junior colleges

Junior colleges were first founded as a sort of emergency measure. The schools which were not qualified to become universities due to lack of qualified teachers and facilities were made into junior colleges with two-year courses for temporary convenience. But these colleges have now assumed importance as educational institutions with a specific mission.

As junior colleges can be founded on a smaller scale than four-year universities, many new colleges have been established. In June, 1956 there were 268 such junior colleges. Today the purpose of junior colleges must be carefully evaluated as to quality, faculties, subjects, granting of credits, methods of study, facilities and standard of equipment.

At graduate schools, students are expected to continue theoretical study and application of their knowledge to their research work. Thus, by acquiring deeper knowledge they are to contribute to the progress of culture. At private universities graduate course were set up in 1950 and at national universities in 1953. At present there are 59 universities which have graduate schools.

The graduate school is divided into two divisions, one to give a M.A. degree and the other a Ph. D. degree. In the former the students on the foundation of a liberal and professional education, engage in research work in a special field to gain deeper knowledge. In the latter, the students take up individual research and acquire ability to give guidance in specific scholastic fields.

To obtain a M.A. degree they must remain in the course at least 2 years and obtain more than 30 credits in a specialized subject before they become qualified to present their thesis. They must also pass final examinations.

In order to receive a Ph. D. degree the candidates must remain in the course longer than four years and obtain more than 50 credits in their special field of study, present a thesis and pass the final examination.

There are 17 different subjects in which Ph. D. degree can be obtained and 19 subjects for an M.A. degree. But none has yet received a doctor's degree after the new system was set up.

Administration structure

The administrative structure is different in national, public and private universities. In private universities, each has a different form and at national universities there is only a little difference according to the size of the institution.

At national universities the administrative personnel is made up of a president, a board of councillors, a council, a dean and the faculty conference. The autonomous administration is carried out by the above administrative organization.

President: he is charged with the responsibility of administering all business matters and supervising the faculty. Concerning important matters he must consult the board of councillors and the faculty conference.

Board of Councillors: universities which have several faculties must have this system. The board is made up of the president, deans, several representative

professors from the faculties and the head of the research institute attached to the university. The board must deal with the following matters: 1. establishment and revision of school regulations; 2. installation or discontinuation of faculties; 3. liaison and mediation among faculties and courses; 4. welfare of students; 5. establishment of standard for selection of professors; and 6. transfer, demotion, dismissal and discipline of professors.

Council: it is composed of all the members of the board of councillors, library custodian and a director of the hospital attached to the university. According to the Education Public Service Personnel Law the council is invested with the power to set up a standard by which the president, hospital director and chief librarian can be appointed and also to discuss the transfer, dismissal and discipline of the president.

Dean: a dean must be elected by the professors and is charged with the responsibility of taking care of business matters concerning all the departments under the supervision of the president. However, concerning important matters he must consult the professors' meeting of respective faculty.

Faculty Conference: this is made up of all the professors of the faculty. If necessary, assistant professors and other members of the faculty can join. The faculty conference has the right to discuss important matters relating to the faculty and nominate candidates for the faculty and the dean of the faculty. However, the appointment must be approved by the president and the actual appointment rests within the authority of the Education Minister.

In May, 1956 there were 228 universities including 72 national, 33 public and 123 private universities. There were 268 junior colleges including 19 national, 43 public and 206 private institutions. The total of higher education institutions were 496 in the same year.

Among the 59 universities including 21 national, 5 public and 33 private universities have graduate schools.

There are 39,289 professors at universities and 5,687 at junior colleges.

The total of students studying at higher educational institutions are 629,839 including 197,717 at national universities, 37,685 at public universities and 394,437 at private universities. The ratio between universities and junior colleges is as follows:

Universities				Junior colleges			
National	Public	Private	Total	National	Public	Private	Total
189,702	25,707	331,844	547,253	4,504	11,156	61,454	77,114

Besides the above-mentioned there are 5,472 students studying at universities under the old system.

The total of 1956 graduates were 138,984 including those graduated from junior colleges. The number and ratio according to different departments are as follows:

Regarding demand for graduates, the most popular are engineering and science graduates. The employment ratio is 88.6 per cent for engineers followed by graduates from the economics faculty, constituting 82.4 per cent. Only 35.6 per cent of medical graduates obtain employment because the majority become interns.

Departments	Graduates	Percentage
Law	14,684	10.6%
Economics	38,443	27.7
Literature	22,543	16.2
Teachers training	21,375	15.4
Science	2,623	1.9
Engineering	15,401	11.1
Agriculture	5,456	3.9
Medical	5,758	4.1
Household Science	12,298	8.8
Others	403	
Total	138,984	100

The fact that 20.2 per cent of the graduates of the teachers training courses are

jobless shows that there is more supply than demand.

Of the university graduates, 46.3 per cent are engaged in professional and technical fields and 41.5 per cent in clerical work.

This percentage also applies to graduates of junior colleges.

In Japan the majority of universities

are situated in big cities such as Tokyo, Osaka, and Aichi, Hyōgo, Kyoto and Kanagawa prefectures. Particularly this is tendency conspicuous in Tokyo which has 147 universities and junior colleges.

The annual new enrollment at Tokyo University surpasses 2,000 and at Waseda University 5,780.

Private Educational Institutions

The ratio of private educational institutions against national and public institutions is as follows:

As shown below, the number of private kindergartens, universities and junior colleges surpasses the number of such national and public institutions.

The issue of granting government subsidies to private institutions has assumed a great importance after the war. The characteristic of private schools is that they each have their own academic traditions and have freedom to promote such traditions. In order to keep up with such traditions the private institutions faced

difficulties due to the wartime damage and postwar financial straits.

The government, in consideration of the specific educational mission of private schools, took up the question of subsidies after the war. In the name of loan for rehabilitation the government gave financial help and in 1949 the Private School Law was enacted with the aim of helping private institutions make healthy progress. In 1952, the Private School Promotion Association was organized, which was to make necessary loans.

In 1953, for the mutual aid and welfare of private school teachers the Private School Mutual Aid Association was set up.

Total (including national, public and private institutions)	45,171	of which Private institutions	6,009
Kindergartens	6,013	"	3,962
Elementary schools	22,381	"	150
Lower secondary schools	12,736	"	640
Upper secondary schools	3,331	"	907
Universities	228	"	123
Junior colleges	268	"	206
Special schools	172	"	8
Mercantile marine schools under the old system	42	"	13

Social Education

Social education in Japan dates far back in history, but before and during the last war it was regarded as supplementary to school education. However, with the introduction of new ideas of education after the war the way of thinking on social education changed. Accordingly an independent law regarding social education was enacted.

The field of social education can be divided into two, namely, one which includes educational facilities such as citizens public halls, libraries, museums and health education and recreation centers. The other includes educational organizations such as youth organizations and the YMCA, the YWCA which are religious organizations,

4-H clubs and youth classes which are sponsored by the central and local governments.

Public halls

The matter concerning the establishment of public halls was first presented to the government in 1946 and the matter was made definite by the enactment of the 1949 Social Education Law. Since then public halls have become Japan's special educational facilities. There are at present 7,977 principal halls and 27,366 branch halls totaling 35,343 all financed by cities, towns and villages. About 83.3 per cent of cities, towns and villages in Japan have a public hall.

The public hall is administered by a chief director and directors. There are 34 full-time workers in Japan. They are assisted by a board made up of school principals, representatives of civic organizations, and men of experience and earning. The board members are entrusted with this task at the request of education boards.

The work of the public hall is to sponsor lecture meetings, short training courses and classes for residents in the local community, provide training materials such as books and undertake liaison work among different civic organizations. The number of those who utilize this facility has increased year after year. On an average, one person utilizes the facility from once to four times a month.

Reports indicate that thanks to the public halls the cultural standard of young people has become elevated, better understanding among the villagers realized and development of industries and life improvement materialized. Other reports say that mosquitoes and flies have decreased.

Libraries

Libraries began to play an important role after the enactment of the Library Law in 1950. Particularly, the itinerant library is being widely utilized in remote villages. Formerly 70 per cent of those who utilized libraries were students, but

they are now being used by adults, particularly by women. This is undoubtedly a great achievement.

It must be noted that the interest of the public in libraries has changed, too. As a means of mass communication libraries have developed into a sort of information centers.

Libraries are classified into three kinds—national, prefectural and others owned by cities, towns and villages. Forty-five prefectures, 58 per cent of total cities, seven per cent of total towns and three per cent of total villages have a library. This fact shows that there is still a greater sphere for services by libraries. There are 22 private libraries all over the country.

Museums

Museums are the oldest establishments for social education in Japan, in spite of the fact that they have played only a minor part and facilities are inadequate. Museums include those for all round purposes, science, history, fine arts, zoos, botanical gardens and aquariums, numbering 239. They are owned either by the country, prefectures or cities, towns and villages. It is noteworthy that 113 are private museums, according to the investigation in September, 1955.

In consideration of the importance of museums in promoting the people's scientific knowledge and improving industrial technique, much more attention must be paid to museums.

In September, 1955 there were 2,024 full-time workers at museums.

Physical education and recreation facilities

All national and local organizations must create an environment in which the masses will be able to utilize all opportunities and equipments to elevate their standard of culture. This must be done by providing necessary facilities and appropriate management necessary for the propagation of social education, according to the Social Education Law.

From this point of view it is the duty of national and local public organizations to promote physical and recreational education which plays an essential role in the improvement of health and efficiency.

According to the investigation in 1951 the physical training and recreational facilities were only 0.13 *tsubo* (one *tsubo* is six square feet) per person. This is far inferior to that in European countries. The fact that the health condition of adults is inferior to that of students, must be attributed to lack of facilities.

Both the national and local organizations have recently begun to pay attention to the improvement of facilities as well as the training of leaders in this field.

Physical training and recreational facilities must include well-equipped sport grounds, gymnasiums, parks, playgrounds for children, camping sites, swimming places and boathouses. The following list indicates the number of such facilities.

Investigation, September 1955

Kind	Number	Percentage
Track fields	209	12.8%
Baseball grounds	364	22.4
Tennis courts	246	15.1
Basket and volleyball grounds	150	9.1
Archery, wrestling, jūdō	235	14.1
Swimming pools	159	9.4
Gymnasiums	60	3.7
Huts, for mountaineers, pavilions	49	3.0
Firing grounds	12	0.7
Total	1,634	100

The Federated Youth Organization occupies an important place in social education. There are 2 kinds of youth organizations, namely the one organized regionally and the other organized according to occupations. Then all youth organizations are federated into one unit with 1,800 member organizations. The total membership is 2,750,000 according to the 1955 investigation.

The main activities of youth organizations include acquisition of up-to-date knowledge, study and research, professional and technical training, improvement of family life, physical training, dramatics and recreation.

Besides such programs the youth organizations make efforts to raise their cultural standard, offer a helping hand at times of disasters, improve sanitary conditions and participate in the development of the farmland.

Besides the youth organizations there are the Junior Red Cross Societies with a membership of 630,000, the Boy Scouts with 50,000 members, the Girl Scouts with 10,000 members and the YMCA and the YWCA, each with a membership of 10,000. In the agricultural areas there are 4-H clubs.

Youth classes

Youth classes have developed with the support of local civic organizations for the purpose of helping working youths in local districts.

In 1953 the Law for Promotion of Youth Classes was enacted. The goal is to increase knowledge and give technical training in occupations and homemaking of working youths. This work is being done by cities, towns and villages, though the government gives necessary subsidies.

The director's post is occupied by a person connected with local social education, directors of public halls or by elementary or lower secondary school principals, local government officials and men of learning and experience. However, the actual management of youth classes is in the hands of youth organizations, students and other organizations concerned.

The majority of youth classes are in agricultural villages. According to the investigation in September, 1955, there are 1,091,734 students. The majority are under 19 years old, but 33.4 per cent are over 20. The study hours here during three years are 331 on the average.

Number of social education workers: the full-time workers number 6,006 of whom 1,317 are superintendents and assistant

superintendents who are engaged in overall social education; 2,957, chief directors and directors of public halls; 1,470 chief librarians and custodians; and 99 directors

of museums and others connected with museums. Of the total 10 per cent are female full-time workers. Those who are employed by prefectures number 1,158.

Administration of Education

Till the end of World War II in 1945 the administrative authority concerning education was in the hands of the Education Ministry.

The ministry issued Imperial decrees, regulations and instructions through which it controlled the country's education. Also by dispatching school inspectors it gave guidance and supervised local education.

The centralized educational structure and administration played vital role in taking a long stride toward catching up with the standards of far-advanced foreign countries. This fact should not be denied, but in the democratized method adopted after the war autonomous educational activities became stressed even in small districts. For this reason it was only natural that education became decentralized.

When the centralized education was replaced by the decentralized system the administration was separated from the general administration and an autonomous structure was adopted. This change-over was made following the adoption of the Local Education Board Provision in July 1948. In a word, this provision purported to replace bureaucratic administration with civil administration and established autonomous administration free from party politics.

Following the enactment of the law in 1948 the new education system was put into practice in 48 prefectures and five big cities, namely Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, Kobe and Yokohama and some cities, towns and villages and the education board was organized. By November, 1952 in all the remaining cities, towns and villages the education board was set up. The important role played by the education board system in democratizing education during the past 10 years cannot be denied.

However, this new system began to be criticized as not suitable in some points to

the social condition in Japan. In June, 1956, part of the education board provision was changed in accordance with the newly-enacted Law concerning Organization and Operation of Local Educational Administration. This new law is said to have corrected the mistake of excesses without damaging the democratic system. It kept the good and discarded the weak points.

Firstly, efforts were made to keep the democratic administration which could be carried out by the education board system. The education board had grown self-sufficient, but according to the new revised law it became a collective body. By this change, domination by one person was prevented.

In spite of opinions that the education board should remain only on a prefectural basis and that those in cities, towns and villages should be discontinued, the education board remained in cities, towns and villages, in view of the fact that this system was indispensable to local self-autonomy.

Secondly, the political neutrality of education became an important issue because of the strengthening of the teachers' union movement. In view of the urgency of political neutrality of education the appointment system replaced the electoral system by which governors in prefectures and heads of cities, towns and villages were invested with the right to appoint education board members with the consent of the assembly. According to the new appointment system, seven are appointed in prefectures and three to five in cities, towns and villages.

To prevent political influence it was so decreed that the majority should not be chosen out of those belonging to one political party, that the board members should not become directors of any political party or participate in political activities.

Thus the anticipated influence of political struggle of two opposing parties has been prevented.

Thirdly, when the education board system was introduced, the educational administration was separated from general administration in order to strengthen the autonomy of education. However, this autonomy caused friction with the internal affairs, welfare, and industrial administration of local governments necessitating some changes.

While educational autonomy is preserved friction with other administrative organs should be avoided. Hitherto, the budget and ordinances for education could be proposed both by the education board and the prefectural, city, town and village heads. This dual system has given way to a single system by which proposals can be made only by the prefectural governor, and heads of cities, towns and villages.

At the same time the right to the acquisition and disposal of educational assets, the conclusion of contracts with building constructors and the matters concerning income and expenditure, has been handed over to the governor and heads of cities, towns and villages from the education boards.

Fourthly, close cooperation among the nation, prefectures, cities, towns and villages became important. It goes without saying that education owes a great deal to the efforts of prefectures, cities, towns and villages, but should not be carried out without coordination. The nation should have its educational standard while the prefectures must look after the actual administration. Hitherto, with too much stress placed on autonomy and decentralization of education this coordination has been lacking.

The new law has corrected this mistake and provided means to establish a coordinated educational administration. According to this law the right to exercise leadership and to give advice and assistance to education boards in cities, towns and villages has been given to the Education Ministry and prefectural education boards. They have the right to exercise their au-

thority whenever mistake or excess is discovered.

At the same time the law has so decreed that the appointment of the superintendent of the prefectural education board must be approved by the Education Minister and that of city, town and villages by the prefectural education boards.

Fifthly, the right to appoint elementary and lower secondary school teachers, which was formerly invested with the city, town and village education boards, has been transferred to the hands of prefectural education boards.

The Education Minister who is chief of the central education administration is appointed by the Prime Minister and the former appoints the vice minister and other staff of the ministry. The structure of the Education Ministry is made up of three secretariats and six bureaus, namely the elementary and secondary education, higher education and sciences, social education, physical education, research and administration bureaus. The above-mentioned constitute the central administrative body. There are 1,039 on the staff according to the investigation in July, 1955. Besides those there are other organs directly attached to the Education Minister including national universities and other national schools, the National Commission for UNESCO, the National Education Research Institute, the National Science Museum, the National Modern Art Museum, the Institute of Statistical Mathematics, the National Japanese Language Institute, the Japan Art Academy, the National Research Institute for Genetics, and the International Latitude Observatory and National Commission for Protection of Cultural Properties.

There are 18 other councils including the Central Council for Education, members of which are all appointed by the Education Minister. All these organs conduct coordination, research and investigation in order to assist smooth educational administration.

The Education Minister's function toward the local education authorities is to give advice. According to the new local education law, the Minister has the right to ap-

prove the appointment of superintendent of prefectural education boards and conduct investigation and give advice to local education authorities whenever necessary. The Education Ministry does not exercise control over education in local areas, but its function is to supervise, advise, give financial assistance and request reports.

The Minister's role with regard to public and private universities is to grant permission for founding and give guidance and advice in the matter of administration.

The Education Minister gives direct service to social and international education and offers assistance and advice to civic organizations concerned.

Education Finance

The public education budget in Japan is said to be rather large when compared with that of other advanced countries. The percentage of public education expense in the

national income is on the increase year after year as seen in the following graph. In the 1954 fiscal year it took 6 per cent of the national income.

Total Public Education Expense Out of National Income

Year	National income	Public education expense	Percentage
1949	¥ 2,737,000,000,000	¥ 127,400,000,000	4.45 per cent
1950	3,361,000,000,000	161,800,000,000	4.81
1951	4,535,300,000,000	216,800,000,000	4.78
1952	5,195,400,000,000	274,400,000,000	5.28
1953	5,877,500,000,000	329,500,000,000	5.61
1954	6,132,200,000,000	366,300,000,000	5.97

The national budgets here are extracts from the "1954 National Income" issued by the Economic Planning Board in October, 1955 and the education expenses from the "Local Education Expense Coordinated Report" on the 1954 fiscal year by the Education Ministry.

Accordingly, public education cost which

occupies a larger part of the general administrative expense is increasing year after year. This shows the fact that after the war public interest in education has greatly increased.

Expenses for public institutions are paid, in principle, by the central government and prefectural, city, town and village authori-

Public Education Expense in National and Local Finance

Fiscal year	National and local expenditure	National and local education expense	Percentage
1935	¥ 4,055,000,000	¥ 515,000,000	12.7 per cent
1940	13,000,000,000	677,000,000	5.20
1945	40,295,000,000	1,537,000,000	3.81
1946	146,475,000,000	7,033,000,000	4.80
1947	263,473,000,000	29,495,000,000	11.19
1948	580,800,000,000	79,951,000,000	13.77
1949	906,155,000,000	127,419,000,000	14.06
1950	914,648,000,000	161,750,000,000	17.68
1951	1,151,692,000,000	216,747,000,000	18.82
1952	1,385,394,000,000	274,426,000,000	19.81
1953	1,626,682,000,000	329,516,000,000	20.26
1954	1,755,649,000,000	366,305,000,000	20.86
1955	1,724,218,000,000	317,336,000,000	21.54

ties out of national and local taxes with the agreement of the Diet and local assemblies.

It goes without saying that the nation should pay for the cost of educational programs conducted by national universities. At the same time the nation spends a great deal for educational activities conducted by elementary and lower secondary schools in local areas. Such expenditure is paid from the national treasury as subsidies, grants-in-aid and equalization grants.

The prefectural governments pay all the expenses of upper secondary schools and special schools, half of the salaries to be paid to elementary school teachers and the city, town and village governments pay for

the maintenance of elementary and lower secondary schools. Such expenditures by local public bodies plus subsidies given by the nation take care of school expenses.

The ratio of payment by the central government and local public bodies is as follows according to the Report of the 1954 fiscal year.

It should be noted that expenditure for compulsory education is very high. The following graph shows how the fund was divided among the different fields of public education. This is according to the investigation of the 1953 fiscal year. The graph also shows education costs per person.

The amount spent for education also includes monetary donations.

	Amount	per cent
Total education expenditure	¥ 366,305,000	100 per cent
I Fund paid by the government	160,786,000	43.89
1 National schools (mainly universities)	31,956,000	8.72
2 Institutions under direct control of Education Ministry	7,819,000	2.13
3 Grants and subsidies to local education expenditure	80,703,000	22.03
4 Grants-in-aid, admission tax grants	40,308,000	11.01
II Expenditure paid by local bodies	205,519,000	56.11

School	Percentage	Expense per capita in one year
Kindergartens	0.45 per cent	¥ 6,609
Elementary schools	40.75	11,980
Lower secondary schools	24.33	15,983
Upper secondary schools	14.12	24,081 full-time 18,911 part-time
Special schools	0.68	92,724
Miscellaneous schools	0.09	9,351
Universities, junior colleges	10.26	—
Social education	2.52	—
Educational administration	6.80	—
Total	100.00	—

Per Pupil Expenditure				
School	Total expenditure	Expense paid by parents	Expense paid from public treasury	Ratio to total expenditure
Elementary schools	¥ 18,601	¥ 5,992	¥ 12,614	32.2 %
Lower secondary schools	24,712	7,873	16,839	31.9
Full-time upper secondary schools	42,702	22,198	20,507	52

Compulsory education should be given free as provided by the law, but actually the parents who are sending their children to public schools must spend a considerable sum of money for the education of their

children. The above graph shows the ratio paid out of the public treasury and that by the parents. The graph is the result of investigation of the 1953 fiscal year.

Problem of Japanese Language

Reformation in the Japanese language is one of the important changes after the war.

The issue of Japanese language and Japanese characters does not concern education alone, but basically affects learning, culture and life of the people. Various measures dealing with this problem have been taken with the aim to elevate the people's cultural standard and increase efficiency of social life by removing obstacles and to promote advantageous usage of characters and word expressions. As a result of such efforts the following measures have been adopted: 1. simplification of characters and means of writing; 2. simplification of sentence construction to be used in official letters; 3.

adoption of Roman writing in the learning of Japanese language.

Reform in Japanese language and characters is still being studied by the Japanese Language Council established within the Education Ministry in 1949.

Also the National Japanese Language Research Institute founded in Feb. 1948 under the jurisdiction of the Education Ministry has been conducting scientific research regarding the Japanese language and the people's speech. At the same time the same institute is working to lay a foundation for the rationalization of the Japanese language.

Life of Japanese Students

The mode of life of students has changed greatly since 1945.

The fundamental education system was changed to the 6, 3, 3, 4 system with the result that former higher schools called *Kōtō Gakkō* and colleges were raised to the status of universities.

This elevation of status brought about a tremendous increase in university students. According to the research in 1957 the number of university students including those studying at junior colleges were 581,056. Upper secondary school pupils numbered 2,897,649.

In Japan, students congregate in big cities, particularly in Tokyo, with about 43 per cent attending schools there.

There are also 3,768 foreign students from 32 different countries studying in Japan, 64 per cent are Koreans followed by Chinese students with 19 per cent and American students, constituting 13 per cent.

Not only students but all the Japanese are confronting financial difficulties after the war. In spite of the amazing rehabilitation of Japan's economic potentiality during the past 10 years the living standard of the masses is still far below that of West European countries.

This economic situation has greatly influenced student life. Their life, as far as the financial situation is concerned has made a big change from that of prewar days.

Students are occupied with two thoughts—study and living expenses. The latter which occupies an important part of student life is one of the serious social issues of today.

In prewar days the larger part of expenditures was for tuition and purchase of books, but today major expense is for food and living. This is particularly so with those staying at lodging houses.

The majority of students must earn extra money by means of side-jobs in an effort to raise funds for school expenses.

As to tuition there is a wide difference between national universities and private institutions. For those studying at private universities, tuition is a big burden. At national universities tuition is ¥9,000 (\$25) annually while at private universities it is ¥20,000. The rate is often as high as ¥25,000 (\$70) annually at the latter.

Including the expense for board and room, tuition, books and transportation, from ¥8,000 (\$22) to ¥9,000 (\$23.3) is needed by those attending national schools while those going to private schools must spend about ¥11,000 (\$30). It must be admitted, however, that depending on the mode of living, individual expenses differ.

As for scholarships, the Japan Scholarship Association financed by the Japanese Government is the most important. Besides there are many public organizations, schools and civic organizations in local districts, which grant financial aid.

The number of scholarship students helped by the Japan Scholarship Association at the end of 1956 was 300,128, a big increase from previous years. The number of scholarship pupils studying in upper secondary institutions was 3.0 per cent of the total number of pupils. Of the university students 9.3 per cent received scholarships and in the teachers' training course and liberal arts course 69.8 per cent were recipients of scholarships. Among those studying in graduate schools 35.2 was scholarship students.

Scholarship allocations in the government budget in 1956 amounted to ¥4,500,000,000 or \$12,500,000. The scholarship loan to upper secondary school pupils is ¥1,000 monthly (\$3) and for university students ¥2,000 (about \$5.5) or ¥3,000 (\$8).

For those studying for a M.A. degree the monthly loan is ¥6,000 (about \$17) and for Ph. D. candidates a monthly loan of ¥10,000 (about \$30) is granted. They must study three years or more after completion of the two-year graduate school.

Besides the aforementioned Japan Scholarship Association there are 155 other organizations which grant or loan scholarships, including 145 sponsored by prefectures, 162 financed by cities, towns and

villages, 155 sponsored by schools and 137 conducted by civic organizations.

The total fund of those organizations amounted to ¥1,000,000,000 (about \$2,830,000). The scholarship recipients numbered 69,537.

Scholarship given by private organizations either as straight grant or loan is varied, but the amount is decided after comparison with that given by the Japan Scholarship Association.

There are a few special scholarships. At a certain ward the retailers get together and grant scholarships to upper secondary school pupils who wish to take up commerce as a profession. Another kind is the granting of a year's scholarship to winners of essay contests.

Even those who are receiving scholarships have to take up side-jobs to supplement deficits. They earn from ¥1,000 to ¥3,000 (about \$3 to \$8.4) monthly in this way.

According to the research conducted in 1954 by the Central Public Opinion Research Institute 46.8 per cent of university students in Tokyo commute to schools from their homes, 20 per cent live in lodging houses, 9.9 per cent rent a room or an apartment, 9.8 per cent stay with their relatives or friends and 8.9 per cent live in dormitories.

Of those going to schools outside Tokyo 49.3 per cent live away from home. In the case of female students those commuting from home are about 10 per cent more than male students.

As to meals, 76.3 per cent of those staying outside their homes cook for themselves. Of such students 31.4 per cent of evening course students are unable to eat at regular meal time. About 10 per cent of students (9 per cent of daytime course students and 10.4 per cent of evening course students) eat only two meals a day. Some of them must economize on food while the others do not have time.

As to clothing, nine per cent of the students cannot afford to buy a winter overcoat.

Under such economic conditions "arbeit" for students is a necessity. This, of course

presents a serious problem. Students and "*arbeit*" are inseparable.

Such a situation never occurred in the history of education in Japan in prewar days.

In prewar days, according to the investigation by Tokyo University in 1941, 26 per cent lived comfortably, 68.2 per cent were able to make ends meet and 5.8 per cent were financially in deficit.

Those who were supported by their families accounted for 6.8 per cent and those who were financially supported by other means, 6.2 per cent.

"*Arbeit*" jobs are offered by the Welfare Section of each university or by the Students' Consultation Office of the Student's Relief Association financed by the government. Also the Public Employment Security Office finds jobs for students.

Regarding the motive for taking up "*arbeit*" 46 per cent work to earn school expense, 20.7 per cent for extra pocket money, 11 per cent to get experience, 6.5 per cent to help the family budget and 5.77 per cent to acquire skill.

As to the time devoted to "*arbeit*" 40.9 per cent spend from 6 to 15 days a month, 16.6 per cent less than five days, 13.8 per cent more than 21 days and 11.3 per cent only during the vacation.

Their pay ranges between ¥250 (\$0.7) and ¥400 (\$1.1) making the average pay per day about ¥300 (\$0.85).

The majority of university students have some kind of worries, concerning livelihood,

employment, social issues, love, marriage, lack of ability, health, scarcity of time, living quarters or family. Thus their problems are varied, but generally speaking half of the problems come from financial difficulties.

As to student interest in religion, 57.4 per cent in Tokyo recognize the necessity of religion. Those who profess religious beliefs number 19.8 per cent among male students and 25.5 per cent among female students. Those who deny religion number 64.3 per cent among male students and 53.5 per cent among female students.

What kind of religions do they believe? The largest percentage of 48.1 are Christians, 27.8 per cent Buddhists and 24.1 per cent other religions.

In Tokyo, 26.6 per cent of the students have lovers of whom 39.8 per cent of male students intend to marry while 55.5 per cent of the female students hope that their love will end in marriage.

Their interest, recreation and hobbies are movies, sports, reading and music for male and movies, music, reading and sports for female.

As to drinking, 43.9 per cent of the male students and 4.2 per cent of the female students have a habit of drinking.

About 51.8 per cent of the students smoke (57.1 per cent of male students and 1.7 per cent of female students). The average expense for drinking is about ¥300 (\$0.85) and ¥500 (\$1.4) for smoking per month.

General Outline of Student Movement

Student movement prior to World War II

Student movements in Japan reflect the political, economic and social troubles of the country. All student activities in relation to physical education, culture, religion and international cooperation must be understood as reflections of social conditions of all ages.

Following the establishment of the mod-

ern educational system in 1877 Japanese students for 40 years were looked upon as privileged intellectuals charged with the mission to reorganize Japan into a modern nation and expand national power. They themselves had hopes and ambitions.

The students, however, began to harbor doubts as to their specific mission, when Japan was hit by the economic panic after World War I while at the same time they witnessed the fall of the Russian Empire and the rise of socialism.

In December, 1918, when riots broke out here and there in cities and towns as a result of the tremendous rise in the price of rice the "*Shinjin-kai*" (New Men's Society) was organized in the defunct Tokyo Imperial University as a new student movement. It spread quickly to other universities and higher schools and in 1922 the Federation of Students Social Science was inaugurated among students of 26 universities and higher schools. This same movement spread to 70 schools by 1925 with a membership of 2,000.

In the beginning, protection of democracy and study of socialism were the motto of the movement. But gradually it became influenced by labor and political organizations which conducted a socialist movement on a wider basis. As a result, the student movement became more practical.

In 1926, the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace was enacted to suppress such student movements and many were arrested.

Because of this new law all socialist movements began to be regarded as illegal and on many occasions students were arrested. For several years the student movement was kept up secretly. During the first 10 years it developed into a most "dangerous" movement and was suppressed mercilessly by government authorities.

In 1930, a right-wing student movement was launched. About that same period a nationalistic expansion policy was promoted by militarists during the period of world economic panic.

In September 1931, the Manchurian Incident and in 1932 the Shanghai Incident broke out and from this period to the outbreak of World War II the nationalistic student movement progressed taking advantage of the prevailing atmosphere. However, it did not permeate among students.

The government authorities made every effort to crush anti-nationalistic and socialist thoughts among students. In 1928, the government placed a student counselor at all national schools and in 1934 the Education Ministry set up the Thought Bureau. In this way the Education Ministry attempted to lure students away from Marxism.

In 1937, when the China Incident started, the Education Ministry set up the Education Affairs Bureau as extra-ministerial bureau. This bureau, reflecting the national situation which was turning into a wartime structure, later began to demand overall service for the sake of the nation. To do so the same bureau stressed Japan's historic tradition and suppressed individualism and liberalism.

After 1938, the collective labor service system was enforced in all schools above middle schools. After the outbreak of World War II in 1941 the school year was shortened and students mobilized to work at munitions plants. Around 1945 when the war approached the close, 64 per cent of the students were mobilized and all classroom studies discontinued. By the end of the war on Aug. 15, 1945, 11,000 students had been killed while working at munitions factories.

Life of students after the war

Following the end of the war the students who had been mobilized for work, returned to the war-devastated cities. Living expenses rose 50 times between 1945 and 1949. The financial condition for students changed entirely. Whereas in prewar days only a small percentage of students had to earn part of their school expenses, now the majority had to take up side-jobs.

Percentage of students who need side-jobs and those who are already engaged in side-jobs

Year	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Those who need work	83 %	71	61.6	60	73.9	71.5	48.6	40
Those who have jobs	41 %	44.5	34.7	21.4	23.7	22.2	32.4	38

The financial situation plus the change in school system in 1947 resulted in the loss of the sense of security on the part of students. The above graph shows the result of investigation conducted by the Education Ministry.

Development of student movement after the war

Causes which pushed the student movement to the extreme were: 1. Students witnessed the fall of absolute authority and became disillusioned: 2. Their daily life was continuously threatened by financial difficulties: 3. The occupation policy which first encouraged students to exercise self-government rejecting the interference of school authorities, later assumed an anti-Communist character. This fact gave the impression that the occupation policy was against progress.

The following shows the development of student movements after the war.

a) The first task was to oust the interference of school authorities. This was regarded most important in order to do away with the militaristic tendency in education. Self-government was started by students who had no experience in organizing, under the occupation policy. At the same time many other student organizations were founded in search for a solution to the changed social order. Such organizations were called sociological research groups.

Gradually, such organizations spread to local districts and progressed into the formation of a federation. During this period, Japan's inflation turned from bad to worse. The students, therefore, decided to stand firm to defend their own living. The Student Life Council was organized and cooperated with the Student's League to help repatriates from abroad.

Student self-government first concentrated its energy on the ousting of teachers and professors who had cooperated in the prosecution of the war. Encouraged by success the students sponsored a rally in January, 1947 at Hibiya park to form a joint front with the labor movement. In

this way, the students attempted to spread a revolutionary atmosphere.

However, after the general strike by employees of government and public offices was banned by GHQ the students again turned their attention to school matters.

b) In 1948 when the increase of national university tuition by three times was proposed by the government the local self-government associations were federated and a struggle called "Education Revival Struggle" was staged against the Education Ministry. In June of the same year a nationwide strike with more than 200,000 students participating, took place. And through this experience the Japan Student Association generally called *Zengakuren* (JSA) was organized in September of the same year.

The organization of JSA systematized and strengthened the student movement on a national basis. When the Education Ministry proposed to present a "University Control" bill the ministry met a strong protest put up by 150 universities. This bill never materialized.

The occupation forces became worried about the progress of the student movement and dispatched a lecturer to each university who spoke denouncing the professors who believed in Communism. Then the JSA launched a movement against the Red purge policy and the movement developed into an attack against the U.S. occupation policy.

This struggle spread all over the country and resulted in collisions between police and students. About 100 students were expelled from the universities. Thus the movement spread outside the campus and its struggle began to be directed against the occupation policy.

c) In 1951 as the time for a peace treaty approached, the students' anti-American movement was strengthened by taking advantage of the divided public opinion. However, due to internal strife in the Communist Party which had a controlling influence on the student movement, the leading student elements also suffered from internal contention. As a result, the student movement against the peace treaty did not amount to much.

In an attempt to revive and strengthen the movement the JSA at Kyoto, Tokyo and Waseda universities began to resort to force. From autumn of 1951 to May in 1952 such incidents as encircling the Emperor's car and collisions with the police took place. Such moves were taken in a hope to propagate among the masses the conception that the government policy was against the interest of the people and that the government was going to suppress freedom of study and thought.

Strengthening of such direct action coupled with the restoration of internal unity resulted in the May Day Incident 1952 in the plaza of the Imperial Palace. This incident was carried out by the JSA in cooperation with the labor unions. The aftermath of this violent incident was felt till about September of the same year, but the JSA influence became weakened following the complete defeat of Communist candidates in the general election in October.

Present condition of student movement

The student leaders began to realize that it was disadvantageous to conduct student movements isolated from the general feelings of students and to plunge into political struggles. Therefore, their goal was again directed toward improvement of student life and rehabilitation of the universities. The JSA also made efforts to co-

operate with other student cultural organizations and religious groups with which it had nothing in common previously. Also the leaders began to consult with the school authorities against whom they had formerly struggled most severely.

The students' council which had a strong political coloring started to include recreational programs. The biggest change, however, was that the leadership was transferred into other hands with the lapse of time.

From the latter half of 1954 to date the Japanese student movement has done nothing to catch the eye of the public. But this does not mean that the students' problems have been solved.

Some of the problems are: 1) The students' feeling of distrust which they formerly put into action seems to have been soothed, but in its place no constructive zeal has sprung up; 2) the former fanatical leaders have disappeared, but their place has not yet been filled by democratic leaders; 3) Better human relations between the school authorities and students have not yet been realized.

The history of student movements reflects the social agony and affliction of Japan. Whether the students through such movements will lead themselves to destruction or acquire courage and strength to serve the community, depends not only on the students themselves but rather on the adults who are in a position to offer constructive and helpful advice.

XXI SOCIAL SCIENCES

Introduction

Renovation of the structural organization of the sciences in post-war Japan

On Aug. 15, 1945, Japan was defeated in the holocaust of World War II. After her defeat, Japan, with limited land and meager natural resources as well as a superabundance of population, was confronted with the urgent problem of how to rehabilitate itself out of the debris of the war.

What were most important in the national reconstruction plan, according to men of knowledge and intelligence, were the promotion of science and the carrying out of the country's administration in a scientific manner.

There were three influential academic bodies at that time which were most responsible for the promotion of science in this country. They were the Imperial Academy of Japan, the National Research Council of Japan and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Sciences.

The strongest opinion at that time was to reorganize these three bodies in order to reconstruct Japan as a cultural nation, and even concrete plans to that effect were mapped out.

However, as this must be carried out carefully and in a democratic way, and if

the reorganization is to be a thorough one, there was a necessity, it was thought, to take democratic procedures as well as methods in drafting the plan for the contemplated reorganization of the bodies.

Thus, in November, 1946, a meeting between delegates of the then GHQ of the Allied Occupation Forces and those of Japan was held and a "Renewal Committee" was decided to be established to tackle the problem.

The Japanese Diet as well as Government showed great interest in this problem. In particular, the Government asked the renewal committee to report on the drafting of the reorganization plan and even provided necessary funds to carry out deliberations to the committee.

The renewal committee started functioning from August, 1947 and in April 1948, it reported to the Government, its conception of a plan for a new Japanese science organization.

The principal contents of the plan were as follows:

1. Enactment of a Japan Science Council Law and establish a Science Council of Japan (abbr. J.S.C.).

2. The establishment of a Scientific and Technical Administration Commission (abbr. S.T.A.C.) directly responsible to the Prime Minister which will work in co-operation with the Japan Science Council aimed at reflecting scientific technology on

the administration by advising the Prime Minister on necessary measures to be taken in the adjustment and liaison among each administrative organ in regard to scientific technology.

3. The reinforcement of the administrative setup responsible for the promotion of basic sciences.

The Government adopted this report made by the renewal committee and submitted a bill for the enactment of the Japan Science Council Law. This law was promulgated on July 10, 1948. The Government also promulgated on December 20, the same year, the Scientific and Technical Administration Commission Law.

The Science Council of Japan and the Scientific and Technical Administration Commission

In December, 1948, election of members to the Japan Science Council was held and in January, the following year, the first Japan Science Council came into being.

The Council is divided into 7 divisions with 30 members to each division. Although the tenure of the members of the first Council was set at 2 years, the regular term of the members after that was altered to 3 years.

The following are the 7 divisions: (see Note 1, Note 2.)

The First Division—Literature, Philosophy, History.

The Second Division—Law and Politics.

The Third Division—Economics and Commerce.

The Fourth Division—Sciences.

The Fifth Division—Engineering.

The Sixth Division—Agriculture.

The Seventh Division—Medicine and Pharmacy.

The members of each respective division are elected by the qualified electorate of scientists registered in each specific department. Members of the qualified electorate of scientists are limited to those engaged in scientific research or technology who come up to the Japan Science Council Elections Regulations.

The Japan Science Council is the representative organ of Japanese scientists and its duties are to deliberate important problems in science, engage in scientific studies and liaison, reply to the Government's questions, as well as advise the Government. It is completely independent of the Government. Although the report or advice made to the Government by the J.S.C. are not legally binding, the Government must pay the greatest attention to what the Council say or proposes. On the other hand, the Scientific and Technical Administration Commission is duty-bound to see to it that these reports and advices by the Council be reflected on the Government's administration.

Academic circles affiliated with human and cultural sciences in post-war Japan

With the establishment of the Japan Science Council, Japan's structure in the field of sciences underwent a big change. Particularly in the field of human and cultural sciences, the academic societies which had been scattered here and there in the country, were unified into unions. This was because parallel with the Japan Science Council, it was necessary to have adequate liaison with science societies in the country as well as abroad.

These unions have a nation-wide network and are made up of respective societies engaged in specific studies.

We shall here present the various science unions in Japan and their member societies in order to give an idea of the activities of these societies after the war.

1. Union of Japanese Societies of Literature, Philosophy and History Member Societies

The Linguistic Society of Japan

The Society for the Study of Japanese Language

The Japanese Literary Society

The English Literary Society of Japan

The Japanese Society of German Literature

The Sinological Society of Japan

The Japanese Psychological Association

The Japan Sociological Society

National Society for the Study of Education in Japan

The Japanese Association of the Science of Religion

Japanese Society of Ethnology

The Folklore Society of Japan

The Japan Historical Association

The Japan Archeologists Association

The Japanese Society for Aesthetics

The Japan Art History Society

The Japanese Society for Ethics

The French Literature Society of Japan

The Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies

The Phonetic Society of Japan

The Russian Literary Society in Japan

The Association of Human Geography

The Japan Society for Journalistic Studies

2. Union of Japanese Societies of Law and Politics

Member Societies

Association of International Law of Japan

Criminal Law Society of Japan

Japan Public Law Association

Japan Association of Private Law

Japan Political Science Association

Japan Association of Sociology of Law

Japan Legal Philosophy Association

Japan Legal History Association

Jurisprudence Section of the Democratic Scientists Society

Japan Society of Comparative Law

Japan Labor Law Association

Japan Society for Public Administration

Association of Private International Law of Japan

Maritime Law Association of Japan

Association of Economic Jurisprudence of Japan

Japan Tax Jurisprudence Association

3. Japanese Union of Associations of Economic Sciences

Member Societies

Financial Science Association

Society for the Study of History of Economic Doctrines

Japan Society of International Economics

Society of Public Utility Economics

Socio-Economic History Society

Agrarian History Society

Japan Accounting Association

Japan Society for the Study of Business Administration

Japan Association of Economic Policy

Japan Society of Transportation Economics

Japan Association of Fiscal Science

Japan Statistical Society

Agriculture Economic Society

Section of Agriculture of the Democratic Scientists Association

Economic Section of the Democratic Scientists Association

Japanese Society for the Study of Commercial Articles

Society for the Study of Social Policy

Japanese Society of Insurance Science

Japan Econometric Society

Japanese Society of Commercial Science

4. The activities and trends of the various unions

The above-listed 3 unions were established in 1950. The principal activities engaged in by these unions are (1) liaison between Japanese and foreign societies as well as researchers, (2) recommendation of delegates to international academic conferences, and (3) an organ journal titled "The Japan Science Review" is published once a year by each union. (The Union of Japanese Societies of Literature, Philosophy and History publishes a journal on literature, philosophy and history, the Union of Japanese Societies of Law and Politics on law and politics and the Japanese Union of Associations of Economic Sciences on economic sciences).

The activities of the various member societies of the unions are in no way restricted by the unions and they can carry out their activities independently.

The fact that in recent years, many societies have been established which earnestly want to join the unions is a thing to be

congratulated both from the development of the sciences in Japan as well as a wider international viewpoint.

Conclusion

The 10-year period between 1945 and 1955 was an epoch which all the scientists in Japan can never forget, for this was the crucial time in which the success or failure in establishing the foundation of the new structure of sciences in Japan was tried. Furthermore, all scientists in the world focused their attention on the establishment of this new structure which has as its supreme objective, the construction of a cultural nation.

In concluding, I would like to mention the fact that 2 groups of American scientists came to Japan in 1947 and 1948 and gave many valuable advices to this country

on the establishment of the new structure. They were the Scientific Advisory Group to the National Academy of Sciences, and the Scientific Advisory Group of Social Sciences and Humanities.

(Note 1) The method used in Japan for the establishment of a field of science is much different from that of the United States. This is due to the tradition of academic studies in Japan. It was only comparatively recently that the words cultural science as opposed to natural science was adopted widely in this country. Cultural science in Japan generally includes the meaning of both the humanities and social sciences as interpreted in the U.S. (I have quoted this from Prof. H. Kishimoto's introduction in the special number of "Japan's Cultural Science" because I believed it would be valuable information to Westerners).

(Note 2) The word "Science" in Europe and America usually indicates natural science, but the definition of this word in Japan is wider, and includes natural science, cultural science and social science.

History

In olden days, Japan's historical science developed while being greatly influenced by that of China. The Government compiled the history of the country from the standpoint of using history as a reference to the administration of the land. The *Rikkokushi* (History of Six Provinces) which was compiled sometime between the 8th and the 10th century followed the method of compilation of that of China. Even Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725), who is attributed to have been the first Japanese historian to advocate a scientific interpretation of ancient history in the 18th century and who was the first to develop a new phase in historical science in this country, was not wholly outside the influence of Chinese historical science.

With the advent of the Meiji Era and the influx of western culture, Japan for the first time adopted the historical view of the occident as well as western method of study, which brought about an epoch-

making development in the study of history in Japan.

The history of civilization was written for the first time by historians not connected with the Government around this time under the influences of such western historians as Guizot (1787-1874) and Buckle (1821-1862). Next, the Ranke school of historical science was adopted in the universities of Japan, and this became the main current of the so-called academism.

This was brought about chiefly by Dr. Ludwig Riess (1861-1923) of Germany who was invited by Tokyo Imperial University to teach history at there.

It was also during the Meiji Era that the historical science of Japan was divided into 3 divisions—Japanese history, Oriental history and Western history—according to the difference in the areas of the subject under study. History taught in schools were divided into these 3 subjects and it was usual for history scholars to con-

centrate their studies on one of these three divisions.

After the Meiji Era, the study of history made remarkable advances due to the progress in the collection of historical material, their arrangement and classification, and critical comments. The part played by the Historical Materials Compilation Institute which was established within the Government in 1869 and transferred to the Tokyo Imperial University in 1888, was large in bringing about this progress.

This institute is the forerunner of the present Historiographical Institute in Tokyo University which at present collects documents and records from all over the country and files the collection according to period of history or according to the owners of the material, as well as publishes them. More than 300 volumes on historical material have been published by the institute up to date.

The area of study was at first confined to that of political history and biographies of famous personages, but this gradually branched out to the study of cultural as well as socio-economic history. The study of cultural history became suddenly popular in the 1920's while that of socio-economic history from the 1930's. After World War II, the Marxian historical view caught the fancy of young Japanese historians and at the present time, historians of this school have increased tremendously in Japan.

Among the most famous scholars of Japanese history since the Meiji Era are: Mikami Sanji (1865-1939)—Modern History, Kuroita Katsumi (1874-1946)—Ancient History and Study of Ancient Documents, Uchida Ginzō (1872-1919)—Economic History, Kita Sadakichi (1871-1939)—Ancient History, Miura Hiroyuki (1871-1931)—Medieval History and History of Laws, and Tsuji Zennosuke (1877-1955)—History of Buddhism. These men all taught at either Tokyo or Kyoto University and fostered many younger scholars in Japanese history.

The study of ancient documents which can be called an auxiliary science to the study of history, was first completed as a science in the Meiji Era. The contribution made by Kuroita Katsumi in this respect was great. A voluminous amount of ancient documents have been preserved in Japan in shrines and temples including family registers dating back to the 8th century. All these documents are most valuable as historical material. The previously mentioned Historical Institute Compilation Institute has in its possession more than 200,000 copies of these ancient documents.

The study of oriental history had been of interest to Japanese scholars from ancient times. However, it was only systematized as a science in the Meiji Era. Originally the history of the Chinese continent alone had been the center of interest, but eventually, the sphere was spread to such areas as Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, India and Annam, etc. The works of Shiratori Kurakichi (1865-1942) in exploring the histories of these countries adjoining the Chinese mainland have been highly praised by the academic circles of the world.

Western history was first introduced to Japan in the Meiji Era, but due to the lack of sufficient material, the study of this subject did not produce much results. However, the works of western historians were introduced into this country as well as knowledge on this subject were disseminated. The introduction of Western history injected a new atmosphere in the study of history in Japan with its new historical views as well as methods of study. The study on the theory of history aimed at inquiring into the substance of history was done mostly by Western historians. Recently, however, Japanese historians are studying Western history in earnest based on fundamental materials, and future progress in these studies are greatly anticipated.

Archaeology

The development of archaeology

The first archaeologists in Japan were the so-called *Yūsoku Kojitsuka* or those who engaged in the study of ancient rites, system and clothing and the individual scholars who were interested in curious-shaped rocks and antiquities. However, the first man who actually unearthed relics and studied them scientifically was Dr. Mors who in 1877 discovered the shell-mound in Ōmori. Scientists of the Tokyo University succeeded the work of Dr. Mors after that. The "Journal of the Anthropological Society of Japan" was the organ of these Japanese archaeologists published in 1886. Ten years after, in 1896, the "Japan Archaeological Society" was established with the Tokyo Imperial Museum as nucleus, and it began to carry out researches on the archaeology of the historic as well as protohistoric ages. In 1912, a course in archaeology was open for the first time in Kyoto University, but since then, many other colleges, both national and private, have followed suit and opened courses and studies on this subject.

Prehistoric age

Although the discovery of fossil-bones and stone implements of the Palaeolithic Period has been reported once in a while, there still is not sufficient material to make it possible for a systematic study of this period.

However, dwellings, graves and shell mounds of the Neolithic Period exist in great abundance in Japan and it is known that people lived even on very tiny islands. In particular, the number of shell mounds discovered has been tremendous and the area of these mounds is wide. Also the bone implements, horn and shell tools and implements found in the strata of the mounds are not only numerous but are perfect, and the number of human bones

alone which have been discovered in the mounds has come up to 4,000-5,000. Earthenwares found in the shell mounds are called "Jōmon Earthenwares" because they have patterns on them created by pressing twined ropes of sticks bound with ropes on the earthenwares. There are also earthen pottery on which carved sticks have been pressed or part of the pottery scraped with shells. The man who studied this special techniques and reported the result of his studies is Yamanouchi Sugao, lecturer at Tokyo University.

The people in this period lived principally in pit dwellings and depended on hunting for their livelihood. They kept horses and dogs but it is not yet known whether they tilled the land and engaged in agriculture.

Around the 3rd century B.C. a new type of earthenware as well as culture was introduced to Japan from the Asian continent via South Korea. This is called the "Yayoi type" earthenware culture. The people who brought this culture to Japan has been confirmed as the same Japanese people who lived during the Jōmon Period based on the comparative study of numerous human bones of both periods.

The originally Neolithic culture was succeeded by the metal culture, and bronze swords, halberts, arrowheads and white bronze mirrors as well as iron implements came into use. These were also produced in Japan. The 1st and 2nd century A. D. were the height of the metal age. It was at this time that agriculture was introduced into the country and in particular, the cultivation of rice in wet paddy fields. This brought about a great change in the life of the Japanese people. Because the people tended to live at one place, villages sprang up and with the development of these tribal villages, small provinces also were created, stabilizing the life of the Japanese people.

Protohistoric age

Parallel with the movement in South Korea in the 4th century A. D., there was

a strong movement in the Japanese islands toward unification of the various tribes. This resulted in the annexation of tribal provinces and the establishment of the so-called Yamato Court. From the 4th to the 7th century, great mausolei were constructed in the present day Kansai area, and rooms and coffins made of gigantic rocks were built inside these mausolei. The shape of these ancient tombs were generally dome-shape and semi-spherical. However, after a while, a new type of grave called the *Zenpō Kōen Fun* or a tomb that had a quadrate form in front and a semi-spherical form behind came into vogue. These are the splendid mausolei characteristic of the 4th and 5th century and which were decorated with *Haniwa* (clay figures) and surrounded by large moats. From the 6th to the 7th century, quadrate mausolei began to make their appearance. These are considered to have been the result of new influences from the Asian continent. However, the side-cave graves dug out of the sides of mountains which appeared later are not found in the continent.

Among the ornaments buried in ancient graves were caps, girdle ornaments, shoes and earrings made of gold, silver and alloys as well as iron swords, spears, arrow-heads, agricultural and hand tools. Also found in the graves were curved jewels (*magatama*), tubular jewels (*kudatama*), hexahedral gems (*kiritama*), round gems (*marutama*) and small jewels (*kotama*) made of such material as jasper, agate, quartz and glass. Crescent-shaped jewels for neckwear made of jadeite were particularly valuable in those days and are found only in Japan and the southern part of Korea.

As for containers and eating utensils, hard earthenwares were used, and the ones unearthed in Japan are exactly the same as those found in Pakche, Inna and Silla in Korea, proving without doubt that Japan and Korea were within the same cultural sphere and both had intimate cultural intercourse with each other. This was of course a genuine iron age and aside from superior iron weapons, the fact that there were many cast iron wares and tools pro-

duced merits special mention, and these iron wares were made by special techniques which were not seen until the middle ages in Europe, Greece and Rome.

Historic age

During the Asuka-Nara Era (592-780), new cultures from the Asian continent were introduced into Japan by the influx of a great number of Koreans as well as intercourse with the Chinese dynasties of Sui and T'ang. The introduction of Buddhism accompanied by the custom of cremation by burning also changed the object of study of archaeology. Continental-styled (Chinese-styled) shrines, palaces, temples, buddhist images, buddhist altar fittings, ash jars, and roof tiles, became valuable materials to know the culture of that period. The Chinese-styled paintings, carvings, gold and silver works, lacquer works and textile fabrics preserved to this day in the *Shōsō-in* and the Hōryū-ji Temple, etc., came up to a considerable number.

Relations with the Asian continent

Since the Japanese archipelago is located on the eastern edges of the Asian continent, one must look at the countries surrounding Japan if one is to seek the origin of Japanese culture. Japanese archaeologists have made many noteworthy studies in this field in Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Sakhalin and Formosa. Particularly important wise, archaeologically, is the Japanese studies of wall paintings and ancient tombs in Rorang (108 B.C.—313 A.D.) in northern Korea, Lyan-tong (225 B.C.—316 A.D.) in Manchuria and Kokuryu (300 A.D.—668 A.D.) in Korea.

The following list includes some of the more prominent archaeologists in Japan.

Tokyo University

Prof. Komai Kazuchika (Oriental archaeology, particularly Chinese archaeology)
Lecturer Yahata Ichiro (Japanese archaeology, particularly that of the Stone Age)
Lecturer Yamanouchi Sugao („ „)

Prof. Egami Namio (Oriental archaeology, particularly central and west Asian archaeology)

Asst. Prof. Sekino Takeshi (Oriental archaeology, particularly Chinese archaeology)

Kyoto University

Prof. Umehara Sueji (Oriental and Japanese archaeology, particularly Chinese archaeology)

Asst. Prof. Arimitsu Kyōichi (Japanese and Korean archaeology)

Lecturer Kobayashi Yukio (Japanese archaeology)

Prof. Murata Kazunosuke (World archaeology, particularly Oriental archaeology)

Prof. Mizuno Seiichi (Oriental archaeology, particularly Chinese archaeology)

Prof. Nagahiro Toshio (Oriental archaeology, particularly artistic archaeology)

Tōhoku University

Prof. Itō Nobuo (Japanese archaeology)

Kyūshū University

Asst. Prof. Kagamiyama Takeshi (Japanese archaeology)

Yamagata University

Prof. Kashiwagura Ryōkichi (Japanese archaeology)

Gumma University

Prof. Ozaki Kisao (Japanese archaeology)

Tokyo University of Education

Prof. Sugi Isamu (World archaeology, particularly Oriental archaeology)

Tokyo Arts University

Prof. Fujita Ryōsaku (Japanese and Oriental archaeology, particularly Korean and Manchurian archaeology)

Hiroshima University

Prof. Matsuzaki Toshikazu (Oriental archaeology, particularly Chinese archaeology)

Tokyo National Museum

Dr. Ishida Mosaku (Japanese archaeology, particularly Buddhist archaeology)

Dr. Harada Yoshito (Japanese and Oriental archaeology)

National Commission for Protection of Cultural Properties

Dr. Saitō Tadasu (Japanese and Korean archaeology, particularly on ancient graves)

Osaka University

Tsunoda Fumie (Western and Japanese archaeology)

Meiji University

Prof. Gotō Shuichi (Japanese archaeology, particularly on ancient graves)

Prof. Sugihara Sōsuke (Japanese archaeology, particularly that of the Stone Age)

Keiō University

Asst. Prof. Shimizu Junzō (Japanese archaeology)

Waseda University

Asst. Prof. Takiguchi Hiroshi (Japanese archaeology)

Kokugakuin University

Prof. Higuchi Kiyoyuki (Japanese archaeology)

Kansai University

Prof. Suenaga Masao (Japanese archaeology)

Dōshisha University

Prof. Sakazume Nakao (Japanese archaeology, particularly that of the Stone Age)

Geography

Development and system

The science of geography in Japan can be traced back to the 8th century when the first so-called *fudoki* or topography of various provinces in the country were compiled. Five of these topographical works have been brought down to the present era.

These geographical compilations, together with the historical *Kojiki*, the *Nihonshoki* and the juridical *Taihō-ritsuryō* indicate the cultural level of Japan in its formative period when the country was emerging from a diversified to a unified entity.

Intercourse between this country and Korea, Manchuria and China was already in progress around the 2nd and 3rd centu-

ry, and with the introduction of Buddhism in the 6th century, people in Japan had already been aware of the existence of India and Persia. However, it must be admitted that it was not until the 17th century that any book pertaining to world geography had existed in this country.

However, ever since the compilation of the above-mentioned geographical books called *fudoki*, similar books have been published in practically every era.

These books were published in particularly great numbers after the 17th century during the Edo Era by the Shogunate and various lords of the provinces in the country who concentrated on the compilation of topography, and travelogues. The contents of these geographical books were also on a high level.

Japanese geography and the knowledge of things pertaining to geography were brought in chiefly from China in olden days, but with the advent of modern times, the influence exerted by European science was great.

During the 16th century, European-made terrestrial globes and world maps were studied by Japanese scholars. Even after 1636 when Japan was cut out from the rest of the world, geography books and world maps were brought into the country by the Dutch and the Chinese either directly or indirectly. There also existed diaries of Japanese who had been marooned on foreign lands as well as documents concerning the investigation of foreigners who had been shipwrecked on the coasts of this country.

The explorations of Sakhalin by the Japanese around the end of the 18th century have resulted in achievements superior to those made by Europeans or Americans at that time.

With the opening of Japanese ports to the world in 1854, modern Japanese geography finally took form due chiefly to Western influences.

Education and research

Geography as a subject in the curricula of Japanese schools held a very important position. Even in universities, lectures on

geography had been carried out from the very beginning, but it was not until after the 1900's that scholars majoring in this subject were trained and fostered. Before that, higher normal schools were the only place where geography teachers were trained. Consequently, the teaching and research on this subject in higher schools were not too distinctly classified.

On the other hand, however, there were many middle school teachers who carried out intensive studies on the geography of the place where their schools were located.

However, in the year 1906, a lecture course on geography was opened in the history course of the Literature Faculty of Kyoto Imperial University and later in 1918, the geography course in the Science Faculty of Tokyo Imperial University became independent of the geology course.

At present, every university in Japan has a geography course, and in several principal governmental as well as private institutions, courses on this subject are available even in graduate schools.

The major part of school geography during prewar years in Japan was regional geography and the principal geographic theory was E.C. Semple's "environmentalism".

However, after 1925, many valuable and noteworthy dissertations on geography were announced by Japanese scholars.

The majority of these theses, however, treated mainly of the form and historical development of settlements in various parts of the country as well as the relation between land use and villages, the distribution of industries and their location and cities and population. Several types of books on regional geography of various prefectures and areas has been published. It can be said that these books, all written in Japanese have succeeded in accomplishing a pretty fair amount of noteworthy work.

Most of these studies are based on field work. Consequently, the areas covered in the studies are located in Japan and neighboring areas such as Korea, Manchuria and China where the authors have themselves traveled to get the information necessary for their researches.

After World War II, studies on actual conditions was carried out, but the objects of these studies were limited to small areas and precise and detailed researches on these areas were made. However, in large, these researches on the actual conditions were not much related to geography as a whole.

On the other hand, treaties on the theoretical system of geography were comparatively few.

The results of these studies have been announced in the following academic journals.

- (1) Geographical Review of Japan (monthly) by The Association of Japanese Geographers (started in Tokyo, 1925)
- (2) Human Geography (bi-monthly) by The Society of Human Geography (started in Kyoto, 1948)
- (3) Others are the Journal of Geography (quarterly); Tōhoku Geography (quarterly) and the New Geography (quarterly).

Maps

Maps of cultivated fields were first compiled in Japan in the 8th century. A map of entire Japan compiled in the beginning of the 14th century and attributed to the Mongols still exists to this day.

The map of the entire country up to the 16th century was hand drawn and the only places indicated on the map were the various provinces and their location.

However, in the middle of the 17th century, a map of all the villages of the country (scale 1/600) was completed and in the beginning of the 19th century, a very accurate Japanese map was finished based on modern surveying. This was the map completed by Inō Tadataka.

At present, the Geographical Survey Bureau of the Construction Ministry has published Japanese maps on the scales of 1/200,000, 1/50,000 and 1/25,000, etc., as well as land use maps and classifications maps of topography, contributing much to the study of this subject.

Physical geography

One school of geography in Japan started out from geology. This is physical geography which developed into a modern science more quickly than the above mentioned human geography.

The principal themes of the study of physical geography are geomorphology, climatology and precipitation. Studies in these fields have netted high level results. (refer to the paragraph on physical geography in the article entitled "natural sciences").

Sociology

Outline

The first course in sociology was opened in the early part of the Meiji Era in Tokyo University which was the only institute of higher learning existing then in this country.

However, with the establishment of numerous other colleges in Japan, chairs of sociology were established in increasing numbers and at present the study and development of this subject in this country is second only to that of the United States.

Transplanters and forerunners of sociology

The first scholar to introduce sociology into this country can be said to be Nishi Amane (1829-97). Nishi, after returning from study in the Netherlands (from 1860 to 1865), gave the first lecture on Auguste Comte's positive philosophy at his private boarding school called the *Ikueisha* in 1870.

The second to lecture on this subject in Japan was Prof. Ernest F. Fenollosa (1853-1908, American) of Tokyo University, who from September 1878 lectured on

sociology centering on Herbert Spencer at the university. This was the first official lecture on sociology in a university in Japan.

The third transplanter of sociology was Prof. Toyama Shōichi (1848-1900) who later became the president of Tokyo University. Toyama lectured on sociology centering on Herbert Spencer from September, 1881.

As far as this country is concerned, Prof. Toyama has been known as the father of sociology. He was the man principally responsible for injecting into the chair of sociology, Tokyo University, the school of positive sociology.

The second pioneer in sociology was Prof. Ariga Nagao (1860-1921), a student of Prof. Fenollosa. He was the first one to publish a book on sociology made up of 3 volumes entitled "Sociology" (1883-84).

The third forerunner was Prof. Katō Hiroyuki (1836-1916), president of Tokyo University who wrote such books on sociology as "Sociology in General", (1894), "Struggle for Right of Strong Man", (1893), and "Evolution of Moral and Law", (1894). He lectured on sociology of egoism based on social Darwinism.

Growth of theoretical sociology

Prof. Takebe Tongo (1871-1944) who was a disciple of Prof. Toyama, taught sociology at Tokyo University from 1897 to 1922 and during this time compiled a vast system of synthetic sociology with the publishing of his "General Sociology" (4 volumes, 1905-18) based on A. Comte.

The above-mentioned book was counted as one of the international books on synthetic sociology in the beginning of the 20th century but at present, it has been criticized as a "crude" synthetic sociology.

However, Prof. Endō Ryūichi (1874-1946) another student of Prof. Toyama, came out with his book "Modern Sociology" in 1907 and developed the field of psychological sociology. Taking a stand opposite to that of synthetic sociology, Prof. Endō's work approached that of sociology as a special science.

On the other hand, Prof. Yoneda Shōtarō (1873-1946) of Kyoto University in his 2 treatises titled "On Sociology" and "Criticism and Proposal of Sociological Idea" which appeared in the journal "Annals of the Japanese Institute of Social Science, I" (1913-1914), not only recognized G. Simmel's formal sociology as pure sociology or societies as a special science, but also recognized the possibility as well as necessity of synthetic sociology or sociotology in the strict term of the words as one whose principles embraces the whole of social life. Therefore, Prof. Yoneda tried to unify these 2 schools of sociologies.

However, one of his most brilliant pupils, Prof. Takata Yasuma of Osaka University refuted synthetic sociology and advocated that sociology was a special science. In his book "Principles of Sociology" (1919), Prof. Takata concluded that sociology was the science of human association.

Present situation of modern sociology

The study of the above-mentioned theoretical sociology in Japan is getting more popular these days, and parallel with this, special researches attempting to explain concrete phenomena in social life based on positive sociology are also being actively carried out.

Present Situation of Theoretical Sociology

Influenced by the theories advocated by Prof. Yoneda and Prof. Takata, the study of theoretical sociology has seen a big growth. Accelerated by Prof. Hayashi Megumi's (Tokyo University) "Study on Methodology of G. Simmel's Sociology" (1926) and Prof. Shimmei Masamichi's (Tōhoku University) "Formal Sociology" (1928), etc., the so-called age of criticism of formal sociology has arrived in this country.

On the other hand, however, Prof. Kurauchi Kazuta's (Osaka University) "Cultural Sociology" (1943) is opposed to formal sociology and stresses cultural sociology as that advocated in Germany.

However, Prof. Matsumoto Junichirō (1893-1948) of Hōsei University, divides society into the complex phenomena of three elements—process, group, and culture,—and attempted to systematize synthetic sociology. Among his books are "Principles of Sociology" (1930), "Sociology of Group" (1937), and "Principles of Cultural Sociology" (1930).

Prof. Odaka Kunio of Tokyo University not only recognizes pure sociology as a special science but also advocates the possibility and necessity of synthetic sociology based on the principles of the former, and have stressed the unification of the two. This has been advocated in Prof. Odaka's "Nature and Subject of Sociology" published in 1949.

Ever since the German Emil Lederer came to lecture at Tokyo University (1923-25) on Max Weber's sociology, the study of Weber became popular among the sociologists in this country. The effect of the study of Max Weber is playing on basic theories of sociology in this country cannot be discounted. Among the books published in this field are: Prof. Okada Yuzuru's (Tokyo University of Education) "Understanding Sociology" (1949) and Prof. Odaka's "Prolegomena to Methodology of Social Science" (1950).

Present Situation of Special Researches on Positive Sociology

The forerunner to the study in this field is Prof. Toda Teizō (1887-1955). He lectured on sociology at Tokyo University from 1922 to 1947. It was Prof. Toda who advocated social research methods and helped to reinforce the traditional positive sociology at the university. His two famous books, "Study of Family" (1926) and "Structure of Family" (1940), accelerated the special study of positive sociology.

After the war, the induction of various techniques from the United States concerning the positive methods of American sociology have also helped much to activate the special study on positive sociology in this country, and these researches form the characteristics of Japanese sociology today. Principal works in the field are as follows:

(i) Sociology of Family and Rural Sociology

Hokkaidō University's Prof. Suzuki Eitarō's "Principles of Japanese Rural Sociology", Tokyo Education University's Prof. Ariga Kizaemon's "Family System and Tenant System in Japan", Tokyo University's Prof. Fukutake Tadashi's "Social Character of Rural Society in Japan".

With an object aimed at clarifying the structure of Japanese society, numerous Japanese sociologists are carrying on positive researches on the family system, joint body of branch families and farming villages. The results of their researches are also many.

(ii) Urban Sociology

Tokyo Metropolitan University's Prof. Isomura Eiichi's "Urban Sociology" (1953).

(iii) Sociology of Population

Prof. Hayashi Megumi's "Theory of Population", (1930), and "Population of Agricultural Family in Japan" (1940).

Sociological studies on the great pressure of increasing population in post-war Japan are being carried out actively.

(iv) Industrial Sociology

Influenced by American industrial sociology after the last war, the study of this subject in Japan has grown suddenly popular. Prof. Odaka has written a book entitled "Science of Human Relation in Industry".

(v) Sociology of Religion

Asst. Prof. Naitō Kanji of Kyūshū University has published a book "Religion and Economical Ethics (Sociology, Annals of Japan Sociological Society, Vol. VIII, 1931) which deals particularly in the sociological study of the worldly asceticism in the Shin sect.

(vi) Sociology of Law and Sociology of Moral

In the year 1947, the Japanese Association of Sociology of Law was inaugurated and Prof. Kawashima Takeyoshi of Tokyo University announced his study on the "Familistic Structure of Japanese Society" in 1948. The study on sociology of moral and criminal sociology became more and more popular after the last war.

(vii) Educational Sociology and Sociology of Physical Sociology

The Japanese Association of Educational Sociology was established in 1948 and study on this subject is being carried out actively centering on Prof. Makino Tatsumi of Tokyo University. Research of the sociology of physical education is also being carried out as a part of the science of physical education.

(viii) Sociology of Journalism

Prof. Oyama Eizō of Rikkyō University has published a book entitled "Sociology of Journalism" (1951) while the Institute of Journalism in Tokyo University is now carrying on sociological researches on mass communication.

(ix) Sociological Society and Teaching of Sociology

The Japanese Institute of Social Science (1913-1923) which was established by Prof. Takebe and published 10 volumes of annual reports. In 1923, Prof. Toda established anew the "Japan Sociological Soci-

ety" which is still in existence today. Members total about 800 and its publication is the "Japanese Sociological Review". This Society is also a member of the International Sociological Association (headquarters in London) and also cooperates with the Institute International de Sociologie (Rome). It has executive committee members to both and sends delegates to the congresses of the two.

In regard to the teaching of sociology in universities, the number of schools in which undergraduate courses in sociology are available 37 in total—national universities 15, public universities 3, and private universities 19.

Postgraduate courses in sociology are available at 20 universities—national universities 9, public universities 2 and private universities 9. Universities that have doctor courses in sociology number 13—national 9, public 1 and private 3.

Political Science

The doctrines of governance and political thoughts based on Confucianism developed on a grand scale during 1603-1867 when the administration of Japan was under the Tokugawa Shogunate. And the political thoughts of those days still linger today in the country's political world.

However, modern political science was first introduced into this country around the middle of the 19th century when western sciences made their influx here.

After the so-called Meiji Restoration (1841-1877), democratic principles of Britain and France flowed into the country together with the sudden awakening of Japan to Western thoughts, and movements for democratic rights became very popular.

The Government, however, has more interested in establishing a strong government rather than democratizing politics, so pressure was put on these movements and the principles of the German "Staatslehre" was strongly enforced.

During the Taishō Era (1912-1926), particularly after World War I, American and British democracy became the vogue,

and at the same time, the Russian revolution also played a big role in introducing socialism and other thoughts into Japan.

It goes without saying that these thoughts were intricately related to the rise of labor movements and the establishment of party politics.

The Taishō Era which was called the era of Taishō democracy was a period full of many schools of thoughts. Political science also saw its start in this period.

Oyama Ikuo's (1880-1955) "Social Foundation of Politics" and Prof. Rōyama Masamichi's (1895-) "The Duty and Objective of Political Science" are read even to this day and the controversy on the pluralistic conception of the state is a topic of everyday talk.

However, this Taishō Era was short, and with the advent of the Shōwa Era (1927-), particularly after the so-called Manchurian Incident, Facism gradually reared its ugly head and as a result, nationalism and militarism permeated the nation. Consequently, democratic thoughts, not to mention socialism, had no room for survival.

These thoughts were only furtively mentioned in university lectures and at home by a few professors and scholars.

Among the books written during this period is Prof. Nambara Shigeru's (1889-) "The State and Religion".

Generally speaking, therefore, political science in Japan was not at a stage where it could analyze the nation's politics. It was only at a stage where western political theories were read and digested.

However, after the end of World War II, political oppression was completely eliminated and the freedom of academic research was made possible. The first thing that caught the interest of political scientists and sociologists was the Japanese political system known as the Emperor system. It was the problem of how the economic foundation of the Emperor system had been formed, how its ideology and control over the people had been created which caught the interest of these scholars and tempted them to analyze the system. They were strongly influenced by Karl Marx's "authoritarianism" which had infiltrated into Japan before the war, as well as the post-war influx of American socio-psychological methods and research on social investigation.

There was a second problem of how to realize democracy in Japan and in what form and direction. The influence that the policies of the democratization of Japan had had on the country's political system must be analyzed and problems of how social life, mentality and behavior of the Japanese can be adapted to democracy must also be studied.

The Occupation policies were widely criticized not only by Marxists but also by the general public.

There is a third problem of what changes had occurred in Western thoughts on democracy and what was the political process democracy took in Western countries.

Consequently, studies must be made on the pressure groups, labor unions, political parties, parliaments and other organizations as well as the role of politics and the form of various leaderships in these Western democracies in order to make perspicuous the same things in this country.

The fourth problem is the analyzing of international politics. This becomes an object of study from the point of the relations between domestic political leadership and foreign policies, from the point of nationalistic movements, and from the viewpoint of the historical changes in modern international politics.

Various new research methods have been adopted after the war and many studies on Japan's politics have been accomplished. However, the political unsoundness in Japan these past 10 years has been very great and political scientists in this country have been confronted with numerous realistic problems.

Therefore, together with the analyzing of reality, these political scientists are forced to be involved in the correlation between different ideologies. Whether this political lack of stability in Japan will prove favorable to the growth of political science in this country or whether it will be a drawback, depends wholly on the earnestness of the scholars studying this science.

Jurisprudence

Jurisprudence as a science did not exist in Japan until the Meiji Restoration of 1868. The only similar science was Confucian ethics which took up the problem of how the feudal overlords should administer their domain.

But around the end of the Tokugawa Era, there appeared scholars who started study-

ing Western sociology. These were the persons that sowed the seeds of jurisprudence in Japan.

In the year 1862, two Japanese scholars, Nishi Amane (1826-1894) and Tsuda Shin-dō (1829-1903) went to Leiden University in the Netherlands and studied individualistic natural law theory from Simon Vis-

sering. It was these two who came back and introduced this theory into Japan and which gave rise to the study of jurisprudence.

During the Meiji Era (1868-1912) liberalism flowed in from France and Britain and due to its influence, a democratic movement arose which resulted in the institution of the so-called Meiji Constitution in 1889.

However, the Meiji Constitution itself as well as the civil law which was enacted in 1896, were more or less imitations of their German counterparts.

In the beginning of the Meiji Era, Katō Hiroyuki (1836-1916) introduced the German "might theory" and advocated the right of the strongest. However, Hozumi Nobushige (1856-1926) studied the British empirical jurisprudence and influenced by Herbert Spencer, published his book "The Evolution of Law".

Because the law system of the Meiji Era was based upon the written law system of Germany, the study of the theory of the interpretation of law became popular while on the other hand, the study of the American and British common law took a secondary position.

The theory of the interpretation of law in Japan was completed by the combined work of many scholars, but among these scholars, the theory of Hatoyama Hideo (1884-1946) on the interpretation of civil law was outstanding.

The democratic movement in Japan increased strongly from the end of the Meiji Era through the Taishō Era (1912-1926) and efforts to govern the land by a parliamentary system under the Meiji Constitution was continued. In order to set up this system, it was necessary that a political theory which justifies that politics was based on the Diet and that legislature be the standard of the administration be developed.

This role was accomplished by Minobe Tatsukichi (1873-1948). Minobe adopted Georg Jellinek's "The Theory of the State as Juridical Person" and advocated that the Emperor was only an organ in the administration of the state. He was the one that first opened the path to a democratic Diet by interpreting the Constitution in this manner.

However with the advent of the Shōwa Era (1926...), the power of the political parties saw a sudden slump while that of the military increased giving way to authoritarianistic interpretation of the Constitution which held that the Emperor was sacrosanct. Thus Minobe's Organ Theory was fiercely attacked by the authoritarians who tried to wipe it out of existence. Furthermore, authoritarianism centering on Emperor worship combined with the military to finally bring the World War II over the heads of the Japanese people.

Economics

As far as the principles of economics are concerned, the study in this field in Japan from the Meiji Era to recent days has been concentrated in the introduction of economic theories from abroad. The first to be imported to Japan was the British utilitarian economics and the French liberalistic and materialistic economics. However, from the middle of the Meiji Era up to the beginning of the Taishō Era, economics represented by A. Wagner and G. Schmoller of Germany came into vogue.

However, after the end of World War I, the weakness of this school of economics was exposed when Japanese capitalism be-

came an actual problem. It was taken over by the Marxian school of economics which had been just imported and widely disseminated.

Marxian economics, however, was in stiff opposition to the so-called marginal utility school of economics which had been introduced into this country around the same time as the former, but with the occurrence of the China Incident (1937) it disappeared from the lecture halls of universities as well as research rooms and its place was taken by subjectivism which continued till the end of World War II. However, the theory of subjecticism at that time was not

that of original form but that of Schumpeter, A.C. Pigou, T.M. Keynes and other scholars of the so-called neo-classic school.

Mention must be made here of the introduction of the British classic school of economics. British economic theories introduced into this country during the beginning of the Meiji Era were that of J.S. Mill, H. Fancet representing common economics, and with several exceptions, the original classical school of economics as represented by A. Smith and O. Ricardo was not directly introduced into this country.

It can be said that this was because Japan's capitalism saw a singular growth and Japan did not have a classical age in its economic development.

The above mentioned paragraphs are a brief outline of Japan's economic theories, but after World War II, the study of Marxian economics increased suddenly and in the fields concerning the theories of reproduction, value and land rent, Japanese theories today no longer depend on imported theories.

The so-called modern economics represented by the Cambridge School has also become suddenly popular in Japan.

At the present moment, Marxian economics and modern economics comprise two big currents of economic studies in this country.

In regard to the tendency of modern economic analysis in this country after World War II, the biggest influence was brought about by J.M. Keynes. He was responsible directly or indirectly for the development of national income analysis and econometrics which have come to have important significance in this country today.

Also as a result of the influence of Keynes, the following may be pointed out:

(1) The improvement in the quality of scholars studying economics as well as the furtherance of international exchange in the field of economics

(2) Importance has been placed on the tie-up of the principles of economics and that of statistical research. Government offices are adopting social accounting and input-output tables.

The fact that scholars in this country have adopted the Macroe Economic Model, Inter Industrial Analysis, Linear Programming, Activity Analysis, etc., and are tackling the problems of production, distribution of resources, employment, economic fluctuations, economic growth and others, means that the tendencies mentioned in (2) have borne actual fruit and that they have qualifications in them that are effective in economic planning as well as predicting future economic courses.

Statistics

Statistics in pre-war Japan

Statistics as one of the social sciences had two characteristic tendencies in pre-war Japan. One was the tendency to pay more attention to methodology and history because of the influence of the German school of statistics, and the other was the stressing of statistical analysis due to the influence of British-American statistics.

The German school of statistics was first introduced into this country during the Meiji Restoration by Japanese scholars studying the Dutch language and science.

Soon after, the works of G. Schmoller, G. Rumelin, G.P. Knapp, E. Engel, A. Wagner, F. Zizek and others were introduced into Japan, but the writings of the German statistician G. von Mayer greatly influenced a large number of Japanese statisticians.

The pioneer in the field of statistics in Japan was Dr. Takano Iwazaburō (1870-1949) of Tokyo University whose lectures on statistics from 1903 were based on von Mayer's German School of statistics.

Dr. Takano probed deeply into classical German statistics, but his most important works concerned that of the application of statistics to the working class.

Dr. Takano's "Tsukishima Family Budget Survey", which was finished in 1917, is considered the first family survey in Japan. Two characteristic works of this German school of statistics should be mentioned here. One was that advocated by Dr. Ninagawa Torazō of Kyoto University who theorized on the so-called "Soziale Masse", (1) and the other was the interpretation made by Arizawa Hiromi concerning the dialectic causality of "Soziale Masse". (2).

The influence of the British-American school of statistics came from the works of K. Pearson, E.Y. Edgeworth, A. L. Bowley, G.U. Yule, I. Fisher, W.C. Mitchell, W.M. Persons and others.

Particularly the method of K. Pearson's frequency distribution and correlation as well as the method of Harvard's economic barometer in relation to time series analysis proved to be the base of the British-American School of statistics.

The works of the Japanese scholars of this school were primarily on demography, index numbers analysis and family budget analysis. A fine example can be found in the works of Dr. Morita Yūzō (3).

However, no matter what school of statistics the scholar's of pre-war Japan advocated, the base of their theories was in "Massenbeobachtung", and the principal role of statistical method was "descriptive".

Statistics in post-war Japan

After the war, however, the field of statistics in the social sciences saw great developments and became many phased. The chief reason was due to the introduction and development of British-American statistics and economics, particularly mathematical statistics and econometrics which had been interrupted during the war.

Mathematical statistic helped much to develop the random sampling theory and the theory of design of experiment. Although studies on Bowley's random sampling had been carried out during pre-war days, with the exception of a few mathematical statisticians, there was little interest in the theory that advocated a strict differentiation of population and sample.

It was not until after the war that this method was adopted in the survey of social affairs. Although this method still leaves a lot of unsolved problems theoretically as well as from the point of application, yet it has seen great development after the war in its application to actual surveys.

The mathematical statisticians sublated the original descriptive statistics and advocated stochastics anew. The pioneers in this field are Dr. Masuyama Motosaburō and Dr. Kitagawa Toshio of Kyūshū University (4) both of whom obtained good results from the application of this theory to the survey of the Hiroshima atomic bombing casualties.

This tendency created a controversy on whether statistics is descriptive or inference, and this issue is still without clarification to this day. It can also be mentioned that this field contributed in developing the theories and application of quality control and marketing research.

The study of econometrics is now opening up a new field in statistics together with the study of the theory of decision function, operating research and linear programming which had been developed by Neyman, Pearson and Wald.

Econometrics has also furthered the sampling methods of national income, social accounting, input-output table, etc. Although the estimation of the national income (5) had been done by Dr. Hijikata Masami and the Statistical Bureau of the Prime Minister's Office before the war, data as well as the method of estimation was not precise.

After the war, the methods of S. Kuznets and the U.S. Department of Commerce were studied and the annual estimation of the Economic Planning Agency was started.

With the introduction of Leontief's method, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry also began computation on input-output tables.

Post-war statistics in this country is based on many standpoints—descriptive statistics, stochastics, and econometrics—but from the point of view of this country's economic actuality as well as available data, the question of how far sampling methods

can be developed in Japan will have to be left to the future.

- Note: (1) Outline of Statistics (1934)
 (2) Outline of Statistics (1946)
 (3) Measuring of the Fluctuation of

Commodity Prices (1940) Analysis
 of Population Increase (1944)
 Syntax of Statistics (1948)

- (4) Understanding Statistics (1949)
 (5) Construction of National Income
 (1933)

Philosophy

Philosophy as we now know it was first introduced into Japan from Europe in the 1860's right after the so-called Meiji Restoration. The Japanese, of course, had their original philosophy—their "Weltanschauung" or "world outlook"—but this was based on Confucianism and Buddhism, and it was quite different from European philosophy.

Japanese philosophy can be divided into three stages—the first starting from its introduction in the 1860's up to the end of the First World War, that is, 1918.

In the first half of the initial stage, philosophical thoughts of Britain and France were introduced into this country, represented by utilitarianism and French political thoughts.

Philosophers in Japan then were represented by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834–1901), Nakae Chōmin (1847–1901) and Nishi Amane (1829–1897). The word "philosophy" first appeared in a book written by Nishi. The role played by these three Japanese philosophers, however, was in introducing thoughts which greatly abetted the modernization of society and politics. This was particularly so in the case of Fukuzawa.

From the latter part of the first stage, however, a more academic study of philosophy was carried out and the German school of thought in this field became more and more popular. In fact, German philosophy was practically the only type of philosophy studied by Japanese scholars then.

The centers of studies were Kant and German idealism together with Neo-Kant school of philosophy and phenomenology. Among the prominent Japanese philosophers of this age were Inoue Tetsujirō (1855–1944), Kuwaki Genyoku (1874–1946) and Hatano Seiichi (1877–1950).

The reason why the British and French school of thoughts were replaced by German philosophy in Japan during this latter stage was attributed to the similarity of the Japan of the Meiji Era to the Germany of the 18th century. This tendency was in many points similar to the likeness of Germany in the 18th century to Britain and France.

Thus, German philosophy was introduced into Japan under these circumstances.

It was considered then that by studying German philosophy, the Japanese thought would become more modern and a way found to define the Japanese spirit.

From this standpoint, the Japanese managed to create several traditional philosophies of their own. This occurred during the period after the First World War and up to the end of World War II. This period can be considered as the second stage of Japanese philosophy.

The most representative Japanese philosopher of this period was Nishida Kitarō (1870–1945). His thought was based on German philosophy. He accurately understood the philosophical thoughts from Leibnitz to Hegel.

It was Nishida who had full grasp of the reason why German philosophy reached the pinnacle of modern philosophical thought after battling it out with British and French rationalism. It was Nishida, too, who based on German philosophy, played a big role in fostering the Japanese spirit.

It must also be pointed out, however, that Marxian philosophy saw its advent and popularization during the latter part of this second stage.

The third stage in Japanese philosophy began after Japan's defeat in World War

II. It was inevitable that the system of Japanese philosophy should disintegrated after the defeat.

From a certain point of view, the Japanese was brought back to the Meiji Era, and they became aware that what they thought had been accomplished long ago, was still to be completed.

Japanese philosophy during the immediate years after World War II was in a vacuum. The present Japanese philosophy,

however, is influenced strongly by Marxism, existentialism and logical positivism.

However, there is a deep rooted attitude among Japanese philosophers today to strive for a full understanding of European thoughts and the British and French philosophies are now being taken up and studied from a more wider point of view.

In regard to the question of what course the Japanese philosophy will take in the future, we are still not at a stage to answer this question.

Science of Religion

The study of religion in Japan dates back to the days of the Emperor Suiko when Prince Shōtoku wrote three treatises (*Sanga-no-sho*) on Hokke (*Saddharma-pundarika*), *Yuima* (*Vimalakirtinirdesa*) and *Shōman* (*Srimala-sinhanada*).

During the Heian and Kamakura eras, new Buddhism was introduced into Japan from the Chinese continent. Also new sects of Buddhism sprang up within the country during these periods and studies on Buddhism as a whole were widely carried out.

The study of the original Japanese religion called *Shintō* also saw its start during the Kamakura Era stimulated by the influx of Buddhism and other foreign thoughts. Scholars of the Kamakura Era who engaged in the study of *Shintō* included Urabe-no-Kanekata and Watarai-no-Ieyuki.

Among the *Shintō* scholars of the Muromachi Era was Yoshida Kanetomo while the Edo Era saw such illustrious Shintoists as Kada-no-Azumamaro, Deguchi Nobuyoshi, Kamo-no-Mabuchi, Motoori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane.

These scholars, who went under the name of Kokugakusha (Japanese classical scholars) did much to propagate *Shintō*.

Although it can be said that the study of religion in this country started comparatively early, it was not until the Meiji Era that modern and scientific researches on religion were carried out.

When the first university was established in Japan in the second year of Meiji (1869),

courses on Buddhism under the name of Indian philosophy began to be gradually adopted. However, it was not until the 30th year of Meiji (1897) that the study of Buddhism as we know it today based on original Sanskrit and Pali was initiated.

Among the scholars of that period were Takakusu Junjirō and Anesaki Masaharu. Takakusu, soon after returning from his studies in Europe, began lecturing on philology at the Tokyo University. Later he also held a course in Sanskrit literature. Anesaki on the other hand, taught the science of religion at the Tokyo University after studying under Max Müller or Britain. This was in 1903.

The study of religion saw rapid progress after these two pioneers. At present, courses in Buddhism and Indian philosophy can be found in practically Japanese national and private universities. The some Buddhist sects in this country have also established their own colleges and universities numbering 36 in all for the specific study of Buddhism.

Consequently, a large number of eminent scholars have come up with studies on Buddhism which are considered some of the most outstanding in the world. The most representative of these Japanese scholars are the aforementioned Takakusu Junjirō, Nanjō Bunyū, Suzuki Daisetsu and Ui Hakuju. Nanjō is the author of the so-called *Nanjō Mukuroku*—a sort of encyclopedia on Buddhism written in English.

Among the notable works produced by Japanese scholars in this field are the *Shukusatsu* (known abroad as "Tokyo Editions" and published in 1885) and the two-volume *Daizō Kyō* (completed in 1932 and known as the complete collection of Buddhist Sutras, Laws and Treaties).

Preparations for the republication of the pictures of the Tibetan *Daizō Kyō* is now proceeding as well as the compilation of an English Buddhist Encyclopedia in conjunction with the 2,500th anniversary of Gautama Buddha which was celebrated in Ceylon in 1956.

If individual reports and books are taken into consideration, there are a vast number of works by Japanese scholars on Indology which can be considered as the pinnacles of such efforts in the world today.

Aside from the studies in Buddhism, researches on the science of religion are being carried out extensively since Anesaki introduced comparative science of religion in 1903.

Practically all the big national and private universities in this country now have courses on the science of religion, and the fields of study include the comparative study of the world's great religions. Together with these, researches on religion in line with ethnological and archaeological studies as well as primitive religion are also being carried out by Japanese scholars today.

Turning to the study of *Shintō*, researches in this field has lagged far behind those in Buddhism ever since the Meiji Era. This was due to the fact that *Shintō* was not considered as a religion and missionary work had been prohibited.

However, with the termination of World War II, the study of *Shintō* witnessed a sudden reawakening, and at the present moment, there are 3 colleges and universities which are dedicated to the study of this religion. The number of scholars and researchers of *Shintō* is showing a gradual increase of rate. The quality of research on *Shintō* has also gone up.

The study of the Christianity in Japan saw little progress because of the fact that Christianity was prohibited during the Tokugawa Era. Universities in Japan also was late in studying this field as they concentrated chiefly in the study of Buddhism and Indian philosophy.

However, with the establishment of a school of theology in Sendai, in 1886, by the reformed denominationists, researches on the Christianity were gradually taken up and today, there is a total of 13 colleges and universities with courses on this religion. Most of the big national and private universities in the country also have courses on the Christianity. The foremost Japanese scholar of the Christianity is Uchimura Kanzō.

Pedagogics

The first book entitled "Pedagogics" was published in Japan in 1882 by Izawa Shūji (1851-1917). This book contained a series of lectures the author heard while he was studying in an American teachers' school.

In 1887, E. Hausknecht (1853-1927) German was invited to teach pedagogics at Tokyo University. Since then, the study of German pedagogics in Japan saw remarkable progress. Many German books on pedagogy were translated into the Japanese language and the trends in the study of this science in the country were almost entirely toward the German school.

However, with the introduction of experimental pedagogics from Germany around the end of the Meiji Era, a tendency to correlate actuality and pedagogics came into existence and a revision of educational methods was advocated.

With the coming of the Taishō Era and the introduction of American educational psychology and educational sociology, however, a new form of pedagogics based on positive researches was advocated by the country's scholars.

These scholars who advocated scientific studies on education concentrated their ef-

forts in creating a new type of pedagogy and a movement was started to accomplish this objective.

With the beginning of the Shōwa Era the influence of German cultural pedagogics (Kulturpädagogik) and educational science (Erziehungswissenschaft) was strongly felt in this country.

Scholars in this country who took a critical attitude toward speculative pedagogics began to study the problem of education from a various angle. In other words, they attempted to study this problem by correlating education with cultural patterns as well as taking up the study of education as an historical and social reality.

During the last war, there were some scholars who advocated a "Japanese pedagogy" as a part of the thought control policy of that time, but this movement died out with the termination of the war.

After the war, the study of pedagogics in Japan was greatly influenced by American studies on education and researches on the psychological and social aspects of education advanced considerably in this country, bringing about a complete change

from the studies made in this field during prewar years.

It must thus be admitted that the influence felt in Japan by the American method of scientific studies on the problems of education was indeed great.

Consequently, in order to carry out scientific studies on education, the problem of new types of relative sciences came up, and based on these new types of sciences, scholars began to complete their own systems in their own respective field of studies.

For example, aside from educational psychology and educational sociology, systematic studies are now being made by Japanese scholars in the fields of school pedagogics, social pedagogics, physical education.

Soviet books on pedagogics have also been introduced into Japan recently and studies are being made on the educational systems of socialist countries.

However, the long influence of German pedagogics in this country will be difficult to be replaced easily by positive pedagogics.

The most important problem now facing scholars of pedagogics in this country is to unify these two schools of thought into one complete system.

Psychology

Present situation

Researches in psychology are being carried out in many fields in Japan, and scholars here have obtained a high level of results.

The center of the study of psychology in Japan, however, is general and experimental psychology, reflecting the development of the history of scientific psychology.

Among the studies in experimental psychology, the most widely carried out is in the field of visio-perception. Results of researches in this field have been acclaimed as equal to those made by European and American psychologists.

On the other hand, however, studies in audio-psychology is still in an infant stage and works in this field have nothing much

to show, qualitatively and quantitatively, compared with other fields of psychology.

However, studies in the fields of learning and memory, particularly researches in the learning using animals as experimental materials, is popular and second only to the study of perception. Some valuable studies have been made in this field.

Studies in regard to selective behavior, comparative actions, predictions, and thinking also have attained some fruitful results although the results are small.

Researches in feeling, and emotion, however, are scarce.

All these psychological studies are presently being carried out at universities both national and private. Among the universities which have obtained comparatively good results are Tokyo University, Kyoto University, Hokkaidō University, Tōhoku

University, Tokyo University of Education, Keiō University, Nagoya University, Osaka University, Kwansei Gakuin University and Kyūshū University.

Studies in other departments of psychology which are being made rather widely are those in developmental psychology, psychology of personality, social psychology, clinical psychology, educational psychology, industrial psychology and criminal psychology.

The study of child and adolescence psychology in the field of developmental psychology is also being carried out widely in conjunction with educational psychology. Researches on mental tests are also being made by Japanese psychologists.

The centers of these studies are Tokyo University, Tōhoku University, Kyoto University, Tokyo University of Education, Nagoya University and Hiroshima University, which all have faculties of education. Among institutes other than universities which are carrying out studies in these fields is the National Educational Research Institute.

The study of psychology of personality and clinical psychology is becoming rapidly popular in recent days, particularly at Waseda and Nihon Universities. The National Mental Hygiene Institute also has made remarkable progress in researches in this field.

A relatively large amount of researches in group dynamics and communication in the field of social psychology have been made while in the case of popular opinion study, the Popular Opinion Scientific Society have attained some valuable results.

Studies on industrial psychology was very popular in the past but today the situation is reversed. However, researches on professional aptitude, working morale and training have contributed some valuable results. The centers of these studies

are Rikkyō (St. Pauls') University and the Labor Scientific Institute.

The representative psychological society in Japan is the Japanese Psychological Association. There are about 1,300 members in the association at present. Other psychological societies include the Society for Applied Psychology, Society for Animal Psychology and the Society for Educational Psychology, etc.

The Japanese Psychological Association publishes the "Japanese Journal of Psychology" and the "Japanese Psychological Research", which are considered the most authoritative publications on psychology in this country.

Other psychological societies have their own publications which universities also published their findings regularly in this fields.

Characteristics of the study of psychology in Japan

The study of psychology in Japan formerly was greatly influenced by the German psychology. However, after World War II, the influence of American psychology was felt strongly and generally speaking, the study of psychology in this country is taking a similar direction as that of the United States.

From the methodological point of view, psychology as a science cannot exist as a science unique to a certain country. Consequently, if we are to point out the characteristics of Japanese psychology, we can say that it lies in the special objects taken up in studies. For example, the study of Buddhist psychology may be considered as one of them.

Among the books on psychology published in Japan, Prof. Yatabe Tatsurō's "Introduction to Psychology" might be considered a noteworthy work.

Linguistics

Out of the social chaos created after the end of World War II, two big works were published which had a significant meaning

in the study of languages in Japan.

One was the Japanese translation of "Les Langues du Monde" with Izui Hisano-

suke as the Japanese editor which was published under the directorship of A. Meillet and M. Cohen. The Japanese edition of the French book (the first edition which appeared in Paris in 1924) was published in Tokyo in 1954 under the title of "Languages of the World". The Japanese translation of the group of languages in "Les Langues du Monde" was made by linguists in the respective fields in Japan.

The second publication worthy of note was the book entitled "Introduction to the Languages of the World" compiled jointly by Ichikawa Sanki, Kōzu Harushige and Hattori Shirō and the first volume published in Tokyo in 1952 and the second volume in 1955.

Some 40 of the principal languages of the world are taken up in this publication and explained by Japanese linguists of the respective languages.

The first volume is composed chiefly of Indo-European languages while the second tome treats the rest of the world's languages.

What is lacking in both volumes, however, are the languages of Africa, South and North America, Australia, and Basque. This fact means that Japan still do not have real experts in the study of the above-mentioned languages. However, this does not mean, on the other hand, that Japanese scholars do not have a sufficient grasp and knowledge of these languages.

These two publications can be pointed out as works indicating Japan's research of the languages of the world.

In regard to the linguists in Japan, Ichikawa Sanki is a famous English philologist, Kōzu an expert on Greek whose monumental work entitled "Studies in Arcadian Dialect" (Tokyo, 1954) is worthy of mention, while Hattori is well known for his studies on the Altaic language. Hattori's biggest work is his "Studies of Chinese Characters representing Mongolian Words in Yüan-chao Pi-shih" (Secret History of the Mongolian Dynasties).

Izui also has written an article on Malay-Polynesian-Austronesian Languages in the second volume of the "Introduction to the Languages of the World". He has proven

in his article that Micronesian languages are divided into three groups—Indonesian, Melanesian and Polynesian, from actual field work. He is also the author of "Etudes Comparatives des Langues du Sud" concerning the languages of Southeast Asia which was published in Tokyo and Ōsaka in 1949.

The history of language studies on the Far East is very old. In China, Hsü-shên wrote the book "Shou-wên Chieh-tzu" (Analytic Dictionary of Chinese Characters) as far back as in A.D. 99. Compared to Hesychius of Alexandria (5th Century) who was the first author of the Greek language, one can see how old the study of languages in the Far East had been.

The "Analytic Dictionary of Chinese Characters" is still a valuable work even to this day. Its influence was greatly felt in China resulted in the brilliant philological studies of the T'ing Period represented by T'si-lun's "Kuang-Yün".

G. Karlgren's famous "Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese" (1923) was also patterned after the "Kuang-Yün". The study of languages in Japan also was greatly influenced by Chinese methods, but with the advent of the Meiji Era, Western methodology was adopted and a great development in the research of languages was witnessed in Japan.

Prominent linguists of Japan are:

- (1) Japanese language—Ueda Kazutoshi, Shinmura Izuru, Hashimoto Shin-kichi, Doi Tadao, Tokieda Motoki and Endō Yoshimoto.
- (2) Luchuan—Iha Fuyū and Miyara Tōsō.
- (3) Altaic—Fujioka Katsuji and Hattori Shirō.
- (4) Korean—Kokura Shimpei and Kōno Rōkurō.
- (5) Uralic—Tokunaga Yasumoto.
- (6) Tibeto-Burman—Nishida Tatsuo.
- (7) Ainu—Kindaichi Kyōsuke and Chiri Mashiho.
- (8) Indonesian—Ogawa Hisayoshi and Asai Erin.
- (9) Malay-Polynesian—Izui Hisanosuke.
- (10) Indo-European—Tsuji Naoshirō (Sanskrit), Kōzu Harushige (Greek) and Izui Hisanosuke (Latin).

In regard to the trends of the linguistic circle in Japan, the Japanese translation of F. de Saussure's "Cours de Linguistique Generale" made by Kobayashi Hideo as well as N. Trubetzkoi's works and American phonemics have left a deep and significant mark on Japanese language scholars, resulting in the further reinforcement of the study of historico-comparative linguist-

ics in this country.

There are two linguistic societies in Japan—Linguistic Society of Japan and Phonetic Society of Japan. Both of them publish regular journals. In 1955, the Research Center of Phonematics was established in Kyoto University with the cooperation of linguistic, electronics and oto-rhinolaryngology societies in this country.

Study of Art

Japanese arts were developed on the basis of Buddhist faith and under the patronage of the Buddhist temples for several centuries since the introduction of Buddhism into Japan in the 6th century.

Eventually, the Japanese artists fostered a unique form of art of their own while adopting the traditional techniques of their counterparts on the China Continent.

In particular, the *yamato-e*, the *maki-e* and the wood-block prints express uniquely Japanese beauty both in expression and form.

Prompted by the influences of the Zen sect of Buddhism and the Chinese paintings of the Yuan and Sung eras, the temple-centered arts first permeated the aristocracy and then spread far and wide among the common people in the Muromachi Period.

In the Edo Period, the arts even spread to the lowest classes establishing a sort of an aesthetic cultural era. But many of the art works were too artificial because they were the products of a feudalistic community.

The introduction of Western civilization in the latter half of the 19th century sparked a revolution in Japanese arts. The era of unconditional infatuation for Western philosophy and civilization had now passed, and a movement arose for a return to the classic arts of Japan.

Ever since, Japanese artists have striven to adopt the good points of Western arts and assimilate them into Japan's own unique art.

Throughout the history of arts in Japan, very little study was made of the theories of art. This was partly because of lack of in-

terest in pursuing logical truth but perhaps even more so because of the national characteristic of the Japanese people and their unique sense of beauty.

The primary objective of Buddhist arts was to faithfully follow the Sutras, and in this respect they defied criticism of the laymen. Arts in the aristocratic society were likewise out of bounds of the critics because all that was required of them was that they should fulfill the aesthetic needs of the mobility.

In the Muromachi Era, Zeami wrote several theoretical books on the *noh*, and the Shōgun Yoshimasa made an inventory of the Chinese paintings of the Sung and Ming eras in his possessions. It was a mere list, but a bit of critical spirit is shown in his classification of the paintings. Dissertations were also written during this period on the 31-syllable waka verse, the 17-syllable haikai verse, tea ceremony and gardening.

In the Edo Period, many manuals on arts and crafts were put out by writers, and critics and scholars also began to express their views in essay form.

The articles on art carried on the concepts of China in the Ming and Ching eras and dealt mainly with techniques and materials. The theories themselves were based on ethical and spiritual elements and could not be said to be very scientific. The picture books and collection of the signatures and seals of authors published in this period, however, serve as valuable research material.

Western literature and publications were introduced in force into Japan since the last

half of the 19th century. The result was the rise of literary dissertations represented by Tsubouchi Shōyō's "Essence of the Novel" and Nakae Chōmin's book on the French aesthetician.

At the same time, painters who studied in Europe spread western painting of the early impressionist era and staged active verbal battles on the press.

Among the leading arts scholars were Tsubouchi Shōyō, Kitamura Tōkoku, Mori Ōgai, Takayama Chogyū, and Ōnishi Hajime.

The theory of evolution and idealistic philosophy formed ideological background of the studies on art. In general, the studies progressed from romantic to naturalistic ideology. In the realm of studies on aesthetics, the trend was from idealistic aesthetics (Haltman's Aesthetics, for instance) to psychological studies and socialistic discourses in a broad sense of the term.

Since the Shōwa Period, (1926—) cultural and artistic exchange with foreign nations were carried out extensively, and arts researches in Japan reached the inter-

national level. References for the study of arts include the following:

"Oriental Arts Research Material", published by the Education Ministry.

"National Treasure Collection", published by the Education Ministry.

"Nanto Jūdaiji Ōkagami", 26 volumes, edited by the Tokyo Academy of Arts.

"Kokka", magazine, published by the Kokka Co. Ltd.

"Buddhist Art", magazine, published by the Asahi Shimbun.

"History of Art", "Study of Art", magazines, published by Bijutsu Kenkyūjo.

"Aesthetics", magazine, edited by the Aesthetic Society and published by the Bijutsu Shuppansha.

"The Characteristics of Japanese Arts" by Yashiro Yukio, published by the Iwanami Bookstore.

"The Thinking Process of the Orientals" by Nakamura Hajime, 2 volumes, published by the Iwanami Bookstore.

"The Stereotypes of Natural Emotion" by Ōnishi Katsurei, published by the Iwanami Bookstore.

Study of Japanese Literature

The study of Japanese literature was engaged in by scholars from ancient days up to the present. If we are to divide the periods of study into ancient, middle and modern ages, it can be said that researches on Japanese literature were on a small scale and concentrated chiefly in the study of *uta* or Japanese poems during the ancient and mediaeval ages.

The study of Japanese classics was begun in the modern age as a means to understand ancient Japan. Classics studied were the *Manyōshū* (Collection of Myriad Leaves), *Kokin-Shū*, *Ise Monogatari* (Tales of Ise), *Genji Monogatari* (Tales of Genji) and others. Annotation was the center of the studies. Bibliographical and commentary studies of these classics were also carried out but studies on the development of these literary pieces were not made.

With the coming of the Meiji Era, scholars began to study these classics from a

historical point of view. Ancient as well as literature of the mediaeval and modern ages were studied in order to clarify the development of Japanese literature and the works of Saikaku, Chikamatsu and Bashō were extensively taken up.

The study of modern Japanese literature is popular today and with the introduction of German bibliography into Japan by Dr. Haga Yaichi, the similarity between the methodology of Japanese scholars of modern literature and German bibliography was pointed out.

Bibliographical method is said to be the study of literary materials and the stages of studies include bibliography, commentary and annotation.

In regard to such classics as *Manyōshū*, *Genji Monogatari* and *Kokin-Shū*, a lot of material on these books were collected and based on these materials, a standard copy of

each of the books were completed and annotations added.

Together with the study of materials, researches from a literary point of view were also carried out, and the style as well as spirit of literary works and their authors were clarified. The German methodology in this field proved of great help to Japanese scholars.

Of particular note is the fact that positive researches on modern literary history are being increasingly carried out, and in the study of literary history, there is a tendency to treat Japanese literature as the people's literature as well as a trend to study Japanese literature from the viewpoint of comparative and world literature.

Studies on what influence of foreign literature on Japanese literature are also be-

ing taken up, particularly the effects of Chinese literature on Japanese literature before the modern age.

Studies on the influence of European and American literatures on Japanese modern literature are being carried out extensively.

Thus, the history of Japanese literature is now being studied in connection with world literature. Together with the studies on the clarification of the influence of foreign literature, the problem of value is being taken up from the standpoint of world literature. However, important results in this field of study have still not been obtained.

Among the genre of literature being studies in Japan today are, poems, novels, plays and literary commentaries.

Foreign Literature

The influence of Western literature in this country was first felt from the Meiji Era. Western literature was first introduced to Japan around 80 years ago, but it was only comparatively recently that the first book on the study of Western literature in this country was published. That was about 50 years ago.

The most widely read Western literature in this country since the Meiji Era was American and British books. This was no doubt due to the fact that English was the principal foreign language taught in Japanese schools.

Lectures on Shakespeare were given at Tokyo University around the beginning of the Meiji Era but the study of Western literature itself was still in a primitive stage.

It was not until 1885 that books appeared showing that Western literature was being really read and studied. Dr. Tsubouchi Shōyō who translated all the works of Shakespeare into Japanese and Mori Ōgai, the translator of "Faust" were the first ones to provide an atmosphere for the study of English and German literatures. This was around 1891.

Two years after, the magazine *Bungakukai* (Literary World) was published and influence of romantic English poems was deeply felt by young Japanese poets.

About this time, the poet and author Shimazaki Tōson emerged to infuse a new spirit and direction to Japanese poetic circles. Another famous poet, Doi Bansui also had great interest in foreign literature. These two men were followed by young poets who found the French symbolic poems of great appeal. At any rate, these young poets were avid readers of Western literature.

The novels of Turgenev were introduced to Japan in 1882 and the works of Dostoevski and Tolstoi found many sympathetic readers among the young people of Japan. Practically many Russian and French literatures were read by the Japanese through English translation at that time. Naturalistic literature was also popular, and its influence on Japanese novelists was great.

It was during the height of naturalism that Natsume Sōseki created a new style of in the writing of novels by basing his works on Oriental moral sense and English commonsense intertwined with dry British hu-

mor. Natsume studies the works of George Meredith and Jane Austen at one time.

His book "Introduction to Literature" containing his lectures at Tokyo University and published in 1907 as well as his "Studies in the 18th century English Literature" (published in 1909) are the first two books on foreign literature that were both systematic and original. However, the real study of foreign literature was still in an infant stage at that time.

During the Taishō Era, there were three Japanese translations of Dante's *Divine Comedy* and the *Canterbury Tales* (Middle English) was also put into Japanese and read in this country. On the other hand, proletarian novels were also translated and introduced to this country.

Also there was a blank of about 10 years in the study of Western literature due to World War II during the Shōwa Era, but after the war, the introduction as well as translation and studies of Western literature witnessed a tremendous progress.

At the present moment, numerous new novels of Britain, the United States and France have been translated and it takes only a year or two for new literary tendencies overseas to reach these shores.

Worthy of mentioned here is the fact that studies on Greek and Roman classical works, Dante, "Beowulf", Shakespeare, Milton, Villon, Rabelais, Montaigne, Cervantes and Goethe are also being carried out with authenticity in this country.

Particularly prominent in postwar Japan is the great increase of Japanese scholars taking up the study of American literature. This is due to the closer relations Japan has with the United States as well as to the fact that the level of the American novel has shown a remarkable rise.

Notwithstanding the fact that Japanese scholars are one of the most lowest paid in the world and that Japanese libraries are extremely poorly stocked as far as Western literary works are concerned, yet the scholars are carrying out their studies in this field with great diligence.

It is to be regretted, however, that the works of these Japanese scholars are practically unknown to the Western world because the results of their researches have been published chiefly in the Japanese language.

The studies on English literature was greatly enhanced by foreign professors who taught at Tokyo University and other Japanese schools. Among those who contributed greatly to the study of English literature in Japan are Lafcadio Hearn, Nichols, E. Blunden, Hodgson and Empson, etc.

Blunden in particular revisited this country in 1947 and stayed for two years, concentrating his efforts in the cultural rehabilitation of a devastated Japan.

It must also be mentioned here that the British Council and the various American Cultural Centers in this country helped much in providing a great deal of convenience to scholars of English literature in this country.

Oriental Studies

The greater part of Oriental studies in Japan can be said to be those on China. So popular is Chinese studies that researches on other districts such as Southeast Asia and the Middle East are far lagging.

Although there are many Japanese scholars studying Indology, the majority of the studies are on Buddhism (cf. "Religion").

One of the characteristics of Chinese studies in Japan is that the research on Chinese history is very brisk and practically all sinologists in Japan are carrying out

studies on a specific era of Chinese history.

However, from a comprehensive point of view, it must be admitted that the study of modern Chinese history is rather lagging compared with that of ancient and middle Chinese history.

Another characteristic of Chinese studies in Japan is that researches on the northern frontiers of China is relatively advanced. It can be said that studies on Korea, Manchuria and Mongolia by Japanese scholars are second to none in the world.

However, it must also be admitted that these studies tend to be too specialized due to the large number of sinologists and the popularity of studies in Chinese history, resulting in the lack of studies on Chinese history as a whole.

Strictly speaking, it can also be said that studies on Chinese social history, economic history and the history of laws are relatively few in comparison with those concerning political history.

The reason why the study of Chinese history is advanced in Japan is not only because of the proximity of the Chinese Continent to Japan and the fact that the Japanese people have a special interest in China but also because a lot of data on China have existed in this country from ancient days as well to the fact that the Japanese scholars after the Meiji Era have adopted methods of modern Western historiography in utilizing these abundant data.

The study of Chinese philosophy and literature is also as popular as the study of Chinese history in Japan. Japanese sinologists have concentrated their studies not only on Confucian philosophy but also on non-Confucian philosophy. Some valuable results have been obtained by such sinologists.

In the field of Chinese literature, the study of traditional Chinese poetry and prose have been popular for hundreds of years in this country. The Japanese literati of those days used to write Chinese prose and poetry themselves. In recent years, however, Chinese colloquial novels and plays of the mediaeval and modern ages are being taken up by Japanese sinologists increasingly.

The study of Chinese arts is also popular today in Japan because of the abundance of Chinese objects of arts and data in this country.

In regard to archaeology, Japanese scholars in this field used to carry out extensive research until the end of the last war by going on field surveys to Korea, Manchuria and North China.

Large-scale surveys of ruins and relics were made by many Japanese archaeologists and a large number of significant reports have been published on these archaeological researches.

Although studies on Central Asia is much more advanced than those on Southeast Asia and the Middle East, they are restricted virtually to studies on Chinese Turkistan and which are practically those concerning history based on Chinese data.

Prominent among the expeditions to Central Asia is that of the Otani Expedition to Central Asia. Three expeditions under the leadership of Dr. Otani were sent to this region from 1902 to 1914. These expeditions attained some valuable archaeological results which have been published in voluminous reports.

Several Japanese scholars went to Tibet and a few of them stayed there for a long period of time to continue their researches, but practically all these scholars were monks and the objects of their studies were limited to Tibetan Buddhism.

In recent years, the attention of Japanese orientalists have been turned toward the Middle East and in 1954 and 1955, a group of scholars from Kyoto University went to North Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran on field survey trips.

A party of Tokyo University scholars are planning to excavate ruins in Mesopotamia.

In regard to organizations concerning Oriental studies, most of the universities in Japan have courses in Oriental history and Chinese literature. The universities of Tokyo and Kyoto have Oriental Culture Research Institute and Research Institute of Humanistic Studies respectively which are the centers of Oriental studies in Japan.

Anthropology

The study of anthropology in the Anglo-American sense got its start in the country

around 1884 with the establishment of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo, the for-

erunner of the present Anthropological Society of Japan.

The organ paper of the Tokyo organization called the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo (the present *Jinruigaku Zasshi*, or the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Japan) was published for the first time in 1886.

In 1893, the founder of the Tokyo society, Dr. Tsuboi Shōgorō (1862-1913) established the present Anthropological Institute within the Science Faculty of Tokyo University, and which became the headquarters of the Tokyo society.

Dr. Tsuboi and his successor Dr. Torii Ryūzō (1870-1953) were the representative Japanese anthropologists during this early period and their studies included wide researches on physical and cultural anthropology concerning the aborigines of the Japanese islands and the origin of the Japanese race.

Other prominent scholars of that period were Dr. Koganei Yoshikiyo (1854-1944) of Tokyo University and Dr. Adachi Buntarō (1865-1945) of Kyoto University.

The former was a leading authority in the study of the Ainu race while the latter left remarkable researches on the blood vessels of the Japanese.

After 1920, the various fields in anthropology became independent and more specialized, while the aforementioned Anthropological Society and the Anthropological Institute concentrated its chief studies in physical anthropology and prehistory and the term "anthropology" was used in the German sense of physical anthropology. Consequently, in the field of cultural anthropology, particularly that of ethnology, studies were not limited within the universities of the country. After 1920, various newspapers and magazines were published in these fields and in 1934, the present Japanese Society of Ethnology was founded. Studies by this society were carried out chiefly by layman scholars and not university professors.

However, after Japan's defeat in World War II, a great change came over the Japanese anthropological circle. The taboo on the scientific study of the origin of the

Japanese race placed on anthropologists in Japan due to the hitherto conception that the Emperor was sacred, was lifted and the Japanese people themselves emerged from their narrow ethnocentrism and began to expand their ethnological viewpoints to a wider international sphere. The people's interest in anthropology increased and it was strongly felt that the study of physical as well as cultural anthropology should be made in close unison in order to attain a common goal. Consequently, the word "anthropology" began once again to be used in the wider Anglo-American sense of the term.

In 1948, the 6 societies of anthropology, ethnology, archeology, sociology, linguistics and folklore got together to form a league.

Following the formation of this league, 3 more societies—geography, psychology and science of religion became new members resulting in the establishment of the "Nine Academic Societies' League for the Study of Human Affairs".

The creation of this league was the result of an urgent necessity for academic societies to cooperate in carrying out researches not only in the field of anthropology but also in all human affairs.

Ever since 1950, this league has been carrying out annual joint field researches at Tsushima, Noto Peninsula, and Amami Oshima Islands.

Generally speaking, however, it was impossible for Japanese anthropologists to carry out field researches abroad after the end of the last war so anthropological studies on the Japanese and the Ainu naturally saw a great progress.

In the field of physical anthropology, researches on the anthropometry, finger prints and blood groups of the Japanese were carried out on a nation-wide scale.

Progress was also seen in the studies of growth and senility, racial mixture and twins based on researches in heredity with cultural factors as a background to the studies.

Studies concerning the origin of the Japanese race have been greatly accelerated with the discovery of numerous human

bones. Also in relation to the origin of Japanese culture, active studies are now being carried out on this problem. The Japanese Society of Ethnology has mapped out a plan to send an expedition team to Southeast Asia in an attempt to discover the origin of Japan's rice-growing agriculture.

In regard to the Ainu race, both

physical and cultural anthropologists have cooperated in carrying out joint researches on this problem since 1950, and some valuable new data and information have resulted concerning the ethnological characteristics of the Ainu race. Fruitful results were witnessed particularly in studies of the Ainu's territorial group and kinship structure.

Folklore

The study of folklore as an independent science in Japan saw its start in 1913 when Yanagida Kunio and Takagi Toshio jointly published a magazine called *Kyōdo Kenkyū* (The Study of Folklore).

However, studies on folklore had been carried out much earlier. Back in the Edo Era, studies on the lives of the people as well as researches in manners and customs of various parts of the country were made and there were some reports on these studies which are worthy of mention even today.

Among the works completed during the Edo Era were Koshigaya Gozan's *Butsurui Shōko* (a book on provincial dialects) published in 1775, Yashiro Hirokata's *Fūzoku Monjō Tōsho* (also a book on dialects) issued in 1817, Kitamura Nobuo's *Kiyū Shōran* (a sort of folklore dictionary) published in 1830, and some 70 lengthy travelogues written by Sugae Mazumi (1754-1829).

With the introduction of anthropology in Japan during the Meiji Era, Tsuboi Gorō and Torii Ryūzō advocated the study of customs and manners of various provinces in the country.

On the other hand, the study of the history of folklore was begun in 1889 with the publication of the magazine *Fūzoku Gahō* (Pictorial on Customs). Among the scholars in this field were Yamanaka Warai, Deguchi Yonekichi, Minakata Kumakusu and Inō Kanori.

With the advent of the Taishō Era, Ishibashi Gaha established a Japan Folklore Society in 1913, the same year that the

aforementioned *Kyōdo Kenkyū* was published.

Books on folklore published during this period included Origuchi Shinobu's *Dōzoku to Densetsu* (Local Customs and Legends), Kita Sadakichi's *Minzoku to Rekishi* (Folklore and History), Yanagida Kunio's *Minzoku* (Race).

With the coming of the Shōwa Era the magazines *Tabi to Densetsu* (Travel and Legends) and *Minzoku Geijitsu* (Folk Arts) were published.

A folklore society was organized in 1929 and its organ magazine *Minzokugaku* (Folklore) was issued. Among the prominent scholars in this field are Origuchi Shinobu, Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Nakayama Tarō, Iha Fuyū, Matsumura Takeo, Matsumoto Nobuhiro and Hayakawa Kōtarō, etc. Origuchi wrote a book, *Kodai Kenkyū* (Study of Ancient Periods) in which he made valuable contributions to the study of ancient faiths. Okinawa-born Iha published a book on the language and customs of the Ryūkyū Islands while Nakayama wrote and compiled the Japan Folklore and the Japan Folklore Dictionary. Matsumura wrote *Minzokugaku Ronkō* (Folklore) and Hayakawa published *Hanamatsuri* (Flower Festivals).

The society changed its name to Japan Folklore Society in 1948 and issued its organ magazine entitled Japan Folklore.

The study of folklore in Japan is characterized by its variegated fields. It is similar to the German "Volkskunde". The objects of the study of folklore in this country include clothing, food and housing, social

systems, marriage and funeral customs, etc. Because of the complex natural environment of Japan as well as the rapid and sudden change which metamorphosed Japan from a feudal to a modern country, there still exist many old customs throughout the country which makes it a veritable treasure-house for scholars of folklore.

In Japanese folklore, materials are divided into three groups. The first is tangible cultural materials including those on food, clothing and housing, agriculture, fishing and forestry, social systems, marriages and funerals, etc. The second group concerns materials on language, folksongs, riddles, proverbs, etc. The third group is composed of materials regarding faith, popular beliefs, hobbies, ghosts and taboos.

The study of Japanese folklore can be said to have been firmly established by Yanagida Kunio who spent much of his time travelling throughout the country and probing into the various fields of folklore. He was particularly interested in the study of popular beliefs as well as local dialects and ancient tales, the study of which resulted in some valuable works.

In his book entitled *Katatsumuri Kō* he proved that new words were created in the capital of the country while old terms tended to remain in outlying districts.

Yanagida was a prolific writer. Among the books he authored included: *Sekishin Mondō* (Talks with a Stone God), *Enno Monogatari* (Tales of Enno), *Yamanojinsei* (Life of a Mountain), *Momotarō no Tanjō* (Birth of Momotarō), *Hitotsume Kozō, Sonota* (The One-Eyed Boy and Others), *Nippon no Matsuri* (Japanese Festivals), *Senzo no Hanashi* (Tales of Our Ancestors), *Mukashibanashi to Bungaku* (Ancient Tales and Literature), *Densetsu* (Legends), *Konin no Hanashi* (The Story of Marriages), etc.

In 1934, Yanagida made a comprehensive study of the situations in mountain and sea villages of Japan and wrote the books *Sanson Seikatsu no Kenkyū* (Study of Life in Mountain Villages) and *Kaison Seikatsu no Kenkyū* (Study of the Life in Sea Villages).

In 1947, Yanagida established a folklore research institute and concentrated on the collection of materials and data as well as the fostering of researchers in folklore.

The institute has carried out field survey of small isolated islands around Japan as well as Okinawa. Two books worthy of mention here which the institute published are the *Minzokugaku Jiten* (Folklore Dictionary) and *Sōgō Nippon Minzoku Goi* (Japanese Folklore Vocabulary).

XXII NATURAL SCIENCE

History of Scientific Studies

Introduction

It was at the end of 13th century that Japan was first introduced to Europeans by Marco Polo. (The book of Marco Polo, 1299.) By that time Japan had developed a considerably advanced culture, importing and assimilating Chinese culture. Scientific disciplines such as medicine, astronomy and chronology were brought into Japan from China in the 6th century together with the Buddhism. Later in the 16th century, European sciences were brought into Japan with the Christianity. These 2 sources constitute the backbone of Japanese sciences.

One of the major social reformations occurred in 646 A.D. (The Reformation of Taika). That was the first step for Japan to start building herself as an independent cultural state. The Hōryū-ji Temple, which is said to be the oldest wooden building now present in the world, was built in Nara in 607 A.D., and it shows how excellent was the architectural technic at that time. The oldest records on eclipses and comets are traced back to the beginning of the 7th century. In the 8th century (Nara and Heian Era) the *daibutsu* (The great statue of Buddha) was built at the Tōdai-ji Temple in Nara. The artifacts in *Shōsōin*, Nara, are also of the 8th century. These cultural products are being admired by all foreigners who visit Japan.

In the 10th century, one of the typical books on medicinal plants *Honzō-Wamyō* was written by Fukane Sukehito (918 A. D.). *Ishinhō*, which is said to be the oldest medical book written in Japanese, was written in 984 A.D. "The Tales of Genji" was also written around that time.

The creative activities in the ancient Japanese culture reached its highest in the 8th century and slowed down gradually in following centuries until in the 16th century when Western culture came to Japan. This article deals with the history of Japanese science from that time to the Meiji Reformation (1868 A.D.).

Chronology in the development of Japanese science

The Japanese scientific history from the time when the Japanese nation first met the western civilization (1543) to the Meiji Reformation (1868) may be classified in the following four stages:

- I. 1543-1638 (96 years since shot guns were first brought into Japan).
- II. 1639-1719 (81 years since the proclamation of policy of seclusion).
- III. 1720-1822 (103 years since the prohibition to read foreign books was annulled).
- IV. 1823-1868 (From the time Siebold first visited Japan to the Meiji Reformation).

The first period was the time when practical knowledges on scientific technics were imported from Spain and Portugal. The second was the period when Japan was closed to foreign countries by her policy of seclusion. In the 3rd period, modern scientific knowledges were brought into Japan from Holland. Most of pure sciences such as physics, chemistry, physiology and mathematics were brought into Japan in the 4th period after Siebold had come to Japan in 1823.

The First Period

The first contact between Japan and western countries began in 1543 when a Portuguese ship had drifted to the shore of Tanegashima Island at the southern tip of Kyūshū. At that time, guns were first brought into Japan. Guns were quite welcomed by the Japanese people, because Japan was then in the Sengoku Era (The era of battles). The next contact between Japan and West was made by Francisco Xavier in 1549 when he landed in Kago-shima to propagate Christianity. Western medical sciences, astronomy, geography and printing techniques were brought to Japan by many priests who followed Xavier.

The Second Period

Japan was entirely secluded from foreign countries during this period when most of modern sciences had been founded and remarkably developed in Europe, except periodical trade with China and Holland. The lack of new knowledge from foreign countries forced the Japanese people to develop their own scientific knowledge. It was a remarkable fact that such celebrated scientists as Seki Takakazu in mathematics, Shibukawa Shunkai in chronology and Kaibara Ekken in botany appeared during this period.

The Third Period

During this period, the so called Dutch science had been remarkably developed. Tokugawa Yoshimune, 8th *Shōgun*, was quite disposed for science, and he made Nakane Genkei lecture on calendars. At that occasion Nakane begged the *Shōgun* to

allow importing foreign books if they were not related to Christianity. In 1720, 3 years after that, non-religious books were resumed to be imported from foreign countries, mainly from Holland. The new knowledge which were brought into Japan at that time was called 'Dutch Science'. The Dutch Science was composed of a) the Dutch language, b) medical science and *honzō-gaku*, c) astronomy and geography, and d) military science. *Honzō-gaku* included botany, zoology and mineralogy besides pharmacology. Military sciences included such basic sciences as mathematics, physics, chemistry and mechanical engineering besides pure military knowledges. The first Dutch language-masters were Aoki Bunzō, Maeno Ryōtaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku. The first Dutch-Japanese Dictionary was published by Inanuma Sampaku in 1796. *Kaitai Shinsho*, the new systematic anatomy of human body, published in 1775, was the first which was translated into Japanese from western scientific books. The greatest scientific achievement in this period was the publication of 'The map of Japan' by Inō Tadataka in 1821. Other outstanding scientists were Hiraga Gennai (1729-1779), Shizuki Tadao (1760-1806), Miura Baien (1723-1789), Hotari Banri (1778-1852) and Ono Ranzan (1729-1810).

The Fourth Period

This period covers about 50 years immediately before the Meiji Reformation. The Meiji Reformation was the greatest social reformation in Japanese history. The sciences during the unstable period were naturally the ones pertaining to military sciences. Since 1850, when the first reflex furnace in Japan was built in Saga *Han*, weapon-manufacturing and ship-building industries had been planned and developed by Tokugawa government and several big *han* (clan). Modern pure sciences were brought to Japan as basic sciences for military techniques.

In 1857, a school called *Bansho-chōsho* was established by Tokugawa government to teach western sciences. The school taught, among other branches of knowledge, astronomy, geography, physics, mathema-

tics, mechanics and drawing. The name of this school was changed to *Kaiseisho* in 1863, and it became Tokyo Imperial University in 1877.

The development of scientific knowledge during this period was greatly indebted to Siebold, a Dutch physician, who first came to Japan in 1823. Such competent young scholars as Takano Chōei, Ozeki Sanei, Tozuka Seikai, Itō Gemboku, Kō Ryosai, and Oka Kensuke were all taught by him.

Mathematics

Mathematics in Japan before Meiji Era was called *wasan* and it was developed quite independent from foreign influences. Although *wasan* has been completely neglected and replaced by western mathematics since Meiji Era, it showed in 17th century such a remarkable advance that it reached to the level about the same as that of mathematics in Europe. As a matter of fact, it was in some respect more advanced than the latter. The greatest figure in *wasan* was Seki Takakazu (1642-1708). He established algebra, found independently the same interpolating formula as that of Newton, studied theory of equations and found method of solving cubic and higher equations (the same as Horner's method), found the presence of negative and imaginary roots and introduced matrices in 1686, earlier than Leibniz.

Wasan, which was established by Seki Takakazu, had been further developed later by his successors Araki, Matsunaga, Yamaji, Yasujima, Kusaka, Wada and Uchida until it was replaced by Western mathematics.

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Astronomy

Astronomy, like most of other sciences, was first brought to Japan from China.

The first calendar in Japan, *Genki-reki*, was adopted from China in 604 A.D. Since then until the Meiji Restoration (1868), calendar was reformed 10 times. The first 6 of them were all adopted from China. The first Japanese calendar which was officially used was made by Shibukawa Shunkai in 1684.

The first astronomic observatory in Japan was built in 675 A.D. Eclipses of the sun and the moon were recorded to correct the error of the calendar. Solar eclipses were recorded 222 times and lunar eclipses were recorded 64 times by 1600 A.D. Some of the observations on comets and shooting stars were the only ones recorded at that time. In the middle of the 16th century, western astronomy was introduced to Japan. The lunar calendar was first adopted in 1872.

Map-making

The oldest geography book in Japan was *Fudoki* written at the beginning of 8th century. The oldest map of Japan was also made around that time. The world atlas was introduced to Japan in the middle of 16th century.

The greatest figure in map-making was Inō Tadataka (1745-1818). The first accurate map of Japan was made by him.

Honzōgaku and medical sciences

The complicated geography and mild climate give Japan a great varieties in the species in animal and plant kingdom. It is well conceivable that *Honzōgaku* should be very much advanced in Japan. The oldest book on *Honzōgaku* now present was *Yakkyō-Taiso* written by Waki Hiroyo in 799 A.D. Since then many books on this subject were written. One of the typical ones in ancient Japan was *Honzō-Wamyō* (18 Volumes) written by Fukane Sukehito in 918. 1025 kinds of animals, plants and minerals were described in this book. Although the *Honzōgaku* had been introduced to Japan through China, it showed a remarkable development in this country. In 1709, *Yamato-Honzō* (17 Volumes), one of

the greatest books on this subject was written by Kaibara Ekken. It was the first systematic and scientific book on natural history written by the Japanese. *Honzō-gaku* which was laid ground by Kaibara was well established by Ono Ranzan (1729–1810), who wrote *Honzō-komoku Keimō* (48 Volumes, 1802). He is called Linne in the Orient.

The development of Japanese medical sciences was instigated by the Chinese influence. Later, in 16th century, European medical sciences were introduced to Japan. The publication of *Kaitai-Shinsho* (Human systematic anatomy) in 1774 marked an epoch in Japanese medical history. Since then Western medical sciences had been well established in Japan.

Physics and chemistry

The world view of the Japanese people has been different from that of the Europeans. The concept of nature has always been metaphysical, being influenced by

Chinese philosophy and Indian Buddhism. The objective study of nature was engaged by the Japanese people only from the end of 17th century. The remarkable development of commerce and industry and observations and experiment in *Honzōgaku*, astronomy and other sciences stimulated the objective study of nature. Hiraga Gennai (1729–1779) was one of the greatest scholar in physical sciences in the Edo Era. He studied and made level vial, magnet, thermometer, friction electrostatic generator and many other things.

The first book on physics was *Kikai-Kanran*, written by Aoji Rinso in 1827. The book is said to be based on 'Naturkundig Schoolbook' written by Johannes Buijs.

The first book on chemistry was *Shamitsu-Kaiso* written by Udagawa Yōan in 1837. This book was also based on Dutch translation of 'Systematische Handbuch der Scheikunde' by W. Henry. These transplantation of physical sciences in Japan was done after Sieboldt had come to Japan.

Chemical Research

Activities of the chemical society

The status of research in the field of chemistry in Japan may be most appropriately reviewed by looking at the present activity of the Chemical Society of Japan. The Chemical Society of Japan, which has 16,400 members at present, is the largest society in Japan in the field of natural sciences. The society was reorganized in 1948 in the form as it is, when the former society was amalgamated with the Society of Industrial Chemistry. The history of this society represents the history of both pure and applied chemistry of Japan, and it can also be said that its recent activity reflects the present status of the chemical research in Japan.

The society celebrated its 75th Anniversary in 1953, when the society's bulletin, *Kagaku to Kōgyō* (Chemistry and Industry), vol. 6, No. 10, was published as the memorial

issue of the anniversary. The issue contained not only reviews on research in various fields of pure and applied chemistry written by leading researchers in their respective fields, but also a table of the main historical events of chemical research, education and industry inside and outside of Japan since the establishment of the society, the contents of which will be of interest to any one who wants to have a survey on the chemical research in this country.

3 technical journals (2 written in Japanese and 1 in foreign languages) are published from the society besides the bulletin mentioned before. One of two journals written in Japanese (*Nippon Kagaku Zasshi*) covers the field of pure chemistry and the other (*Kōgyō Kagaku Zasshi*) the field of industrial chemistry. The journal written in foreign languages (Bulletin of the Chemical Society of Japan) involves the papers from the sections of both pure and applied.

Trend of chemical research

The trend of chemical research in Japan will be demonstrated in the following table which shows the number of papers in various fields of chemistry, appeared in these periodicals in each 10 years since 1920 up to 1952.

It is first mentioned from this table that the number of papers concerning pure chemistry has increased by double in each ten-year period. During the period 1940-1952, Japan was under the influence of the war and its aftereffect, and, consequently, the chemical research in that period was in the state of suppression. It is clear from the figures in the table that the research

Field	Jour. Chem. Soc. Japan (Pure Chemistry Section) (in Japanese)				Bull. Chem. Soc. Japan (in foreign languages)		
	1920	1930	1940	1952	1930	1940	1952
General Physical Chemistry		8(9)	13(8)	17(5)	4(8)	3(5)	11(9)
Structural Chemistry		—	7(4)	22(7)	2(4)	1(1.5)	28(23)
Chemical Kinetics and Chemical Statics	6(16)	5(6)	14(8)	25(7)	8(17)	4(6)	5(4)
Colloid and Surface Chemistry		3(3.5)	6(4)	23(7)	4(8)	7(11)	16(13)
Organic Chemistry	16(42)	49(57)	65(37)	65(19)	16(33)	22(34)	25(20)
Inorganic Chemistry	3(8)	11(13)	11(6)	21(6)	4(8)	13(20)	11(9)
Geological Chemistry	—	—	13(8)	29(9)	—	10(15)	1(1)
Analytical Chemistry	1(2.5)	3(3.5)	15(8)	90(26)	2(4)	—	13(10)
Chemistry of High Polymers	—	—	2(1)	17(5)	—	1(1.5)	8(6)
Biological Chemistry	5(13)	7(8)	21(12)	28(8)	6(12)	1(1.5)	6(5)
Electro-Chemistry	1(2.5)	—	7(4)	4(1)	3(6)	3(4.5)	—
Hygienic Chemistry	6(16)	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	38	86	174	341	49	65	124

activity has been recovered quickly in these several years. The rapid increase in the number of papers in these years is, however, mainly due to the fact that the results of research, the publication of which was suspended for a while after the War, have been accumulated. It should also be pointed out that papers have become generally shorter as well as more diversified than those in the pre-war time. It is remarkable that the rate of increase in the number of papers in pure chemistry is in parallel to that of industrial productions in this country which has been increasing at the rate of nearly 10 per cent a year. This suggests that the development of industry and the advancement of research in pure chemistry are closely related to one another, although the research of pure chemistry is rather carried out with a high degree of freedom in this country. Nevertheless, it can not be denied that the present situation of research has still many difficulties in comparison with the pre-war situation.

If one compares the figures for each specialized field in the above table, it will be notified that the rate of increase of the number of papers in the fields of physical, inorganic and analytical chemistry is comparatively greater than that in the fields of organic and biological chemistry. This may be due to the following situations: 1) In physical chemistry, some areas of research, such as structural chemistry have been actively developed after the War, and pretty many theoretical works have been published besides experimental ones; 2) The field of inorganic and analytical chemistry includes the section of geological chemistry, which has resulted an increasing number of papers; 3) The number of papers in organic and biological chemistry has also increased rapidly in recent years. The real number of papers of these fields must be greater than that shown in this table, because the papers are not concentrated in journals of the society. In the above table the papers concerning high polymers

are included in the field of organic chemistry.

Now, let us review the general tendency and the important results of research in each sectional field of pure chemistry.

Physical Chemistry

It was toward 1920 when the foundation of the physical chemistry in Japan had been laid by senior researchers, namely Profs. Sakurai Jōji, Ikeda Kikunae, Osaka Yukichi, Katayama Masao and others. Since that time, the physical chemistry in Japan has normally developed up to now. Although the number of the researchers in physical chemistry is still comparatively small against that in other fields, their research problems cover many important areas. 30 years ago, interest of Japanese physical chemists was mainly directed to the classical theory of states of matter or the theory of chemical equilibrium, but, recently, interest has been directed to the problems of molecular structure, chemical kinetics, colloids, high polymers, etc. parallel to the problems of general physical chemistry. This certainly corresponds to the development in these fields in other countries.

Concerning the molecular structure, the internal rotation and the nucleous vibration in some simple molecules have been investigated in detail from both theoretical and experimental aspects with many fruitful results, mainly by the group of physical chemists of Tokyo University. The study on the crystal structure of some organic and inorganic compounds by X-ray analysis has been carried out mainly at Osaka University. Other studies on the molecular structure by spectroscopic method, electron diffraction method, magneto-chemical method, etc. have been made at research laboratories of universities of Kyūshū, Nagoya, Tōhoku, etc. They all have brought about a lot of interesting results.

Recently notable results have been obtained by some investigators in the study of molecular structure of tropolones, 7 membered ring compounds. The physico-chemical studies on the structure of protein

molecules are also now going to develop in collaboration with the biochemical studies. Some junior physical chemists are interested in the problems of electrons in relation to photochemical reactions.

Relatively few researchers are working on chemical kinetics, in which field the research group of the Institute of Catalysis of Hokkaidō University is most active in this country. Many useful and fundamental researches on catalytic reactions have been carried out in this institute. A group of physical chemists in Kyoto University has been long interested in the study of explosions and reactions under high pressures. Recently, fundamental studies on polarography and the mechanism of electrode processes have been carried out by junior investigators with some notable results. The polarographic methods in chemical analysis, which was originally introduced to this country 30 years ago by Prof. Shikata at Kyoto University, has greatly prevailed in these several years.

Surface and colloid chemistry are also the fields that are going to be developed in Japan with relatively strong activity. The Langmuir-Adam's surface balance has been successfully used by several investigators in some experimental works, i.e. the study of the thin films of protein-like high polymers, the study of the azoprotein films, etc. The experiment and theory concerning the micelle formation of surface active substances in their solutions are subjected to the interests of many researchers in the field of colloid chemistry. The future development along this line is expected in connection with the development in the applied field. Some colloidal chemists have interested in the study of abnormal viscosity or visco-elastic properties of the dispersed systems (sol or gel). These phenomena concern not only colloid chemistry but also rheology, a new science. A rheology group is really going to be grown up in Japan with colloid chemists as its nucleus. It should be a noteworthy tendency, that the chemists have come in active cooperation with the physicists or technologists in such a borderline field as rheology.

Inorganic Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry and Geological Chemistry

One of the notable results in the field of inorganic chemistry is supposed to be the study on the separation of non-radioactive isotopes, which has been carried out mainly at Osaka University. Although the separation of deuterium, heavy hydrogen, which could provide enough amount for the fundamental studies, was already done 20 years ago, this problem is now going to face a new situation in relation to the atomic energy problem in Japan. There have been also some fundamental studies concerning the separation of heavy oxygen as well as heavy nitrogen, of which the latter has recently come to be sold at market.

We have a long tradition in the study of complex salts since 40 years ago when Prof. Shibata initiated his research at Tokyo University. Especially in recent years, the physico-chemical study on complex salts has been actively carried out besides the study on the formation of complex salts. The study of "salcomine", and other intramolecular complexes at Kyūshū University is widely recognized. At research laboratories of Osaka University and other institutions, some interesting results have been obtained in the studies concerning the absorption spectra, dichroism, catalytic action and crystal structure of some metallic complexes.

The research in analytical chemistry, having a large number of works, covers the both fields of pure and applied. In the table mentioned before, the figures concerning the analytical chemistry are omitted. In this field, the study in which largely depends on the equipments and apparatus, Japanese chemists seem to have a great handicap to the chemists in Europe and the United States where striking progress has been recently made. The Japanese Society of Analytical Chemistry, an independent society, has been recently organized, whose activity will be expected in the future.

One of the characteristics in the chemical research in Japan is the abundance of works in the field of geological chemistry. Such trend may be conceivable from the fact that Japan is a country of volcanoes and lakes, being surrounded by oceans. There are quite abundant data of the studies on eruption gases and sublimation products of various volcanoes; studies on hot springs, mineral springs, subterranean waters, lakes, and oceans. The method in research, however, has been mainly analytical-chemical, and some leading researchers have the opinion that there could not be expected a great progress in such a fields as geological chemistry unless there would be an intimate cooperation of chemists with physicists, geologists and biologists. In this respects we must have expectation for the future.

Organic Chemistry

In Japan, the number of research works in organic chemistry as a whole is certainly greater than those in other fields of chemistry, which can be seen from the table mentioned before. Moreover, the field of organic chemistry spreads over the sections of pharmacology and agricultural chemistry, both of which have independent organization in this country, so that the number of research works is in fact still greater. The research in organic chemistry in Japan, which has been fostered by senior investigators, such as Dr. U. Suzuki in vitamins, Dr. Asahina in "lichenes", Dr. T. Majima in alkaloids, now continues its steady progress. In spite of the post-War difficult situation, some excellent works have been done, in which the skill and intuition of Japanese chemists seem to have played an important role in getting fruitful results.

As one of the remarkable contributions, we must first mention the study on "hinokitiols", which has been carried out at Tōhoku University. This study is widely known as the precedence of the chemistry of "tropolones". Beside this, the studies on the syntheses of polyenes having conjugated triple bonds, the syntheses of santonin isomers, the syntheses of kynurenine

derivatives, etc. are also important contributions. Although the research work in organic chemistry is rapidly advancing, the some leading organic chemists are not optimistic about the present situation of research in Japan as the tempo of the progress is so rapid in Europe and the United States.

The study on the syntheses of high polymers may be included in the field of organic chemistry, but this study is mainly carried out by chemists in the applied fields. Some investigators in the field of pure chemistry are making their contribution to the study of the mechanism of polymerization reactions. Generally speaking, the interest in the chemistry of high polymers has been greatly increased in recent years. The Society of High Polymers, established in 1954, is now quite active in advancing knowledge and research of high polymers both in pure and applied fields. It must be noted here that some theoretical physicists have directed their interest to the problem of high polymers.

Biological Chemistry

The interest and concern in biological chemistry have quickly increased in recent years. Until 10 years ago, only very few graduates from the universities were specialized in biological chemistry, but at present, the number of its students is almost comparable to or more than that of organic, inorganic or physical chemistry. Such a situation has been undoubtedly brought about by being excited by the worldly progress of biological chemistry. The research of biological chemistry in Japan has been long carried out in the various sectional fields of medicine, agriculture, pharmacology and biology besides pure chemistry, but, today, they are unified into an organization, the Japanese Biochemical Society, which greatly helps to make interconnection between these sections and promote research.

The study of enzymes is no doubt a very important problem in biochemistry. Systematic studies on sulfatase, the enzyme decomposing organic sulfates, have been carried out in Tokyo University. The

study concerning the metabolism of some micro-organisms and photosynthesis has been made for many years in Tokugawa Biological Institute in Tokyo, whose contributions have been widely recognized. Both Osaka and Nagoya Universities are now going to be outstanding research center in this country in the study of nucleic acids and proteins. It can be seen from the subject of discussions or symposia of the Japanese Biochemical Society that the main interest of Japanese biochemists is now directed to the problems in nucleic acids, serum proteins, phosphoric acids, lipids, etc. The research of biochemistry is still young in the country, but it is expected that the outcome will be rapidly increased in the near future.

Pure chemistry in relation to industry

In recent years, the necessity to hold a closer connection between pure chemistry and industry has been strongly recognized by leading chemists. From this standpoint too, the Chemical Society of Japan has played an important role, as this society has been in a preferable situation to promote the cooperation of pure and applied chemists in the same organization. Nevertheless, such cooperation is still unsatisfactory, because most pure chemists seem to prefer to concentrate themselves into their own interests without giving attention to applied problems. It should be a problem of natural importance, how to orientate the fundamental research in chemistry from the standpoint of the development of industrial manufactures of this country.

Meetings and symposia

The Chemical Society of Japan has its annual meeting in April every year. At recent meetings, more than 1000 papers have been presented in both fields of pure and applied chemistry. These papers are usually read at more than 10 sectional meetings of pure chemistry and more than 15 ones of applied chemistry, and the whole meeting lasts for 4 to 5 days. At present,

only the city of Tokyo or Kyoto have the enough capacity to hold such a large-scaled meeting. Therefore, the annual meeting is held alternatively in Tokyo and in Kyoto from year to year according to such a frequency of twice in Tokyo and once in Kyoto. The huge number of the papers presented at the meeting can be considered as a measure of the research activity of Japanese chemists, but some leading chemists have the opinion that the papers should be more selected before they are presented to the meeting. Anyhow, it is not a easy problem how to organize efficiently such a large scaled meeting.

Recently, besides the annual meeting of the society, discussion or symposium is usually held once or twice a year in each sectional fields of chemistry such as structural chemistry, colloid chemistry, chemistry of high polymers, geological chemistry, analytical chemistry, organic chemistry, etc. These discussions or symposia, which are sometimes held at places other than Tokyo or Kyoto, are usually planned to discuss any particular topics, accompanied by some introductory lectures. The main purpose of such discussions or symposia is to give a chance to researchers to communicate their recent activity and, at the same time, to exchange knowledge among themselves for co-operative works. Such discussions or symposia have gained much success but are not free from facing to a chance of falling into danger of mannerism. Some researchers consider that the society should have permanent sectional committees in its control for the effective planning of symposia and discussions.

International exchange of knowledge

The international exchange of knowledge has been activated in recent years in the field of chemistry as in other fields of natural sciences. Japanese chemical societies are connected with International Council of Scientific Union (ICSU) through Japan Science Council (*Nippon Gakujutsu Kaigi*), the Chemical Research Liaison Committee of that Council being in charge of the actual

management. This committee takes part in the election of the representatives for the conference and congress of the Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry (UPAC), of which Japan is now one of the members, as well as for other international meetings.

Japan has not yet had a chance to organize international conference or congress in chemistry in her own country. The Japanese chemists are, however, in expectation to have it in the near future. Some prominent foreign chemists have come to Japan during these 3 years either as guests or for making research. In 1953, Prof. Robinson of England, Dr. Reppe of Germany and Dr. Egloff of the United States came to us as distinguished guests at the 75th Anniversary of the Chemical Society of Japan. Recently, Profs. F. Daniels, H. Brown, L. Pauling of the United States and Prof. Butenandt of Germany visited us for short stay. The lectures and conferences made by such distinguished foreign scholars resulted in great success in promoting mutual understanding and in stimulating younger chemists of the country.

Chemical education in colleges and universities

As a result of the reformation of the Japanese educational system after the War, the problem of the chemical education in colleges and universities has become a matter of discussion. It became also an important problem how to provide education for post-graduate students in chemistry under new system of graduate schools.

As is well known, Japan has adopted the educational system of school years of 6 (elementary school), 3 (lower secondary school), 3 (upper secondary school), 4 (college or university), on the basis of which graduate school of 2-5 years being established. The teaching of chemistry as an independent subject begins at upper secondary school, parallel to other natural sciences, namely, physics, biology and geological science. These subjects are elective and any 2 of these 4 subjects are required for the entrance to colleges or universities. College professors receive sometimes such

students from secondary school who have not taken the credit of chemistry in secondary school. Moreover, the freshman course of college is mainly devoted to general education, so that the course of chemistry as specialized education in colleges or universities is generally not so far advanced as it was in the pre-war system of 6 (primary school), 5 (middle school), 3 (high school), 3 (college or university), in which students could finish introductory or preparatory course of chemistry at high school before they entered university. In the new system, some parts of advanced courses in physical, inorganic and organic chemistry must be transferred to the graduate course.

There are 229 4-year college and universities in Japan at present, of which about 40 institutions have courses of pure chemistry, about 50 institutions have courses of engineering chemistry, about 30 institutions have courses of agricultural chemistry and about 25 institutions have courses of pharmaceutical chemistry. The capacity of these institutions for students is about 22,000 on the whole. There are 9 national universities, 2 public universities and 3 private universities which have graduate courses of pure chemistry: 8 national, 2 public and 3 private universities have graduate course of engineering chemistry: 5 national universities have graduate courses of agricultural chemistry. 5 national universities have graduate courses of pharmaceutical chemistry. The number of students allowed to these institutions is about 7,500 on the whole. The whole number of students who are actually studying chemistry and applied chemistry as major in Japanese colleges and universities is at present estimated to about 16,000.

Students who graduate from the 4-year-undergraduate course of chemistry enter mostly chemical factories. However, some of them who want to become research chemists enter graduate schools. The ratio of the latter students to the former is different in pure and applied chemistry, the ratio in pure chemistry being generally large in comparison with that in applied fields.

Scholarships for Japanese chemists

In pre-war time, many Japanese chemists were sent abroad as research fellows of the Government. Such national fellowship, which had been interrupted during war and post-war time, has recently been revived, but the number of researchers who receive the fellowship is very much restricted over all fields of science and technology. Private institutions themselves scarcely afford such fellowship. Consequently, for professors of colleges and universities the chance to go abroad by the help of national fund is at present very small in comparison with that in pre-war time. However, many countries afford now their national fellowships or scholarships for foreign scholars and students, which provide Japanese chemists another way to go abroad for study and research. As these scholarships put generally a certain limitation for the age of applicants, junior researchers have much advantage to senior ones in receiving them.

The Ramsay Memorial Fellowship of the British Government which is awarded to young chemist under age of thirty, has been revived since 1953. The applicants for this fellowship are examined and chosen by the Chemical Research Liaison Committee of the Japan Science Council, every 2 years. There are several chemists every year who are awarded American scholarships to study in the United States under the Fulbright-Smith-Mundt Act.

It is highly desired that such international scholarships will be more available to able younger chemists in this country.

Popularization of the chemical knowledge

The Chemical Society of Japan is not indifferent to the problem of chemical education. There has been organized a special committee for chemical education in the society, under whose auspices annual symposia have been carried out. Until this time the problem of teaching chemistry in high school as well as in college freshman

courses has been the main subject of discussion. Through such symposia the importance of the problem of chemical education has been greatly recognized. The symposia have been published and distributed by the society. It is hoped, however, that the society will have a journal on chemical education, like *Journal of Chemical Education* of the American Chemical Society, in the near future.

The Chemical Society of Japan is also active in the popularization of the chemical knowledge. For that purpose, local sections of the society have occasionally presented public popular lectures. As one of the memorials of the diamond jubilee, the society presented popular lectures by specialists in each field of chemistry and an exhibition on Japanese chemical industry, the latter of which was especially of good reputation. As one of the activities of the society, we can further mention the publishing of "Chemical Library" which was designed several years ago as the standard reference books to high school and college students.

There are 6 books already published.

There have been also some fundamental studies concerning the separation of heavy oxygen as well as heavy nitrogen, of which the latter has recently come to be sold at market.

We have a long tradition in the study of complex salts since 40 years ago when Prof. Shibata initiated his research at Tokyo University. Especially in recent years, the physico-chemical study on complex salts has been actively carried out besides the study on the formation of complex salts. The study of "salcomine", and other intramolecular complexes at Kyūshū University is widely recognized. At research laboratories of Osaka University and other institutions, some interesting results have been obtained in the studies concerning the absorption spectra, dichroism, catalytic action and crystal structure of some metallic complexes.

The research in analytical chemistry, having a large number of works, covers the both fields of pure and applied.

Biological Studies

Biological research institutions

As in other countries, most of biological researches in Japan are being made in the biological dept. of universities and colleges. Biological studies are also made at agricultural dept. (entomology, plant pathology etc.) and at medical school (microbiology etc.).

Many of the universities have marine biological stations, and resident staffs there are studying marine plant and animals. At Kyoto Univ. there is limnological laboratory. As to the national research institution which do not belong to universities, there are National Science Museum, National Institute of Genetics, etc.

There are also several private biological research institutions, such as, Tokugawa Institute of Biology, Kihara Institute for

Biological Research, Yamashina Museum of Birds, etc.

Biological journals

Researchers in biology are belonging to various societies, which publish periodicals, mostly in Japanese.

Many of the universities, also, publish journals or memoirs.

Japanese Journal of Zoology and Japanese Journal of Botany are being published by the Science Council of Japan.

Characteristics of Japanese biology

Taxonomy

In Japan there are a great variety of animals and plant, especially marine plant

and animals. For this reason, many of the scholars worked in the study of classifying them and clarifying their distribution.

Especially, the taxonomy of marine products is greatly advanced.

Recently taxonomy has become unpopular among younger generation of biological researchers, yet the number of taxonomists in Japan is fairly large as compared with that of other countries.

There are 2 societies on taxonomy: Zo-

otaxonomic Society and Phyto-geographycal Society.

Cytology and Genetics

Already at the beginning of the present century, excellent researches were made in Japan especially on plant cytology. Since then many excellent cytological studies have been made.

In genetics, too, important contributions have been made by the Japanese geneticists.

Medical Sciences

History

The first time when the Japanese people were greatly impressed by western medical sciences and wanted to study them was at the occasion when Sugita Gempaku and others found out how exact *Ontleedkundige Tafellen* (Dutch translation of Kulmus's *Anatomische Tabellen*) was by studying executed corps. Sugita and others, overcoming great difficulties, succeeded in translating it, and published *Kaitai Shinsho* in 1744. Since then many European books on medicine were translated through Dutch to Japanese. Physicians who practiced western medicine rapidly increased in number and replaced those who practiced Chinese medicine.

Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), who came to Japan and stayed at Nagasaki from 1823 to 1829, taught medicine to the young Japanese and had a great influence in the development of Western medicine in Japan.

Later, Pompe van Meerdervoort (1829-1908), a Dutch physician, was officially invited by the *Tokugawa Bakufu* in 1857 and organized the first systematic educational institution of Western medicine at Nagasaki, which later became Nagasaki Medical College. He also opened the first Western style hospital and practised there. In Edo (present Tokyo), *Igakusho*, a governmental school of Western medicine was opened in 1861, which later became Medical School, Tokyo University.

After the *Meiji Ishin*, the medical school in Tokyo was reopened in 1871 under the auspices of German professors, and, in 1877, when Tokyo University had been organized, it was included to the University. Since then, medical colleges were opened in various cities in Japan.

Medical examination to test the qualification and ability of medical practitioners had been given since 1876. After the war, the new national medical examination was inaugurated. All the physicians who want to practice are now asked to take it after finishing medical school and one-year internship.

Medical sciences at present

Medical Education

Medical education at present is now a six year course. As was stated above, those who want to practice medicine must take one-year internship and pass National Medical Examination. There are 46 medical colleges in Japan; 19 of them are medical schools of national universities, 14 of them are public medical colleges and 13 are private institutions.

The total number of physicians in Japan is about 85,000 (90% of them are males). About 70,000 of them are practitioners, (about 8.5 practitioners per 10,000 persons.).

Among 70,000 practitioners, ca. 40,000 are private physicians and ca. 30,000 are employed by big hospitals.

The number of those who are teaching medical sciences at educational institutions and studying at research institutions are about 8,000. Those who are working in the field of public health administration are about 4,000.

Medical Association

Japan Medical Association is the nation wide association of medical practitioners. There are branch associations in each towns, cities and prefectures.

Japan Medical Congress is being called every 4 years. Physicians who are the members of about 50 medical societies take part in it.

Medical Societies

In each special medical field, medical societies are established and meetings are called once or twice a year. The number of such societies exceeds several hundreds.

Medical Care

Recently, social welfare system has been remarkably developed and medical insurance policy is becoming more and more popular with years.

Medical Research

Recently, social welfare system has been active in Japan. There are many excellent studies which are of world fame. One of the examples is the study on artificial induction of cancer by the late prof. Yamagiwa. There are many medical research institutions.

Pharmacology

History of medicine is very long in Japan. The most ancient medicine now present in Japan is preserved at *Shōsō-in*, Nara. There are more than 60 kinds of medicine preserved there which were brought from China into Japan about 1,200 years ago. Since then until the beginning of Meiji Era, the pharmacology in Japan existed in the form of Chinese medicine.

Modern pharmacology in Japan was introduced in 1873 when Pharmaceutical School was established in Tokyo Medical

School. It later developed to the Pharmaceutical School, Faculty of Medicine, Tokyo University in 1877.

During the first 10 years, the education at the school had been given by European professors. Dr. J. E. Eijkman, a Dutch pharmacologist, was, among them, quite a competent educator and researcher. His researching spirit had been succeeded by his students and gave a profound influence in the later development of pharmacology in Japan. There have appeared quite a number of excellent scholars since then.

During the World War I, Japan was cut from supplies of medicine from Western world. This forced the Japanese people to manufacture necessary medicines by themselves. In that occasion, the graduate from the pharmaceutical schools made a great contribution working as pharmaceutical technicians.

The number of pharmaceutical schools in Japan has been increasing in the past 80 years and there are 28 pharmaceutical schools now.

The pharmaceutical education is 4 year system. At pharmaceutical schools of Tokyo Univ., Kyoto Univ., Kyūshū Univ., Osaka Univ. and Hokkaidō Univ., there also is postgraduate course for master's and doctor's degree. At Gifu Pharmaceutical College there is a master course.

Special courses given at Pharmaceutical School, Tokyo Univ. are as follows.

- (1) Pharmaceutical Technology or Synthetic Pharmaceutical Chemistry
- (2) Inorganic and Organic Pharmaceutical Chemistry
- (3) Pharmacognosy and Plant Chemistry
- (4) Pharmaceutical Analytical Chemistry
- (5) Physiological Chemistry
- (6) Hygienic and Forensic Chemistry
- (7) Pharmacodynamics
- (8) Pharmaceutics
- (9) Chemical Engineering
- (10) Fermentation Chemistry
- (11) Anatomy
- (12) Physiology
- (13) Pathology
- (14) Bacteriology

- (15) Public Health
- (16) Plant Physiology
- (17) Pharmaceutical Law and Economics

The number of graduates from all of pharmaceutical schools is about 2,500 a year. To get the certificate for pharmacist, it is ordained by law that the graduates must pass National Pharmaceutical Examination which is being held every year.

There are about 51,460 pharmacists in Japan (1954).

As for the national examination institution of medicine, there is National Hygienic Laboratory in Tokyo, its branch office is in Osaka.

Pharmacological studies are also made at Institute for Infectious Diseases, Institute of Applied Mycology and at National Institute of Health.

The first edition of the Japan Pharmacopoeia was published in 1886. It has been revised six times since then. National Formulary is also instituted.

The Pharmaceutical Society of Japan was established in 1881, and has been making great contributions in the progress of Japanese pharmacology.

The Journal of the Pharmaceutical Society of Japan is now published monthly. The society also publishes Pharmaceutical Bulletin by monthly, the central theme of pharmacological studies in Japan has been in the field organic chemistry. Studies on pharmaceuticals and biochemistry, however, have also been made extensively. The history of Japanese pharmacological studies is surveyed in English in pp. 363-371, Vol. 70 of the Journal of Pharmaceutical Society of Japan.

Dentistry

In Japan, dentistry education is given, separately from medical education, at 8 institutions; 2 in Tokyo, 2 in Osaka and 2 in Kyūshū. Three of them are departments of universities. They are, School of Dentistry, Tokyo Medical and Dental University, Dental School, Nihon University and School of Dentistry, Osaka University. The other 5 are dental colleges. Gradu-

ates from these institutions are about 600-700 a year. In order to practice, they must pass National Dental Examination, given twice a year. This rule is applied also for foreigners.

The total number of dentists in Japan is about 31,000; 27,000-28,000 of them are practitioners. Those who apply to study at dental colleges must take 2 years of pre-dental course or study at least 2 years at colleges after graduating high school. Since 1955, six year course has newly been opened at dental colleges. In this case, high school graduates are qualified to apply for them.

Besides these educational institutions, there is a research institution for dental materials (National Research Institute for Dental Materials). There studies on plastics as denture base materials, porcelain tooth and dental alloys are especially achieving fine results. In prosthetic dentistry, various anatomical articulators have been designed, based on a new theory on occlusion, and such remarkable studies as "Masticatory efficiency and particle size distribution of masticated raw rice", and "Model experiment of human mastication" were completed.

In operative dentistry, the study on calcium hydroxide as pulp capping materials has nearly been completed. The discovery of a new anaesthetic method, electro-anaesthesia, is also an achievement which has been calling attention from dentists world over. The study on cutting instruments, such as high speed water turbine and supersonic cutting apparatus is also being actively made there. In the field of oral surgery, extensive study was completed on the cause and treating methods of cleft palate and bare-lips. Also the cause of hypertrophy of gum tissue owing to dilantin is now being studied. In plastic surgery, such special alloys as vitalium and violium are now used, besides plastics, for sprint materials. As to pyorrhea alveolaris, the study on the treating method has not been as fruitful as that on the cause of the ailment. Only parotin was found to be effective in the treatment. In orthodontics, morphological studies on the cranial and

facial skulls of the Japanese people by roentgen cephalometric method have made a remarkable progress. In near future, the morphological difference between mongoloids and caucasoids in cranial and facial skulls will much more clearly be known.

In basic dental sciences, the study on the hard tissue of teeth, the electro-myographical study of neck muscles when speaking, and the study of lower jaw movement at

mastication by electromyography are recently made. The last of them presented a new knowledge considerably different from what we have know so far, and may in future cause a considerable revision in all fields of dentistry.

Among many excellent studies on pharmacology, the study on a new vitalstaining method of hard tissues by lead acetate is quite a remarkable one.

Geology

It was in the middle of the last century that modern geology was established in Europe. In 1862, not very later than that, 2 Americans, W. P. Blake and R. Pumpelley, were invited by Tokugawa Government to make observations on ore deposits in Japan. In 1872, B. S. Lyman and M. Munroe, both American, conducted the ore deposit survey in Japan. In 1871, Karl Schenk, a German, taught mineralogy at Tokyo Kaisei-Gakkō. In 1876, J. Miller taught mineralogy, geology and mining at Kōbu-Daigakkō. In 1877, Department of Geology was established at Tokyo University. In 1882, the Geological Research Institute was established at the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. In 1879, Tokyo Geological Association was established. Tokyo Geological Society was established in 1893. Since then, geological sciences have made a remarkable progress in Japan. At present, about 80 colleges and universities in Japan have geological department.

Tokyo Geological Society has become Japan Geological Society since 1935. In the same year, Japan Paleontological Society was established. Other related societies are; Japan Mineralogical Society (established in 1952), Japan Volcanological Society (1931), Japan Mineral Oil Technological Society (1933) and several others.

In Japan mineralogy has a longer history than geology. Mineralogical knowledges were included in *Honzō-Gaku* which had been introduced to Japan in 5th century.

More than 30 new minerals has been found in Japan and her vicinity.

Some of the recent works on mineralogy and geology are as follows:

Kōzu Yoshisuke with many of his students, made a remarkable study on thermal treatment of minerals. T. Itō made a study on the crystal structure of silicate minerals and published "Studies on Polymorphism" in 1950.

Kimura Kenjiro and others studied on the rare element minerals in Japan.

The study on the fossils in Japan began in 1877 when T. Gegler collected and recorded Jurassic plant fossil from Kaga. Fossil studies by the Japanese was first done in 1889 by Yokoyama. Since then Yabe Nagakatsu's excellent studies on the fossils of foraminifera, coral, stromatopora and ammonites, and many other studies have been made and published.

Geochronology in Japan have been developed with the development of the knowledge on fossils.

The presence of Permian and Carboniferous period in Japan was long known. Oda and Ōnuki, in 1934 and 1937, found Devonian fossils in Ōu District.

Geochronology in Japan was clarified very much by the study of Japanese Cretaceous layers by Matsumoto Tatsuō (1942).

Geological map of Japan was first made in 1919. Since then much more exact maps have been made.

Astronomy

Introduction

In astronomy we try to know the immense extension of the universe and various celestial objects therein from this tiny planet. The international co-operation and collaboration have been made in incessant and restless watch over the whole sky in every instant. As Japan is situated geographically separated from Europe and America, Japan's co-operation is indispensable. In addition to this circumstance the recent progress of astronomy has made it important to know the celestial phenomena which occur quite suddenly without notice or which wane and flourish very rapidly from hour to hour. Hence Japan's responsibility and duty for such observations have become duplicately serious and heavy.

Restoring the debris of the war and installing the necessary equipments Japanese astronomers are now more actively endeavouring in various astronomical researches than ever to fulfill this responsibility and duty for international co-operation, notwithstanding the financial difficulties in Japan unequalled in her past history.

Solar physics

Solar Phenomena

Most of the observations are being carried out at the Tokyo Astronomical Observatory, University of Tokyo, at Mitaka near Tokyo. Sunspots and faculae are daily sketched on the projected image by an 8" refractor. The solar surface is continuously watched in the light of the H line with a spectroheliograph and solar flares, fluculi and dark filaments are sketched restlessly with time marks inserted. From time to time a line shifter is inserted to determine the velocity. The intensity of a flare is measured in comparison with the adjacent continuous light by means of a wedge photometer. Regular photographs are taken

with a spectroheliograph in the light of the K_{α} lines. Preliminary observations of prominences with a Lyot-type filter on a cinematographic system have been started.

Solar Spectrophotometry

With a solar tower of Potsdam type at Mitaka, Z. Suemoto has made an interesting observation of the solar flares. By watching the sun in light of the H_{α} line formed by the plane grating with a device similar to a spectroheliograph he took the spectrograms of flares. He measured the intensities of various lines and was able to determine the physical state of a solar flare. He has also constructed a wide range spectrograph to observe the whole spectrum, from the Balmer continuum to beyond the H_{α} line on one film with a considerable dispersion, and is studying the structure and mechanism of prominences and flares. K. Ōsawa has obtained the direct photoelectric tracings of the solar spectrum with this tower. Z. Suemoto has measured the high-resolution spectrum of Fraunhofer lines which he took at Cambridge with a Fabry-Perot interferometer. Magnetic observations of the sun are planned in future.

Corona Station

In 1949 a corona station was built as a branch station of the Tokyo Astronomical Observatory at the top of Mt. Norikura. It situates in the middle part of the Japan's Main Island and at the height of 2876 m. above the sea level. In summer sight-seeing buses daily go up near to the Corona Station but in other seasons the observers must climb up the mountain on snowshoes and skis. The construction of the coronagraph has begun immediately after the end of the War and it was succeeded after several trials by M. Notuki. The present coronagraph is of 5" aperture. The intensity of coronal lines is measured with a direct-vision spectroscope furnished with a thallium-lamp photometer. The measure-

ment by a photoelectric method is under testing now. The spectrum is also photographed with a plane-grating for further research. A horizontal telescope with a Lyot-type filter was constructed in 1954 for the cinematographic observation of solar prominences.

The preliminary result of observations made there is broadcast by the hand of the Radio Research Laboratory at Kokubun-ji, also in the suburb of Tokyo, together with other solar observations made at Mitaka, according to the URSIgram program. The results of the solar observations are reported in the "Bulletin of the Solar Phenomena" published quarterly by the Tokyo Astronomical Observatory.

Solar Radio Observations

In 1949 an antenna of hand-driven equatorial mounting was constructed at Mitaka and the regular solar radio observation was commenced at 200 Mc/s. Since then simple antennae for receiving 100 and 60 Mc/s waves were constructed. In 1952 the observation at 3,000 Mc/s have been started. These observations participate in the worldwide network of the solar radio observation organized by U.R.S.I. Recently a equatorial radio telescope with a 10 meter dish has been constructed at Mitaka. A radio polarimeter at 200 Mc/s on a time-sharing scheme has been attached to the 10 meter dish and detailed study of the polarization of solar radio bursts is now being carried out by T. Hatanaka, S. Suzuki and A. Tsuchiya. It is found that the polarization of a burst is to be understood as a mixture of elliptically and randomly polarized components, and, while the shape of the ellipse is a function of the position of the source of the burst on the solar disk, the degree of polarization depends upon the life history of the associated sunspot. Eclipse observation of the solar radio emission has been carried out at 3,000 Mc/s in 1952 and the brightness distribution and the location of the active sources on the solar disk have determined by K. Akabane (former K. Aoki). A new type of dynamic spectrograph for solar radio observation is being built by T. Takakura under a prin-

ciple to combine the lobe-sweeping interferometer with a radio spectrograph. 2 sets of radio interferometers at 200 Mc/s in the east-west and the north-south direction were built for locating the source of the solar radio bursts. Another interferometer at 60 Mc/s is now being constructed by F. Moriyama with a narrow separation to measure the radio flux of the sun. It might be added here that K. Akabane, with the 10 meter dish, observed the variation of the radio emission from the moon at 3,000 Mc/s with the lunar phase. The maximum intensity is observed 3.5 days after the full moon. The radio astronomical works at the Tokyo Astronomical Observatory are conducted by T. Hatanaka.

The solar radio observations are also being carried out at the Research Institute of Atmospherics, Nagoya University, at Toyokawa, and at the Radio Wave Observatory at Hiraiso. At Toyokawa H. Tanaka and his colleagues are observing the solar flux at 3,750 Mc/s and also conducting the interferometric observation at 4,000 Mc/s with an 8-element interferometer. At Hiraiso a routine observation of 200 Mc/s is being continued.

Eclipse Works

During the period 1935-1948 Japan was favoured with several occasions to observe the total solar eclipses. Several photospheric, chromospheric and coronal observations were carried out in each occasion.

Among them the study of the polarization of the corona by M. Huruhashi by photoelectric method and by K. Saitō by photographic method and K. Ōsawa's photoelectric photometry of the limb darkening are to be noted.

Theoretical Works

The theory of the formation of Fraunhofer lines have been advanced by Z. Suemoto at Mitaka, Z. Hitotsuyanagi, Tōhoku University, and also by S. Miyamoto and his colleagues, Astrophysics Institute, Kyoto University, especially by taking non-coherent scattering into account. Theoretical calculations on the various problems of the chromosphere have been carried out

by Miyamoto, Suemoto and others. Low temperature of the chromosphere was emphasized by S. Miyamoto and others from the detailed calculations of the degree of ionization of atoms, effect of self-absorption in emission lines, etc.

S. Miyamoto was the first to point out the ionization mechanism of metallic ions in the solar corona. Instead of the usual Saha's equation he proposed a new ionization formula and was able to explain the observations.

Statistical investigations on the solar-terrestrial relationship have been carried out mostly at Mitaka in conjunction with the activities of the Ionospheric Research Committee, Science Council of Japan (chairman: Y. Hagiwara). K. Kawabata has been working on the mechanism of escape of corpuscles from the sun.

In the field of radio astronomy, T. Takakura of Mitaka has proposed an interpretation of the frequency-drift with time observed in a solar radio outburst in terms of the expansion of an ionized gas cloud. T. Hatanaka and F. Moriyama have calculated the long-period variation of the basic component in centimeter waves from the sun.

Astrophysical researches on stars and nebulae

Astrophysical observations of stars have been carried out only at the Tokyo Astronomical Observatory at Mitaka, the largest telescope there being the 26" refractor. The telescope, however, is far from satisfactory for the spectroscopic observations of stars, etc. and most of the works have been limited to photographic and photoelectric observations of stars with color filters. The spectroscopic observations are indispensable for the progress in astrophysics, and especially from the point that Japan is situated at one leg of a tripod with Europe and America. The necessity for a large reflector has been resolved by the Science Council of Japan in 1953 and the budget to get a 74" reflector for the Tokyo Astronomical Observatory has been approved by Diet in 1954. The telescope

has been ordered to England and will be completed in about 5 years. The site for the new telescope is now being sought for very keenly in all parts of Japan.

Variable Stars

Photoelectric observation of variable stars with color filters is made by M. Huruwata and others at Mitaka with the 26" telescope. Their main objects are eclipsing variables of very short period. They have determined the elements of close eclipsing binary stars and also found flaring phenomena in some variables. Effects of the reflection of light from the companion on the light curve are investigated by M. Kitamura. Photographic and visual observations of long-period variables are continued by S. Kaho at Mitaka with an 8" refractor.

Stellar Spectra and Physics of Stellar Atmosphere

Y. Fujita at Department of Astronomy, University of Tokyo, had been analyzing the spectra of late type variables which he took at Yerkes, McDonald and Mt. Wilson, and found new identification of absorption lines in these spectra. S. Miyamoto and his colleagues at Kyoto are working on the model stellar atmospheres of early type stars, the formation of absorption lines, and dynamics and stability of expanding stellar envelopes. S. Ueno has completed a comprehensive table for the opacity of early type stars. Z. Hitotsuyanagi and H. Inaba of the Tōhoku University in Sendai calculated the physical state of the atmosphere of the pulsating star, δ Cephei, based on the method of "curve of growth" of absorption lines.

Gaseous Nebulae and Interstellar Matters

Although no observational works on these rarefied celestial objects can be done in Japan at present because of the lack of large telescopes, some interesting works are being carried out. After important investigations by Y. Hagiwara, S. Miyamoto, T. Hatanaka and others the theory of radiative transfer and intensities of emission lines have been recalculated especially with

reference to the redistribution of radiation in a spectral line first proposed by H. Zanstra of Netherland. W. Unno at Department of Astronomy, University of Tokyo, has proposed a fundamental theory on the mechanism of the redistribution and applied to the case of hydrogen and helium atoms in planetary nebulae by dividing the contour into steps. Similar treatment has been carried out by S. Miyamoto and others at Kyoto especially for the nebulae with very large optical depths. Later W. Unno has improved his theory and is able to solve the problem by not dividing into such steps. The stratification of the ionization in planetary nebulae has been calculated by W. Unno and K. Takakubo.

K. Takakubo of the Tōhoku University proposed a mechanism for the growth of magnetic field in interstellar space especially for the matters in spiral arms of the Galaxy.

Night Sky Light

Photoelectric observation of the night sky light with suitable filters is carried out by M. Furuhashi, in conjunction with the activity of the Ionosphere Research Committee. He constructed a new instrument which sweeps the whole sky automatically and records the intensity of the night sky light in different emission lines. Now he is measuring the time-variation of the distribution of the light in the sky at 2 stations separated by several hundred kilometers in order to find out the height of the emitting layer and the movement in the ionosphere.

Astrometrical and dynamical researches

Meridian Observation

S. Nakano makes the observation of the moon, planets and principal asteroids with an 8" meridian circle. He found a slight systematic difference in the positions of the moon which were reduced from observations made at Mitaka when compared with those at Washington. This seems to confirm Hirose's opinion that the effect of deflection

of plumb-line must be duly considered in such a case. Nakano is also observing the positions of certain stars to be used for photographic zenith tubes at Mitaka and Mizusawa.

K. Tsuji is continuing the observation of the right ascensions of stars in the equatorial zone with a 5" Repsold transit instrument at Mitaka. The bulk results of his past observations were reduced and published as the Mitaka Zodiacal Star Catalogue and the Mitaka Zenith Star Catalogue.

N. Sekiguchi is observing the movement of the celestial pole among stars with an 8" polar telescope for the research astronomical constants.

Time

The determination of time is regularly carried out at Mitaka with a photographic zenith tube which was built recently by M. Torao. A photoelectric transit instrument is also used in comparison with it. The keeping of time is made with quartz-crystal clocks; four installed at Mitaka and three furnished by the Radio Research Laboratory, at Koganei near Tokyo. Such modern equipments are used for precise clock comparison as the synchronous drum recorder, electronic counter, beat counter, etc.

The time is broadcast for civil service twice a day simultaneously on four frequencies from the JJC Radio Stations, and also continuously for twenty four hours on the standard frequency wave, JJY, by the hand of the Radio Research Laboratory.

Radio time signals from several places over the world are regularly received at Mitaka for the comparison of the time in Japan with those of other countries, and availing these materials researches on the variation of longitude and on the propagation speed of radio signals are in progress.

The increase of accuracy of time in Japan enables M. Miyaji and S. Iijima to study the irregularity of the speed of earth's rotation. The atomic clock recently constructed by K. Shimoda at the Department of Physics of the University of Tokyo

is also used for their researches in collaboration with him.

Variation of Latitude and Longitude

The observation has been continued more than 50 years for the variation of latitude with the zenith telescope at the International Latitude Observatory (Director T. Ikeda) at Mizusawa in Iwate Pref. It is well known that H. Kimura found so-called Z-term, which seemed to arise from other causes than the pole movement.

Various studies on the variation of latitude and the Z-term are being attacked. The method of observation is being checked by the use of a floating telescope of Cookson type and a photographic zenith tube. The effects of wind, refraction of star light in the atmosphere, etc. were investigated by T. Ikeda and others. The accumulated results of observations made possible such a research as the ameriolation of nutation and aberration as made by T. Hattori.

The similar variation was expected to appear also in longitude of a station when compared it with those of other stations. The actual evidence was first shown by M. Miyaji about 20 years ago, by carefully comparing the time in Japan with those determined in foreign observatories. The work is still continued and extended further at Mitaka.

Asteroids, Comets, Satellites and Meteors

H. Hirose conducts photographic observations of the position of asteroids and comets with an 8" Brashear refractor at Mitaka. This telescope has a record of discoveries of 14 new asteroids. A 12" refractor recently installed at Mitaka is assigned for observation of the moon with Markowitz's moon position camera.

At Kasan Observatory of the Kyoto University photographic observations are made with a 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ " refractor.

M. Honda at Kurashiki, Okayama-ken, discovered three new comets in recent years, and he is still patrolling new object.

Participating to one of the cooperative works of the International Astronomical

Union, H. Hirose, T. Takenouchi and others at Mitaka made computations of the ephemerides of about 140 asteroids for every year.

T. Takenouchi is observing the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites by Photoelectric method for improving the orbital elements and for the study of Jupiter's atmosphere.

A pair of meteor cameras with rotating sectors are working at Mitaka and Kawasaki for the determination of the orbit of meteors. H. Hirose and K. Tomita found from these observations that orbits of some meteors seemed very similar to those of peculiar asteroids such as Amor, Icarus and Apollo. Abundant material of visual meteor observations have been secured by amateur astronomers.

Occultation

At the prediction of the annular eclipse of the sun in 1948, when the observation was made at Rebunjima under the cooperation of U.S.A. and Japan, H. Hirose found a general deviation exists in the observations made in Japan, owing to the deflection of plumb-line, and he took it into account for his precise prediction, which was proved correct. This idea was made at the time when he found a systematic deviation in the time of occultations observed in Japan as compared with the mean of the times of occultations observed at all over the world.

K. Ōsawa devised a photoelectric apparatus for increasing the accuracy in the observation of time at the occultation. Hirose applied the devices to occultation observation for determination of the distance between two places for separated, the size and the figure of the earth as well as the distance of the moon from the earth. The observations are successfully proceeded.

Visual observations of occultation are being carried out by the Tokyo Astronomical Observatory, the Kasan Astronomical Observatory, the Hydrographic Bureau and many amateur astronomers.

Celestial Mechanics

Y. Hagiwara at University of Tokyo, made an important contribution to celestial mechanics by developing a method of calcu-

lating the perturbation by the use of matrix. Y. Kozai of Mitaka applied the method to the case of secular perturbation of higher order.

Numerical calculation for the orbit of the asteroid Hilda was carried out by K. Akiyama of the Hōsei University in Tokyo. T. Ura and T. Takenouchi made a similar calculation for asteroid Thule.

Theory of the rotation of the earth was re-examined by N. Sekiguchi at Mitaka by taking certain small terms into consideration. T. Ura at Kobe University, has worked on functional equations to be applied to celestial mechanics and S. Miyahara at Hydrographic Bureau, worked on canonical transformations and the theory of tide.

Ephemerides, Calendar and History

Nautical Almanac and Japanese Ephemerides are calculated and published by the Hydrographic Bureau. National calendar is compiled and published by the Tokyo Astronomical Observatory. Detailed calculations of various astronomical phenomena are made at these institutions. Y. Satō of Mitaka published a table of the co-ordinated

of Jupiter and Saturn for the years from 1961 to 2148.

J. Ueta studied the so-called Shih Shen's Star Catalogue and concluded that it originated on the observations made in about 350 B.C. and could be considered as one of the oldest catalogues. C. Noda and K. Yabuuchi studied the principle of calendar and the history of astronomy in ancient China. As to the history of astronomy in Japan, the Japanes Academy have prepared a monumental work under the supervision of the late K. Hirayama, yet unpublished.

Stellar Statistics and Cosmology

M. Kaburaki at Department of Astronomy of the University of Tokyo, is continuing his works on the structure of the galaxy and its rotation by the statistical method. T. Shimizu at Geographic Survey Institute, investigated the motion of stars in the galaxy by the modern statistical method and found that the equipartition of energy held among the stars. B. Takase is working on stellar dynamics under several assumption of the distributions of the mass in the galaxy. H. Nariai at Hiroshima University, is working on relativistic cosmology.

Geophysics

There are 5 main divisions in Geophysics; meteorology, oceanography, seismology, volcanology and geomagnetism. Brief accounts of research situations in Japan in each of these divisions will be given.

Meteorology

Japan is a very long narrow island located to the east of Asian Continent. Four seasons are clearly noticed. From the late spring to early summer there is a rainy season. Typhoons attack Japan at the end of summer and at the beginning of autumn. Heavy rain and storm accompanying typhoons are causing damages somewhere in Japan every year. Seasonal wind in winter would cause heavy snow along the Coast of

the Japan Sea and storm in the North-Western part of Japan.

Themes of meteorological researches in Japan are naturally directed to the study of these weather conditions to prevent damages caused by them.

Meteorological research institutions in Japan are Tokyo Central Meteorological Observatory, Meteorological Research Institute, Weather Bureaus, and Meteorological Department at Tokyo, Kyoto, Tōhoku, Hokkaidō and Kyūshū universities.

Recent advance in upper tropospheric observation is brought about by the advance in observation instruments such as radio-sonde and of the observation networks.

One of the remarkable work recently made is T. Murakami's "Mechanism of passing of rainy season".

C. Yamamoto's "A study on atmospheric thermal radiation" is one of the first of this field in the world.

D. Kuroiwa's "Study on fog cores by electron microscope", is also an excellent work.

Oceanography

Following is a brief survey of physical oceanographic studies in Japan since 1950.

Oceanographical Observation

Oceanographical observation in Japan is now performed by Central Meteorological Observatory (including 4 oceanographic weather station attached to it), Hydrographic Division, Maritime Safety Board, and seven observation ships of Fisheries Research Institute. Almost all the divisions in physical, chemical, biological and geological oceanography are being studied. Unfortunately, owing to insufficiency in equipments, observations are restricted up to 1,000-1,500 meters below sea surface.

Submarine Topography and Submarine Geology

Owing to the increase in number of depth measuring points by wire sounding and the production of excellent echo sounders in Japan, submarine topography around Japan has now been quite extensively studied. In 1952, "the new depth chart of Japanese home sea" was made using a new method of projection.

On the beach erosion occurring at the coast of the Japan Sea and at the Southern coast of Osaka Bay, many of the marine research workers are attacking the problem.

T. Ichie suggested a theory that some of the beach erosions are caused by converging currents.

Sea Water

Y. Miyake, Y. Kakeuchi and others are studying on physical and chemical nature of sea water. Miyake published tables to show saturated vapour pressure of sea water in different temperature and chlorinity. K. Saruhashi, one of the collaborators of Miyake, deduced a theoretical rela-

tion between pH and total carbon dioxide in sea water applying Conway's micro-diffusion method.

Takeuchi determined the relation between extinction coefficient and wave length of light by theoretical and experimental studies on the brightness in the sea water. He divided the extinction coefficient of sea water into 2 parts, the absorption coefficient and scattering coefficient. According to his measurement using photoronic cell type photometer, scattering coefficient forms only 10% of extinction coefficient. This finding made him feel necessary to assume the presence of colored substance in sea water.

Y. Abe made an extensive study on bubbles formed in sea water. He found that the thickness of bubble layer is dependent upon temperature and chlorine content. He also studied on the stability and decay of the bubble layer.

Hydrography and Water Mass Analysis

Hydrographical studies of Japanese home waters are being made by M. Uda, T. Ichie and many other researchers. Uda made an extensive study by flowing patterns of Kuroshio Warm Current. He studied the main axis and margins of the *Kuroshio* and determined its maximum speed and current breadth basing on dynamical calculations from 1934 to 1943. He also explained the occurrence and development of abnormal phases in *Kuroshio* and its recovery to the normal phase.

Ichie made observations on hydrography of *Kuroshio* and gave a theoretical explanation of meander of *Kuroshio* basing jet stream theory. Y. Saitō published the result of an extensive water mass analysis of *Kuroshio*.

Theories on Ocean Currents

K. Hidaka published the results of the computation on the general circulation of the Pacific Ocean in 1951. He solved the problem by using spherical co-ordinates instead of rectangular ones used by W. H. Munk. He obtained about the same result as W. H. Munk; there was a small discrep-

ancy on the theory on the size of total mass transport.

Recently K. Yoshida succeeded in the study of circulation of upper mixed layer in equatorial region of North Pacific Ocean by solving steady state equations which include variants in Coriolis force, pressure gradient, horizontal mixing and vertical mixing.

Waves and Tides

Studies on waves have been made in relation to practical applications.

Central Meteorological Observatory made an observation on the relations of typhoons and cyclones with waves and swell for three years (1952-55) by setting up pressure recorder type self-registering wave gauges.

Seismology

Upon seeing the locality and shape of Japan, it is easily noticed that Japan is in quite special conditions both in geophysical and geochemical point of view. Geological phenomena, which would never occur at great continents where geological condition is stable, must have occurred many times in the past.

According to the study of Central Meteorological Observatory earthquakes which

are recorded on seismometer reach 6,000-7,000 every year. In the past 100 years, there were 65 heavy earthquakes. That means Japan experiences severe earthquakes once in every one and a half year.

There are about 100 seismological observatory in Japan. Studies on seismology are being made at Seismological Dept. of Tokyo Univ., Kyoto Univ., Tōhoku Univ. and Hokkaidō Univ.

Volcanology

In Japan, there are more than 270 volcanoes erupted during past 1,000,000 years. They are scattered throughout the Japanese Archipelago and in her coastal sea.

Even during the past 1,400 years about 260 eruptions were recorded. This frequent volcanic activities in Japan naturally caused a great interest for volcanological studies in Japan and many research workers are actively attacking many problems on volcanoes, especially on the relation between alkali-alkali rock and alkali rock, relate between the evolution of volcanoes and rock formation and the relation between the formation of andesite and the evolution of magma.

Science Administration

After the World War II, Japan's scientific research system has been extensively re-examined. The belief on the part of the scientists that the only way to rebuild Japan from devastation into peace loving cultural state and to contribute to the world was the promotion of scientific studies initiated a nationwide campaign and the new Science Council of Japan and the Conference of Science Administration have been instituted. These institutions have since been endeavoring to solve the complicated problems to promote the scientific activities in Japan.

At the same time, measures have been taken for improving of research institutions and for assisting research workers.

In Japan, basic sciences are under the jurisdiction of Ministry of Education, and

applied sciences are controlled by related ministries.

Research institutions

National Institutions

In scientific studies the weight of the national institutions has considerably increased after the war. Among the national research institutions, national universities has been the most important ones for the research of basic sciences. After the new system was instituted in university system, the weight of teaching has become greater than before. The situation made it quite necessary to establish national institutes devoted for researches.

Reorganization of research institutions has been planned. It was decided that the first step for it should be the improving of existing institutions, and that only the ones which are very badly needed should be newly instituted.

The following events are some of the major steps taken since the end of the war.

- (1) The establishment of National Institute of Genetics (1949).
- (2) The establishment of Institute of Applied Microbiology at Tokyo University (1953).
- (3) Establishing such research Institutions commonly used by the researchers in the same field. (Such as Atomic Nuclear Research Institute, Tokyo University).
- (4) Construction of 74 inch reflection microscope.
- (5) Reopening of the investigation on aeronautics.

Private Institutions

After the war, private research institutions have had a hard time owing to the

lack of fund. In order to improve the situation, assisting fund have been given from the national budget since 1947.

In 1951, a law to assist private research institutions was enacted.

In 1955, 35 institutions among 200 private institutions were given 544,000,000 *yen* of assisting fund.

Tax exemption devices also have been planned and gradually materialized for the benefit of private institutions.

Aid to researches

There is a system to give assisting fund to the promising researches which would yield excellent results. The system, instituted 30 years ago, has been especially beneficial after the war, because the research funds have been lacking everywhere.

There is also a system to give assisting fund for research institutions, such as assisting to import foreign made instruments, assisting to improve equipment at private university etc.

The Development of Wasan

Wasan

History

Wasan means the Japanese mathematics which was developed in Edo Era. It is covering over arithmetic, algebra, geometry, analytical geometry and calculus.

In Edo Era, Japan was closed the country upon foreigners, so *wasan* is the peculiar mathematics in Japan. At first, it was the mathematics with tools, but it was changed to the calculation with figures in later. The proper part of *wasan* is the algebra with figures.

In the beginning of Edo Era, the *soroban* (abacus) was used by Japanese merchants and engineers for their calculations. The *soroban* was introduced from China about the end of Muromachi Era. Japanese *samurai* used it for their calculations in Sengoku Era (the age of battles).

The Sengoku Era was over and many industries opened in the beginning of Edo Era. The people wanted of a convenient way of calculations, then the *soroban* was appeared in response to the need of the age.

The initial teacher of the *soroban* is a *samurai* whose name is Mōri Shigeyoshi. He lived in Kyoto at the first period of Edo Era, and taught the calculation of division with *soroban* in his private school. He published the text-book *Warizan* (division) in 1622. The book is relating the calculations of division with *soroban* and it's applications. This is the initial publishing in *wasan*. There were few hundred pupils in Mōri's school, and all the later *wasan*-scholars belonged to Mōri.

Yoshida Mitsuyoshi (1598-1672) is one of the Mōri's ablest pupils. He is famous by his work *Jinkōki*. The book is explaining the division with *soroban* and it's

many applications by easy style and numerous illustrations: method of division with *soroban*, various commercial and industrial calculations, square and cubic roots, mathematical recreations etc. *Jinkōki* spread in all Japan by and by. The book had been published the fourth edition within 20 years since its first edition (1627). *Jinkōki* was the best book of *soroban* in Edo Era, but it is rare to see the book now. We shall explain the particular custom *idai* which is originated from *Jinkōki* afterward.

Wasan-scholars began to study *Tengenjutsu* (the Chinese algebra) from about the middle of 17 century. First, they studied it by the Chinese book *Sangakuheimō* (1st edition 1299, China). *Tengenjutsu* is an algebra with *sangi* and *sanban*.

Sangi is a small wooden stick. There are 2 kinds of *sangi* red and black: red one represents a positive number, black one negative. *Sanban* is a paper board which is limited like a chessboard.

We can represent a number by putting some *sangi* in a section of *sanban*. *Tengenjutsu* is how to solve an equation with integral coefficients. We put all the coefficients of the equation with *sangi* in definite sections and find the value of a real root according to the rule. This is the same as Horner's method in algebra. *Soroban* mathematics is an arithmetic, but *tengenjutsu* is an algebra. The problems in *tengenjutsu* are almost geometrical calculations: length, area, volume etc.

Then, *wasan* became a kind of geometry, while it does not study the natures of figures geometrically, but it finds the values of geometrical quantities. The theorems of similar figures, Pythagoras' theorem etc. are the basis of *wasan*.

After all, *wasan* is a kind of algebraic geometry.

Since *tengenjutsu* is adopted in *wasan*, *soroban* became a popular mathematics. *Tengenjutsu* is studied by pure wasan-scholars. They are almost *samurai* or *rōnin* (unemployed *samurai*). Chinese language is needed to study *tengenjutsu*. In those days, the Chinese language was a culture of the *samurai* class chiefly, so it was most convenient to study *tengenjutsu*

for the *samurai* class, especially *rōnin* who are at leisure.

Seki Takakazu (1642?-1708) is one of the most famous wasan-scholar in Edo Era. He is the most superior *samurai* of the mathematics in those days.

He was employed in the Shogunate as an accountant, and had risen to the chief of the financial section afterward. He had invented a notation *Bōshohō* (method of side writing). It is a notation which represents a number by the short line and the side letters: for example, \equiv (3), フ (-2), a negative number was represented by the sign フ . Next, we shall indicate the 4 rules of the Seki's notation.

He had created a vertical written algebra by his notation and completed Seki's mathematics. His works had completed before 1683. Now, we shall show his principal studies: (a) Theory of equations.

This is the inquiry of the roots, for example, the number of the real roots, multiple roots etc. Specially, we shall attend to his *Byōdai* (the diseased problems). When an equation has no root which satisfies the request of the problem, these problems were called *Byōdai*.

We shall explain Seki's solution of *Byōdai* by an equation $ax^2 - bx + c = 0$. We consider the case that the equation has no real root. $ax^2 + bx + c = 0$, where, a, b, c , are real and $a \neq 0$.

$$x = \frac{-b \pm \sqrt{b^2 - 4ac}}{2a}$$

In this case, we have $b^2 - 4ac < 0$.

Seki changed the values of given numbers in the problem such that $b^2 - 4ac \geq 0$. He considered that the problem itself is unreasonable (diseased), and he changed the values of the known quantities in the problem such that a reasonable answer can be obtained. We consider that it is derived from the practical idea of orientals.

Next, we shall enter in Seki's solution of *fukudai* (the concealed problems). When it is hard to get the single equation which contains the required quantity in the problem. Seki called these problems *fukudai*. In these cases, Seki's solution of *fukudai* is a method of elimination.

Seki considered the case in which 2 simultaneous equations be obtained and he eliminated an unknown quantity from 2 equations. He applied a determinant in his elimination. Being earlier than Leibnitz by about 15 years, Seki is the creator of the determinant in the world.

Geometrical Problems

There are so many works in geometrical problems: area of an ellipse, volume of a sphere, volume of a solid of rotation, center of gravity etc. Specially, Seki used some power series and interpolation formulae in the calculation of arc length. This is *enri* (theory of circles) in *wasan*. We shall explain it in later. Seki is the creator of *wasan* and Seki-school.

At that time, there were so many *wasan*-scholars in Japan. They made many *wasan* school in Edo, Kyoto, Osaka, etc. specially Seki-school was most famous for the superior works and the great scholars. Thus, *wasan* lasted to the end of Edo Era.

We shall explain 2 special customs in *wasan*; *idai* (remained problems) and *gakumendai* (problems written on a plank) in next paragraph.

Idai and gakumendai

Idai means the remained problems. Yoshida Mitsuyoshi created *idai* in his book *Jinkōki* which is republished in 1641.

He remained 12 problems at the end of his book without answers. These problems were very difficult in those days, specially the tenth problem *ensaiseki* was most difficult of them. *Ensaiseki* means cutting a circle by a chord.

Divide the given circle into 3 parts by 2 parallel chords. Given the area of 3 parts, to find the length of 2 chords and 3 parts of the diameter which is perpendicular to these chords and cut by them. In present mathematics, it will come to solve a transcendental equation.

All *wasan* scholars had studied the problem for a long time. At last, they arrived at the calculation of an arc length, so, the study of arc length became most interesting

and serious problem for scholars. Here, we shall find a powerful reason that the problem of arc length was an important subject for *wasan*-scholars.

Seki had studied the same problem actively; an important branch *enri* (integral calculus in *wasan*) had organized by Seki and his successors.

After 12 years since the initial problems of *Jinkōki*, first answer book was published by a scholar whose name is Enami Kazuzumi. He solved all *idai* of *Jinkōki* (it was not completed) and he put new 8 *idai* problems at the end of his book.

Thereafter, the form of *idai* was fixed, all *idai* was answered by a book. It was called *Idai-keishō* (succession of *idai*). Custom of *idai* had continued about 120 years. In some books, there were 100 or 150 problems. So, new problems were devised by many scholars, objects of *wasan* was increased remarkably. In the *idai* of the book *Sampōketsugishō* (1660), the problem of the circumference of an ellipse was appeared.

After about 150 years, Wada Yasushi (1787-1840) solved the problem by the form of an infinite series. It was the elliptic integral in Japan.

Since the problem in *tengenjutsu* was used in *idai*, it became very difficult. *Tengenjutsu* is how to solve an equation which has single unknown quantity. It was required many complimentary unknown quantities for *idai* in *tengenjutsu*.

How to find the last equation which has single unknown quantity?—that is an object of *idai*. It is how to eliminate all complimentary unknown quantities by the algebraic calculations. So, the calculation with figures in *wasan* was developed gradually.

By the custom of *idai*, the calculation with figures, many publications of books, great many mathematical studies were produced in *wasan*.

In those days, another custom *gakumendai* was prevailed in *wasan*. When a scholar solved some very difficult problems, he writes his answers on a plank, and offers it to a shrine or temple for the thanks of his success and the prayer for his advancement;

that is *gakumendai*. The plank is called a *sangaku* (the plank of mathematics).

Sangaku is remained at the Yasaka Shrine in Kyoto. It was offered in 1691. Two problems and answers were written on it. This is the oldest one which we can see now.

Most of *gakumendai* are geometrical problems in which various figures are illustrated. These problems are very complicated: so many polygons, circles, ellipses, spheres are inscribed or circumscribed to each other intricately. There are numerous similar problems in *idai* also. Afterward, the studies of these problems were called *yojutsu* (inscribed problems) which is a section of *wasan*.

By *idai* and *gakumendai*, *wasan* scholars interested in the complicated inscribed figures. This is one of peculiarities in *wasan*, we shall find these figures in almost every *wasan* book.

In *gakumendai*, the problems, answers and the equations are written, but no reason how to get the solutions usually. So, when some one see a *sangaku*, he cannot understand how to solve these problems. He studies them at home, and if he would find better solution than the *Sangaku*'s one, he offers a new *sangaku* (solutions of initial problems) to the same or different shrine or temple. Thus, *sangaku* became a treatise for *wasan*-scholars. *Gakumendai* was prevailed most actively in the latter half of 18th century.

After Edo Era, it was continued still in the country. In Meiji Era, number of problems are increased.

The *sangaku* at Ōkunitama Shrine in Fuchū near Tokyo was offered in 1885. 36 problems and answers are written on a large plank.

Sangaku in those days were offered by main pupils of a *wasan*-scholar. Every pupil selects a problem and solve it, the collection of these solutions were written on a plank. At present, about 200 planks remain in Japan. We can see a *sangaku* which was offered in 1951 at Kumagai in

Saitama Prefecture. The custom may continue in future.

Idai and *gakumendai* are 2 peculiarities which were given great many objects and developments to *wasan*.

Enri

It was an important problem in *wasan* from its early time to find the circumference and arc length of a circle.

We shall show the values of π (the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter) in early time:

(1) 3.16 the book *Warizan*, by Mōri Shigeyoshi (1622)

(2) 3.16 the book *Jinkōki*, by Yoshida Mitsuyoshi (1627)

(3) 3.162 the book *Jugairoku*, by Imamura Tomoaki (1639)

(4) 3.14 the book *Sanso*, by Muramatsu Shigekiyo (1663)

We don't know about the origin of (1). Yoshida wrote the same value in his *Jinkōki*.

(3) is an approximate value of $\sqrt{10}$.

We shall explain about (4). Muramatsu Shigekiyo was a *samurai*. Muramatsu calculated the circumferences of regular polygons which are inscribed in a circle from the octagon to the polygon which has 32768 sides in order, and he obtained the value of π as follows:

$$\pi = 3.141592648777698869248$$

He calculated the correct value of π to 7 places of decimals, but he adopted the value to 2 places of decimals only.

Hereafter, all *wasan*-scholars used the Muramatsu's method in the calculation of the circumference and arc length of a circle.

On the problem of arc length, we must talk about the work of Imamura Tomoaki. He is one of the ablest pupils of Mōri, same as *Jinkōki*'s author, Yoshida Mitsuyoshi.

He published the book *Jugairoku* in 1639. In this book, he gave a formula of an arc length as follows:

$$s^2 = 4h(d + h/2),$$

where, s is the arc length
 d is the diameter

h is the distance between every middle point of the arc and the chord.

The study of arc length was risen actively by the Ensaieki problem as before related.

In early time scholars used the above Imamura's formula, but they wanted more precise formula than Imamura's afterward.

There was a scholar whose name is Sawaguchi Kazuyuki. He was an expert in *tengenjutsu*. In his study of arc length, he noticed the incorrectness of Imamura's formula, and he found a new method of the calculation.

He published the book *Kokon-Sanpōki* in 1670. In the book, he related upon the incorrectness of Imamura's formula, but he did not explain of the detail except that he discovered a new method. He used the technical term *enri* (theory of circles) in his book, that is the origin of the term *enri*. Thereafter scholars began to use the term for the theory of circles.

$$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} a_n = S + a_{16} = \frac{(a_{17} - a_{16})(a_{16} - a_{15})}{(a_{16} - a_{15}) - (a_{17} - a_{16})} + a_{16} \dots \dots (A)$$

By (A), Seki obtained that $\pi = 355/113$. The above method by geometric series is called *zōyaku-jutsu*.

Seki found that his method can be extend to the case of arc length generally.

He obtained some infinite series and some

$$1^2 = 4hd \left\{ 1 + \frac{2^2}{3 \cdot 4} \cdot \frac{h}{d} + \frac{2^2 \cdot 4^2}{3 \cdot 4 \cdot 5 \cdot 6} \left(\frac{h}{d} \right)^2 + \frac{2^2 \cdot 4^2 \cdot 6^2}{3 \cdot 4 \cdot 5 \cdot 6 \cdot 7 \cdot 8} \left(\frac{h}{d} \right)^3 + \dots \right\},$$

where, 1 is the arc length, d , h are same as the Imamura's case.

He used an infinite series which represents $\sqrt{1-x}$, and found the above form.

Thus, Seki and Takebe corrected the

$$1 = \sqrt{4hd} \left\{ 1 + \frac{1^2}{2 \cdot 3} \left(\frac{h}{d} \right) + \frac{1^2 \cdot 3^2}{2 \cdot 3 \cdot 4 \cdot 5} \left(\frac{h}{d} \right)^2 + \frac{1^2 \cdot 3^2 \cdot 5^2}{2 \cdot 3 \cdot 4 \cdot 5 \cdot 6 \cdot 7} \left(\frac{h}{d} \right)^3 + \dots \right\}$$

of decimals correctly, and he wrote it in his work *Hōen-Sanki* (1739).

Ajima Naonobu (1739-1798) is a *samurai* who belonged to Shinjō-han in Yamagata Prefecture.

He is one of a great scholars in Seki-school. He found a method of the calculation of plane area by using a kind of

Next, we shall explain of the Seki's *enri*. He adopted the Muramatsu's method in his calculation of π and found following theory.

Let an be the circumference of the regular polygon which has 2^n sides and inscribes in the circle ($n \geq 2$). The convergent series:

$U = (a_3 - a_2) + (a_4 - a_3) + \dots + (a_n - a_{n-1}) + \dots$ can be considered as a geometrical series approximately for large n .

For this verification, Seki calculated an for $2 \leq n \leq 17$ namely, from 4 to $2^{17} = 131072$ in order.

Put $S = (a_{17} - a_{16}) + \dots$ we have $S + a_{16} = \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} a_n =$ the circumference of the circle.

Seki considered that the common ratio in S is $a_{17} - a_{16} / a_{16} - a_{15}$, he found an approximate value of S as the sum of the geometric series.

interpolation formulae for the arc length. Seki's these works were completed before 1683.

Takebe Kenkō (1664-1739) is one of the ablest pupils of Seki. He corrected Seki's series, and obtained the following form:

Imamura's formula.

Matsunaga Yoshisuke is one of the ablest pupils of Araki Murahide (Seki's successor). He obtained the series:

He calculated the value of π to 49 places

integral calculus. He divided a circle into many small rectangles, that is same as in the integral calculus. He used infinite series in these calculations.

He found a series of the arc length from the area of a sector of the circle indirectly. The result is as follows:

$$1 = a \left\{ 1 + \frac{1^2}{2 \cdot 3} \left(\frac{a}{d} \right)^2 + \frac{1^2 \cdot 3^2}{2 \cdot 3 \cdot 4 \cdot 5} \left(\frac{a}{d} \right)^4 + \frac{1^2 \cdot 3^2 \cdot 5^2}{2 \cdot 3 \cdot 4 \cdot 5 \cdot 6 \cdot 7} \left(\frac{a}{d} \right)^6 + \dots \right\},$$

where, a is the length of the chord for the required arc.

By Ajima, *Enri* was extended to the cases of the general plane curves or solids. He used a double series in the calculation of a solid, that is the double integration in *wasan*.

Ajima's fundamental formula for his integration was $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1^m + 2^m + \dots + n^m}{n^{m+1}} = \frac{1}{m+1}$,

that is corresponding to $\int_0^1 x^m dx = \frac{1}{m+1}$.

Wada Yasushi (1787-1840) is a *rōnin* in Edo (once he was employed in Mikazukihan in Hyōgo prefecture). He is a most creative scholar in Seki-school.

He made many integration table of some rational and irrational functions. He used the tangent in the calculation of the arc length. One of his famous work is the infinite series of the elliptic integral:

$$S = 2a\pi \left(1 - p - \frac{1^2 \cdot 3}{2^2} p^2 - \frac{1^2 \cdot 3^2 \cdot 5}{(1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3)^2} p^3 - \dots \right),$$

where, S is the circumference of an ellipse,

$$p = \frac{1}{4} \left(1 - \frac{b^2}{a^2} \right) \quad \begin{array}{l} a: \text{the half length of the} \\ \text{long axis} \\ b: \text{the half length of the} \\ \text{short axis} \end{array}$$

He studied the problem of maximum and minimum value in the differential calculus. He found many new curves and solids in his studies.

Wasan arrived at its climax by Wada.

Method of approximation in wasan

The calculations in *wasan* were so complicated that scholars wanted to simplify them. Therefore, scholars were invented various methods of approximation. Here, we shall show 2 examples.

Approximation in Algebra

In the problems of *idai* and *gakumendai*, the equations with remarkable higher degree—for example, 1458th degree—were produced. For these equations scholars used a kind of approximation which is called *Eifujutsu* or *Kanchin jutsu* (pursuit method).

The method was invented by a scholar whose name is Nakane Genjun (dead in 1761). He found the method in his study of a problem in astronomy, and he wrote the method in his work *Kaiho-Eifujutsu* (1729).

Let x_1, x_2 be 2 approximate values of a root of the equation $f(x)=0$, then Nakane's recurring formula is

$$x_n = \frac{x_{n-2}f(x_{n-1}) - x_{n-1}f(x_{n-2})}{f(x_{n-1}) - f(x_{n-2})}, \quad (n \geq 3)$$

where, x is the n th approximate value of the root.

We shall explain the method by an example. It is how to find a positive root of the equation.

$$\sqrt[3]{x} + \sqrt[3]{x+23} + \sqrt[3]{x+30} + \sqrt[3]{x+33} = 55.$$

$$\text{Put } f(x) = \sqrt[3]{x} + \sqrt[3]{x+23}$$

$$+ \sqrt[3]{x+30} + \sqrt[3]{x+33} - 55,$$

$$\text{if } x > 0, \text{ then } 4\sqrt[3]{x} - 55 < f(x)$$

$$< 4\sqrt[3]{x+33} - 55.$$

Let a be required roots. In the neighbourhood of a

$$4\sqrt[3]{x} - 55 < 0,$$

$$\text{so that, } x < (13.75)^3 \dots \dots \dots (1)$$

Next, we determine x such that

$$4\sqrt[3]{x+33} - 55 < 0, \text{ then}$$

$$x < (13.75)^3 - 33 \dots \dots \dots (2)$$

we take x_1, x_2 such that $x_1 = 13^3$,

$$x_2 = (13.5)^3,$$

then, these values satisfy (1), (2),

$$\text{and } |f(x_2)| < |f(x_1)|.$$

we obtain the 3rd value, x_3 ,

$$X_3 = \frac{x_1 f(x_2) - x_2 f(x_1)}{f(x_2) - f(x_1)},$$

by Nakane's formula.

Thus we shall obtain x_n in order.

In the Nakane's method, we have to determine x_1, x_2 such that $f(x_1)f(x_2) > 0$ and $|f(x_2)| < |f(x_1)|$.

Next, we shall explain the method geometrically.

We consider the curve $y=f(x)$. Take two points $P_1(x_1, f(x_1))$ $P_2(x_2, f(x_2))$ on the curve. (Fig. 6)

The equation of the straight line $P_1 P_2$ is

$$\frac{y-f(x_1)}{f(x_1)-f(x_2)} = \frac{x-x_1}{x_1-x_2} \quad (1)$$

Put $y=0$ in (1), we have

$$x = \frac{x_1 f(x_2) - x_2 f(x_1)}{f(x_2) - f(x_1)} = x_2$$

$P_1 P_2$ intersects with x axis at the point $(x_3, 0)$. Thus, we can obtain the values of x_n which converge to a .

$$\text{where, } a_0 = \frac{\pi}{4}, \quad A_1 = 1 \cdots \cdots a_n = \frac{1 \cdot 3 \cdot 5 \cdots \cdots 2n-3}{2 \cdot 4 \cdot 6 \cdots \cdots 2n-2} \cdot \frac{n}{2n-1} \quad (n \geq 2)$$

He obtained the following formula:

$$y_0 = a, \quad y_n = \frac{a_0}{a_1 + a_2 y_{n-1}^2 + a_3 y_{n-1}^4 + \cdots + a_{n+1} y_{n-1}^{2n-1}} \quad (n \geq 1)$$

We can show that $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} y_n = a$ by the theory of series, but don't enter in the detail here.

The original problem of Wada's method was how to find the length of AC when the arc length CD is maximum, where AB is known, $\angle ACB = \angle R$, ACD is the sector of the circle whose center is A and radius is AC. (Fig. 7)

Let $AB=c$, $AC=x$. Let DE be parallel to BC, then we have $AE=x^2/c$, $EC=AC-AE=x(c-x)/c$, $DE^2=AD^2-AE^2=x^2-x^4/c^2=x^2(c^2-x^2)/c^2$,

$$\overline{CD}^2 = \frac{x^2(c-x)^2}{c^2} + \frac{x^2(c^2-x^2)}{c^2} = \frac{2x^2(c^2-cx)}{c^2} = 2x^2 \left(1 - \frac{x}{c}\right), \text{ so that } \overline{CD} = x\sqrt{2(1-x/c)},$$

then \overline{CD} becomes the function $f(x)$, by the method of *enri* (Ajima's series).

Wada represented it by a power series of x/c , and he arrived at the problem to find the value of x which satisfies

$f'(x)=0$. In the case, $f'(x)=a_0-a_1(x/c)-a_2(x/c)^2-\cdots$. Put $y=x/c$,

$$a_0-a_1y-a_2y^2-\cdots=0,$$

that is the origin of Wada's approximation. Wada wrote the solution of the original problem in his manuscript (1805), he related above of approximation in it.

There are many other methods of ap-

proximation in *wasan*. The method of approximation of an irrational number was developed from the Seki period. Seki and his successors invented the method of approximation with fractions. Seki found that $\pi=355/113$ by this method.

Seki's method was very complicated, but it was simplified by his successors, and they organized the theory of continued fractions in *wasan*.

It is an important peculiarity in *wasan* that various methods of approximation had developed.

Now, we shall observe the general peculiarities of *wasan*. It is a mathematics of geometrical figures, but its' method is analytical. We can see that is very intuitional to determine the terms of an infinite series in *enri*.

$$a_0 - a_1 y - a_2 y^3 - a_3 y^5 - \cdots = 0,$$

$$(n \geq 2)$$

$$(n \geq 1)$$

While, *wasan* scholars continued numerous complicated calculations for a long time. *Wasan* is a mathematics of intuition and calculation.

The spirit of *wasan* is represented by a *waka* (Japanese ode) at the top of the highest certificate of *wasan*.

Michi araba, fumimo morasuna, takasago no Mineni itarinu, iwama zutao.

We shall show the meaning of it.

"Whenever you may find any path, follow it, Then finally you can get the summit."

XXIII LITERATURE

Outline

Form

Protoplasm of Japanese Literature
—*utagaki*

The protoplasm of literature was the ballade-dance that existed when music, dancing and literature were still in an embryonic stage. This inference is stated in detail in R. G. Moulton's "The Modern Study of Literature" and other books and, it seems, that it is a generally acceptable theory.

Then what was it that could be termed the "ballade-dance" in Japan? It is believed that it was *utagaki* or *kagai* whose descriptions are found in *Manyōshū* and various topographies.

There can be found no established theory on the origin of *utagaki*. It can be presumed from descriptions in existing literature, however, that *utagaki* originated from a religious function usually observed twice a year in the spring and autumn seasons—for praying for bumper crops. Usually, it was held on top of a mountain where it was believed the ancestral gods stayed. It is believed that the people on such occasions engaged in sexual ceremonies and prayed for the bumper rice crop through the exchange of poems.

This religious function gradually assumed a nature of amusement and finally became a pastime of young men and women to

gather regularly on top of a mountain or at the waterside to enjoy singing and dancing together. It seems that these get-togethers might have offered to young men and women chances for free sexual intercourse and choice of their life partners through the exchange of poems.

From this cradle of *utagaki*, various forms of literature, such as epics, lyrics and plays, seem to have cropped up. But it is not known even today how these genres of literature developed into the present forms. Especially in Japan which took in a plenty of culture from its advanced neighbor—China, it cannot be presumed that modern literature developed from the ballad-dance.

Epic

In Japan epics of olden days remain in an exceedingly vague form. Such a perfect epic as Homeros' *Ilias* or *Odysseia* does not exist in this country and students of literature can only find what appears to be an epic in some of the existing topographies, *Kojiki*, *Manyōshū* or *Kakinomoto-no-Hito-maro's* long poems.

Epics were born of literary spirits that prevailed in the course of development of primitive and non-culturized society into a society with a higher cultural level. In Japan, the epic age covered presumably a period extending from the 2nd to 4th centuries.

Until the introduction of hieroglyphic characters from China, there existed no such means of conveying thoughts and ideas in Japan. There is no established theory as to when Chinese characters were brought into Japan. It is said that they were used in Japan for writing Chinese in quite a limited circle in around the 3rd century, but this seems to be an exception.

It was from the 5th to 6th century that the Chinese characters came to be introduced to Japan actively. They came over to Japan with various other forms of culture that developed in the Chinese Continent, including Korea.

At the outset, however, the Chinese characters were used only by Chinese naturalized in Japan and their descendants. These people used the Chinese characters only for expressing Chinese and it was from around the beginning of the 6th century that the Chinese characters came to be used for expressing Japanese.

Until then, mythologies and legends in Japan had been handed down by word of mouth by families of professional narration called *Kataribe*. It was chiefly such families that used the Chinese characters for expressing Japanese.

The oldest book written in Chinese characters in Japan is *Kojiki* which was completed in 712. It is through the study of *Kojiki* and various topographies compiled at that time as well as functions observed by the people that we estimate the forms of Japanese literature in the age of folk-lore.

The aim of publication of *Kojiki* was to unify the country by the Imperial Family. Topographies were compiled for practically the same purpose. In compiling these pieces of literature, especially *Kojiki*, therefore, mythologies and stories that had been handed down orally or those transplanted into characters (most of which have already been scattered and lost) were presumably changed to meet this purpose.

By the time written literature made its debut in the 7th and 8th centuries, the age of "hero epics" had already been buried in the past and, therefore, we can hardly

find any full-fledged "hero epics" in the existing written literature.

Heike Monogatari and other accounts of war appeared later and were classified as epics of the Mediaeval Age. But generally speaking, we must say that Japan had few epics that really deserve their name.

Lyric

Despite the scarcity of epics, lyrics deserve special attention in Japanese literature.

Japanese lyrics, like those in other countries, were rhymed verses with rhymes. Because the Japanese language has no marked intonation or accent and the rhythm forms no direct basis of Japanese verses and because it has no words ending in a consonant, verses turn monotonous when they are rhymed. Therefore, there were no rules of rhyming for Japanese poems. Alliteration or rhyming methods were used sometimes, but they were not of general usage.

Of rhymed verses, those which became most popular were *tanka* and *haiku*, 31- and 17-syllabled poems. *Tanka* and *haiku* developed when Japan's capital was in the Yamato Province (793) and the Edo Period (1604-1867), respectively. The *tanka* and *haiku* rhythms were 5, 7, 5, 7, 7 and 5, 7, 5. For example,

(*Tanka*) *Himugashino nonikagiroino
tatumiete kaerimisureba tsukika-
tabukinu*

Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro (about 710)
(*Manyōshū*)

(In a wide plain, the day is just
dawning and the air begins to shimmer
as the eastern sky turns aglow.
In the western sky, the moon hangs
low over the horizon.)

(*Haiku*) *Furukeya kawazutobikomu
mizunoto.*

Matsuo Bashō (1644-1694)

(In a lorn, neglected garden, there
lies an old pond in quietness. All of
a sudden, breaking this tranquility,
a frog jumps into the water with a
splash. But a moment later silence
again reigns all around.)

Besides *tanka* and *haiku*, there were long poems called *chōka*. *Chōka* had been composed by Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro until around the publication of *Manyōshū*. *Chōka* had a rhythm of 5, 7, 5, 7, . . . 5, 7, 7 and a flavor of epics. Its popularity waned, however, with the advent of the Heian Era (794-1191).

Japanese poems were short in general and suggestiveness was their soul. It was specially so with the *haiku* which is composed of only 17 syllables. *Haiku* poems, therefore, inclined to be symbolical in many instances.

Such a characteristic is found even in free verses or vers libre that developed after the Meiji Era (1868-1911). Free verses deny, as the word free indicates, the rhythm and rhyming regulations. Japanese free verses consist of 30 lines at most. The verse *Koiwai Nōjō* or Koiwai Farm composed by Miyazawa Kenji (1896-1933) has more than 800 lines, but this, of course, is an exception.

Prose—*Monogatari*

A unique form of literature called *monogatari*, a combination of epics and lyrics, developed in the Heian Period (794-1191). The typical of such a literature is *Genji Monogatari* or the Tale of Genji written by a court lady named Murasaki Shikibu (?-1016).

The history of *monogatari* began with *Taketori Monogatari* and *Ise Monogatari* which appeared in the latter half of the 9th century. Broadly, it can be said that *monogatari* was an addition of romantic factors to *tanka*.

Fundamentally, *tanka* was a form of short poems and, therefore, it was difficult to describe circumstances in singing emotions into it. This gave rise to a custom to put before each piece *kotobagaki* or foreward which made it clear when and where the poem was composed. *Ise Monogatari* and other poem-stories, of which short poems formed the nucleus, were considered as an extended form of such a foreward.

Moreover, *tanka* itself was a form of poems which, with less rhythms and other poetical factors as compared with foreign

metrical compositions, tended to turn into prose. A lyrical *monogatari* could be completed, if one wrote a story, applying poetical principles to *tanka* freely to it.

Stories in the broad sense of the term, including romances and novels, followed their path of development combining with poems and not with plays and essays as in countries of Europe. It is worth of note that in Japan *monogatari* developed as a form of prose unlike European countries where romances were written in the form of a poem from the latter half of the 15th to the 16th centuries. It can also be said that *monogatari* comes between a romance and a novel, if the former comprised, as the English classify, imaginary and romantic tales and the latter stories giving graphic descriptions of things.

Monogatari, however, lost chances of development with the decline and fall of the nobility and, with the advent of the Kamakura Period, annals of war with a strong tinge of mediaeval epics, the representative of which was *Heike Monogatari* or the Tale of Heike, appeared. These war chronicles could be classified as a historical literature because they gave an account of the rise and fall of warriors.

The Edo Period (1603-1867) saw the rise of the so-called people's literature which described the life of tradesmen—a newly developed class of people called "bourgeois". Ihara Saikaku was the most popular author of such stories.

These stories were said to have marked the beginning of modern novels. With the degeneration of the life of tradesmen under self-protective policies of the Tokugawa Shogunate Government, they lost their freshness and soundness, opening the way for the rise of pornographic literature whose themes were manners and customs as well as secrets of human nature at gay quarters. The characteristics of such romantic and unrealistic literature can be found most typically in novels written by Takizawa Bakin (1767-1848).

It was after the Meiji Restoration (1867) that European style novels came to be written in Japan. Authors of these novels tried, in their resistance against extreme

fictions by Takizawa Bakin and other pre-Restoration writers, to write stories which faithfully described facts. Such efforts resulted in the appearance of unique "I" novels and failed to produce long novels in great numbers.

Play

Plays in Japan took a considerable late start as compared with other countries of the world.

During the Yamato Period, miscellaneous comical dances and music and mimicry were introduced to Japan from the Chinese Continent, but these failed to take a form of drama until the latter part of the 14th century. It was only after the *noh* play achieved its full development between the 14th and 15th centuries that Japanese plays were recognized in their true sense of the term. (*Noh* is a kind of play with much elements of dance, accompanied by music and choruses).

Noh songs which were called *yōkyoku* were the first to be recognized as a form of play in Japan. With a plot which develops in an artistic modulation of *jo*, *ha* and *kyū*, the *noh* plays were performed thoroughly with an esthetic sense of *yūgen* or subtlety and occultness. It made no naked description of things and respected graceful actions.

Kyōgen or comediotta developed side by side with the *noh* play. *Kyōgen* was aimed first at offering amusement to the general masses, but it later came to assume much more artistic nature. It gave amusement in a sense of subtleness. The colloquial language was employed as a medium of expression for *kyōgen*, while poetical word usage was employed in *yōkyoku*.

Noh and *kyōgen* have been handed down to generation to generation and a large section of the Japanese public enjoy them even at present. Especially, *utai* or chanting of *noh* texts is being favored by many of Government and private industrial workers as well as business men.

Besides these forms of drama, the people of Japan have the famed *kabuki* and *bunraku* puppet show which developed in the days of Edo. These two also are combined

inseparably with music and dance and are being enjoyed by a big portion of the Japanese populace.

The so-called modern plays developed in the 20th century. The fact that *tanka*, *haiku* and the free verse are being favored by the people just as *noh*, *kyōgen*, *kabuki*, *bunraku* and the modern plays is, it can be assumed, one of the characteristics of the present-day Japan.

Background

Geographical Conditions

The Japanese islands extend in a bow-like manner in the southern and northern directions with rough terrains. As the Japanese call the nature as *sansui* or mountains and water, their small and narrow islands consist mainly of these elements.

Japanese literature has taken different forms of development, depending upon the geographical conditions of the country. During the Yamato Period, the center of culture was surrounded by mountains and, therefore, literature that developed in this age naturally reflected the remote and secluded life of man. In contrast to this, for literature that grew after the shifting of the capital to Kyoto, Lake Biwa in the Ōmi Province, the Sea of Naniwa hemming Osaka and the Kamo River that flowed across Kyoto furnished good themes. The quiet environs of water matched and added to the elegant taste of the nobles of these days.

In the succeeding Kamakura Period, the center of culture lay both in Kamakura and Kyoto. This caused the Tōkaidō route linking Kamakura with Kyoto to play an important role in the field of literature.

In the days of Edo, the Sumida River offered the site for cultural prosperity. The cultural center remained at the same place even after Edo was rechristened Tokyo in the Meiji Era. But the place in this age came to play a role of a channel for contact with foreign countries and this was the reason behind brisk introduction of foreign literature by Japanese men of letters in the following decades.

In Japanese literature, cherry flowers and cuckoos appear most frequently among animals and plants. Especially, cherry flowers matched the taste of the Japanese people and, in the Heian Period, the people came to mean cherry flowers by the single word of flower.

Season

The climatic conditions in Japan, especially the change of 4 seasons, have had great influences on literature. The change of seasons in Japan can be felt more clearly than in countries of Europe. Moreover, the people at large, being originally a farming nation, took special interest in climatic affairs and this trend was intensified by the distinct change of seasons. The life of the people—food, clothing and housing as well as annual function—was closely connected with the change of seasons and, therefore, it is natural that literature developing in such environs has come to acquire a special seasonal taste. For example, there appeared myths and poems in which the beauty of each season was compared with each other and stories in which emotions were expressed in connection with the change of seasons. The fact that lyrics have been classified by season shows how deeply the people of Japan were and have been interested in weather conditions. There is even a rule for composing haiku poems that at least one word denoting the season must be inserted in the poem.

The people of Japan expressed in their literature the sense of gracefulness by spring, that of magnificence and vigor by summer, that of tranquillity by autumn and that of serenity and stringency by winter.

Nature in Japan is rather mild and gentle to its people and the seasons change faster than in other countries. This caused the people to converse with nature rather than to fight with it and also to be generous and indifferent about things. Such characteristics of nature also have exerted not a little influences on Japanese literature.

Society

Recently literary experts began to notice that history in Japan followed practically

the same course of development as in western nations before the 17th century. In ancient times, society in both Japan and Europe was formed on the basis of the tribal system which was featured by the exercise of vulgar religious authority. It can be imagined, therefore, that literature in Japan at that time was made up of various types of folk-lore, such as folksongs and tales. Also there must have been epics, though on a small scale.

With the decline of the family system and introduction of Confucianism and Buddhism from China and Korea from the 5th to the 6th centuries, a kind of dictatorial state ruled by the Emperor came into being. The Reform of Taika that took place in 645 laid the foundation for the state with the Emperor forming the nucleus. The bases of this state were Confucianism which paid respect to nationalism and rationalism, Buddhism, a religion of mercy, and the Chinese economic system. Such a national system gave birth to *Kojiki*, *Manyōshū* and various topographies.

The geographical conditions of Japan, which was separated by other countries by waters, allowed Japan to follow its path of development, absorbing much from foreign countries and without being invaded by them. While countries of Europe engaged in battles, Japan steadily grew into a well-organized state.

As the days rolled on from the Nara (710-783) to the Heian (794-1191) periods, the aristocracy centering around the Imperial Family gained further stability and this finally created a marvellous aristocratic culture during the latter period. The Fujiwara family which had been increasing its influences since the Reform of Taika reached its zenith of prosperity and the society at large gradually assumed a peaceful and harmonious nature.

The Fujiwara family gained its authority in court by having marital relations with the Imperial Family. This gave rise to a severe competition between Empresses from the Fujiwara family and those from other families who vied with the former by employing court ladies who were proficient in composing poems. Murasaki Shikibu

and Seishō-Nagon were typical of these court ladies who created various graceful pieces of court literature.

Meanwhile in lower society, *Konjaku Monogatari*, which was a gleanings of religious and various folk-tales, appeared. The appearance of such a literary work could be interpreted to mean that the general masses were gradually gaining strength through the cooperation with manors.

In Europe, it is said that the mediaeval age attained its maturity in the 11th century and it is said that the social conditions in that age largely resembled those from the end of the Heian to the Kamakura and Muromachi periods (1192-1572).

The mediaeval age was featured by its pluralism. Coexistence of the Pope, King, feudal lords and autonomous states in Europe is quite like the existence of the Emperor, religious authorities and samurai families in Japan.

In Japan, too, things changed remarkably with the appearance of feudal lords and farmers. In the 16th century, Christian missionaries came to Japan one after another, bringing with them various conveniences of civilization, such as guns, watches and gloves. These, coupled with the move to unify the country by Oda Nobunaga and other well-known feudal lords, seemed to open the doors of Japan to the outer world.

The Tokugawa Shogunate Government, however, adopted the notorious policy of seclusion for the purpose of preserving its power in 1639. Local lords, unlike those in mediaeval Europe, were deprived of their independence completely because the Shogunate Government control covered all fields of their activities. Such control was different from that enforced in mediaeval Europe and in the days of Muromachi in Japan which affected only the military classes.

The Tokugawa Government stamped out Christianity and placed Buddhism at its control and gave the people instead Confucianism because it believed that religion would deny the power of the ruler. It "exciled" the Imperial Family from Kyoto,

giving it a fief yielding only 10,000 *koku* (later 30,000 *koku*) of rice. Tradesmen and farmers who were expected to lead a free life in the previous age were placed under miserable oppression. Tradesmen, despite their financial power, were regarded as inferior to warriors in social status and were shut out of politics with their human rights restricted. Farmers were exploited to near starvation. These were the very factors which led the nation's literature, which appeared in the comparatively early days of the Edo Period, to decadence.

Such a policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate Government aimed at preservation of power by framing society and economy, however, came to show inconsistencies and this was spurred by the contact with foreign nations from about the end of the 18th century. The change reached its limit at the time of the Meiji Restoration which took place in 1867.

Japan at that time had to absorb everything from advanced countries of Europe lest it should become one of their colonies. Japan was, so to speak, in an age of Europeanization, although there was a brief period of self-reflection.

It was to be regretted, however, that Japan, in its hurry, took in European culture as a mere technical knowledge. This caused the nation's literature at that time to follow varied paths of development and lack social elements.

It is expected, however, that Japanese literature will sooner or later get rid of such a bad trend since it has become a target of criticism in the Japanese world of literature. (See "Criticism on modern novels" in "Modern Novels")

Characteristics of Japanese literature

Prof. Hisamatsu Senichi, one of the leading scholars of Japanese literature, has noted that the biggest difference between the arts of Japan, including literary works, and those of the West is that while Japan tries to minimize, even eradicate, the form, the West tries to amplify the form.

Japanese literary works are not only relatively short in form, but efforts are made to incorporate rich spiritual contents into small space.

The history of Japanese poetry, has been a record of steady efforts to shorten the form of verses and poems. The chronological development of the *chōka*, *tanka*, *renga*, *haikai* and *haiku* exemplifies this trend. So does the recent popularity of the 7-7-7-5 syllable songs.

The rise of the new form of poetry in the Meiji Era (1868-1912) has been described as a revival of the ancient Japanese long poems on the one hand and as a variation of the long poems of the West on the other.

The proponents of the new form of poetry themselves insist they got their idea from the West. At any rate, the tendency of this new group of poetry has been towards progressive retrenchment. The result has been the preponderance of lyrical to narrative poems. Lyrical poems have always formed the center of Japanese poetry, and a formal narrative poem has never been produced in Japan.

The same tendency towards retraction is seen in the field of fiction. Unlike poetry, however, there is a limit to the extent to which fiction can be contracted for there must be sufficient space to cover the plot, background and delineation of the main characters of the story.

In their quest for a device to make their stories short and still convey the necessary information to the readers, Japanese novelists developed the serial form. This is a collection of short stories that have a common thread of theme and form a part of a long story.

Typical examples are war stories like the "Tales of Heike", and the works of the great poet-novelist Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693).

In the famous "Tales of Genji", the hero, Hikaru Genji, appears in every chapter and holds the series of short stories together. The value of the book lies, however, in the delineation of life through the love affairs of many men and women rather than in the depiction of the hero's character.

In like manner, the value of most Japanese novels lies in parts rather than in the structure of the story as a whole.

Thus the Japanese novels are essentially different from western novels even though they may be lengthy in form, and they are basically more closer to short stories. The same thing can be said of the *renga* and *haikai* which are actually a collection of loosely knit short poems although they retain the form of long poems.

Just as lyricism pervades Japanese poetry, romanticism, rather than realism, is the keynote of Japanese novels.

The tendency to condense form often leads to the development of synthetic rather than analytic literature as in the case of the Japanese drama.

The representative types of Japanese drama—*yōkyoku*, *jōruri* and *kabuki*—are closely connected with music and dance. This is particularly true in the case of the *jōruri* puppet drama which is based on complex synthesis and harmony.

The artistic essence of the *kabuki* and *noh* are demonstrated in the harmonious blending of letters, dance and music.

By contrast, Shakespeare's classical plays are based entirely on dialogue and were never meant to be accompanied by music and dance like the Japanese *kabuki*. The costume and stage settings are not elaborate like the *kabuki*'s, and neither are the dialogues and modulation decidedly different from that of ordinary conversation as in the case of *kabuki*.

In the West, drama is based on dialogue, and the musical aspects are relegated to the opera and the rhythmical movements to dance.

Like the Japanese *kabuki* and *noh*, the opera may be said to be a combination of drama, music and dance. But in the case of the opera, the emphasis is on the musical aspect. The movements and dialogue are of secondary importance, and there is little harmony between the 3 elements.

Because of its tendency to condense size, Japanese literature assumes fragmentary rather than organized form. This is particularly true in the case of essays. A

tremendous amount of commentary essays are put out by Japanese writers, and literary essays like *Makura no Sōshi* and *Tsurezure Gusa* form an important branch of Japanese literature.

Japanese literature lays emphasis on suggestiveness or unexpressed meaning since ample content must be filled into a small vehicle. The result is the development of what the Japanese describe as *yūgemmi*, or subtlety that defies definition.

The history of Japanese literature from ancient to modern times has been a process of development from the naive to the romantic and descriptive and finally to the subtle. The poetry of olden days, *renga* and *noh* plays are all based on *yūgemmi* regardless of their theme and subjects. Fujiwara-no-Teika (1162-1241) took the stand that unexpressed suggestiveness was the essence of poetry.

The *sabi* or mellowness of the *haikai* have points in common with *yūgemmi*. While *yūgemmi* is written in Chinese characters and therefore obviously came from China, *sabi* is written in Japanese letters and is more essentially Japanese. *Sabi* may be said to be a combination of *yūgemmi* and court spirit.

Yūgemmi conveys a bit of bleakness even in the beautiful, soft and glittering. *Sabi*, by contrast, suggests a bit of brightness in the depth of desolation. *Yūgemmi* belongs more to the mediaeval ages and *sabi* to modern times.

Sui, *tsū* and *iki*, abstract conceptions developed in recent times, may also be compared to *yūgemmi* in the sense that they lay stress on things that are shallow on the surface but store deep matter within. This is called *shibumi*.

Sui has the brilliance of the Genroku Era and *tsū* the gloominess of the Bunka-Bunsei Era. Both have subdued complex flavors that may be referred to as *heitammi*. This is a stage that transcends tricks and mannerisms.

Subtle, suggestive expression is also used in western literature and art. But since the

golden days of Grecian arts, realism has been the major form of expression in the West. Examples are the sculptures of the Grecian gods, especially of Venus.

The biggest difference between the literature, and arts in general, of Japan and of the West is that Japan lays stress on suggestive expression and the West on realism.

Problems of contemporary Japanese literature

Modern Novels

Criticism on modern novels. Japanese reached the level of modern times during the last 20 years of the 19th century.

During the Edo Era, (1603-1867), writing novels was considered mainly a pastime for women, and the writers themselves pretended they were writing stories just for the fun of it. Under such circumstances, hardly any serious study was made of the novel although some critical appraisals were made of the *tanka* and *haikai*.

The first theoretical book on novels to appear in Japan was the *Shōsetsu Shinzui* (Essence of Novels) by Tsubouchi Shōyō which was published in 1885-1886. Tsubouchi claimed that novels should faithfully reproduce the psychological workings of men and women and the realities of life exactly as they happened.

This theory was endorsed by many writers and became the golden rule of the naturalistic literature that thrived around 1910. Most of the novelists of the era were so intent on faithful reproduction of reality that they seemed to forget that fictitiousness is one of the basic premises for composition of a novel. The few exceptions were Ozaki Kōyō (1867-1903) and Tanizaki Junichirō (1886-).

Such a tendency led to the development of personal novels based on the experiences of the author. These personal novels were narrow sighted, lacked social consciousness and gradually withered and lost attraction for the readers.

It has often been pointed out that contemporary Japanese novels lack social consciousness. Basically, this may be blamed on the aloof relationship between the novelists and the public.

Many of the writers of the Meiji Era were progressive men and called for respect for the individual and self-assertion. But their new theories were too advanced for the times and could not be accepted in Japan which was then preoccupied with catching up with the West under an Emperor-centered nationalistic setup.

Most writers therefore either isolated themselves from society and lived in a world of their own or compromised with the public and covered up their doctrines.

Such anti-social or self-effacing combined with realistic expression to produce uniquely Japanese personal novels.

When ultranationalism was rejected and western democracy emphasized after the end of World War II, the distorted aspect of contemporary Japanese literature mentioned above was exposed in the open.

Strenuous efforts then followed to put the Japanese novel back on the right track. One of the leaders of this movement was Nakamura Mitsuo (1911-) a critic and scholar of modern French literature.

Nakamura called on the Japanese novelists to realize the basic principle that fictitiousness should form the foundation of novels.

Another group of men claimed that the weakness of Japanese novels today comes from a rupture in the over-all unity or harmony of human nature. These men are trying to study again Japan's old tradition and see that they could not find unified and balanced picture of men there.

In this connection, the biggest problem now faced by Japanese novels is that pure literary novels are losing audience to popular stories. Under pressure of the times, many writers of pure literature are trying their hand at newspaper serials (see *Journalism and Literature*) and writing stories that stand half way between pure and popular literatures for amusement magazines.

In order to be carried by a newspaper with a circulation of around 5 million, a story must necessarily be written to suit the taste of the general public, and cheap tricks must be used to amuse the readers.

The tremendous development of mass communication in Japan in the postwar era gave rise to a powerful commercial journalism, and everything that did not fit into a commercial pattern was threatened with extinction.

Even works by amateur writers, if given a boost by commercial journalism, and if the content happens to be within intellectual grasp of the general public, can now become a best seller overnight.

Banka (An Elegy) by Harada Yasuko, a hitherto unknown housewife, sold 700,000 copies in 6 months after it was played up by the press as embodying just the right amount of sentimentalism and rebellious spirit to appeal to young women in their twenties.

Before, it was an accepted fact that it took hard work and training to become a novelist. But the aspirant writers of today would not believe this any more.

Such a situation is giving much concern to thinking people. The need is acute today for development of novels as fiction with wide social outlook, sharp senses and insight, and closely knit structure.

Journalism and Literature

The actual situation in Japan is that an author's popularity is generally influenced by journalism. The majority of Japanese authors rely on journalism as a springboard to future success and fame.

But of course there are exceptions. Those are the old masters who have already established their fame and could afford to ignore newspaper and magazine commentaries on their works. However, it must be admitted that the number of these exceptional authors is far from many.

Literature most intricately associated with journalism are newspaper novels. It is estimated that the total circulation of all the newspapers in Japan is about 34,070,000 including the three big papers of Asahi, Mainichi and Yomiuri which have

more than 2,000,000 readers throughout the country and smaller vernaculars such as the *Sangyō Keizai Shimbun*, *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, *Chūbu Nippon Shimbun*, *Tokyo Shimbun*, *Osaka Shimbun* (evening edition only), *Nishi Nippon Shimbun*, *Hokkaidō Shimbun* and numerous other local papers having a circulation of from 10,000 to 20,000.

Every one of these newspapers duly carry serial novels on their pages. These original novels are furthermore generally carried both in the morning and evening editions and sometimes more than one story are carried in one edition.

The length of these newspaper serial novels are generally about 2,400 words per day and usually an artist's illustration is run together with the story.

The total length of the serials differ greatly, some being run for 100 days and others for 1,000 days. The average, however, is 2 to 3 hundred days.

Writer's remuneration for copies contributed to newspapers also differ according to the popularity and position of the author in the literary world, but big newspapers like the *Asahi*, *Mainichi* and *Yomiuri* pay from ¥15,000 to ¥25,000 per piece per day. Copy money from newspaper serials is far bigger than articles written for magazines by the same author.

The big and influential papers usually make individual contracts with authors while the influential provincial papers usually asks one author to write for 3 or 4 papers.

In the case of small local papers, there are many which pay for serial stories which had been contracted between the Kyōdō News Agency and the authors. This is because of the fact that the scale of these local papers is small and most of the Japanese authors are concentrated in and around Tokyo.

Newspaper serial stories, which are peculiar to Japan, have brought material happiness to Japanese writers. During prewar days, there were only a couple of authors who owned cars. But today there are more than a dozen writers who possess automobiles, and most of them are writers of newspaper serial novels.

However, the number of authors writing for newspapers is limited. It is not always true that writers renown for their high literary works are welcomed by newspapers.

Newspaper serials are in great demand from the papers' sales policy based on commercialism and popular serials that contain interesting everyday reading are most welcome.

There have been cases in which serials published in book form were highly praised by literary critics but which were not appreciated much by readers while they were being carried in newspapers.

Consequently, cultural editors of newspapers who are greatly restricted by the papers' sales policies, find it difficult and sometimes a risk to use serials written by famous authors of pure literature or controversial novels by up-and-coming young writers.

Therefore, it is usual that the same authors experienced in story telling take turns in writing for newspapers. The number of these writers is less than 20.

Under this situation, there is a great demand for these "specialists" and newspapers engage in strong competition for their services. On the part of these specific serial writers, there are many cases in which one author writes for two or even three papers at the same time. There are not a few of such writers who have a monthly income of more than 1 million yen.

The monthly salary of a Japanese reporter is about ¥30,000 on the average, so it can be seen what huge amount of money these newspaper serial writers make.

Since these authors are too busy writing for newspapers, they have little time to produce literary works of high value. Of course there are some who relax about six months to a year after they have finished one serial newspaper story in order to prepare for their next novel, but they are few.

The newspaper serial story has contributed much to popularize novels among the masses, but it cannot be denied it has tended to hinder the development of better literature and the relation between journalism and literature has resulted in the creation of a vicious circle between the two.

There is a tradition in Japan to differentiate between pure literature and popular literature. Pure literary works are usually discovered in the creative story pages of all-around magazines as well as literary magazines.

The names of the major all-around monthly magazines published in this country and the estimated number of copies published (in brackets) are as follows:

Chūō Kōron (140,000), *Sekai* (100,000), the popular magazine *Bungei Shunjū* (700,000), the literary magazines *Shinchō* (50,000), *Bungei* (40,000), *Gunzō* (40,000), and *Bungaku Kai* (30,000).

It is, however, estimated that the actual number of copies sold is much smaller. Decreasing sales of magazines are being witnessed yearly.

The readers of all-around and literary magazines consist chiefly of the intelligentsia and students. The total number of copies of magazines published a month in Japan is 2,85,000 so the aggregate total of all the copies of all-around and literary magazines published is only about 8 per cent of the nation-wide figure.

Most of the literary magazine publishers are operating in the red. The French writer Mauriac once said that if a really high-class literary magazine can sell 60,000 copies, it is a tremendous success. If Mauriac's words are taken at face value, then we can say that Japanese literary magazines are in the "successful" category.

Literary magazines pay an average of from ¥500 to ¥800 per page (400 Japanese letters for novels and articles used). Although this rate is the cheapest compared to other types of magazines, the writers can freely express themselves without an restriction or pressure coming from any quarters. The objects of literary critics are concentrated chiefly on stories and articles appearing in literary and all-around magazines.

For writers of medium standing as well as ambitious young authors to be, the literary magazine offers the best opportunity to announce their works. It also provides a chance for a practically unknown writer to make a name for himself. This is because:

(1) the editors of literary magazines sometime discover promising novels in magazines published and financed by groups of unknown writers which they use in their literary magazines, (2) famous authors recommend the works of unknown writers, and (3) the unknown writer is not only free to send in his work to literary magazines but he can participate in prize contests sponsored by these magazines. A certain literary magazine which is now defunct, once used to hold a students' prize story contest twice a year.

The creative writing pages of the all-around magazines *Chūō Kōron* and *Kaizō* used to be the most authoritative before World War II. Any writer who managed to have his work carried on the pages of these 2 magazines were considered assured of a successful writing career. However, with the repression of thought during the War, both of the monthlies were forced out of business. They were republished after the War, but the number of pages for creative writing was greatly curtailed due to the lack of paper. Therefore, the creative writing columns in both magazines today do not carry the authoritative quality they did before the War. This is because these magazines are concentrating more on political and social stories after the War.

Furthermore, there was some trouble between management and editors of the *Kaizō* in 1955 and most of the contributing writers sympathized with the editors of the magazine. More than 1,000 writers banded together and established a "Council for the Protection of *Kaizō*". This is one of the characteristic incidents which shows how closely writers were aligned with journalism.

Most of the popular story writers in Japan contribute mainly to large-selling popular magazines. The gap between pure literature and popular literature has also been considerably lessened after the War.

This was because of the birth of middle-of-the-road magazines which chiefly published stories. Major magazines in this category are: *All Yomimono*, *Shōsetsu Shinchō* (400,000 copies a month each) and *Shōsetsu Kōen* (100,000). Most of these types of

magazines are issued by the same firm publishing literary magazines so it can be said that the latter's unfavorable sales are being covered by the former.

Readers of these magazines are generally salaried workers who do not engage in deep thinking. The stories in these magazines are generally read by commuters in electric trains and the stories are not as deep and thought-provoking as pure literary novels but they are also not as vulgar as popular stories.

The popularity of these magazines were greatly enhanced by a certain incident in which the police made an issue of one of the writers works charging that it was too erotic. With the occurrence of the incident, the sales of the magazine zoomed up to double its previous sales, laying a strong foundation for the magazine in a time when there was a panic among publishing circles in this country. Today, there are even groups of writers who concentrate only in writing for these types of magazines.

There is another big factor aside from large newspapers that contribute to the income of Japanese writers. They are the weekly magazines. The *Shūkan Asahi* has an estimated circulation of 850,000, the *Sunday Mainichi*, 750,000, the *Shūkan Yomiuri* and the *Shūkan Sankei* 350,000 each.

All three types of magazines—literary, middle-of-the-road and weekly—usually issue special numbers both in spring and autumn, providing readers a galaxy of stories.

Although novels in Japan have a wide reading public, the special supplements issued by publishing firms have a different objective. The economic scale of Japanese publishing firms are small and new projects must be launched in order to hold the readers interest. Thus, writers who are popular are generally overworked by these magazines. On the other hand, a writer is soon forgotten by the publishers if he is not continually writing for some influential magazine.

Certain publishing firms with relatively strong financial background have appeared today providing authors with a chance to

write long novels freely without restrictions. However, most of the novels are generally carried in literary magazines before they are made into book forms.

The best sellers of 1954 can be classified into the following categories. First on the list of best selling books are anthologies of authors who have proved themselves in the past; second were novels on sex or books on sexology; third were pocket editions of new books (called *Shinsho* in Japan), and in 4th place were books that appealed to young girls.

Another characteristic of the Japanese reading public were their unchanging number of readers who continue to read to masterpieces by Western authors, and works of such notable literary giants of the past as Natsume Sōseki, Shimazaki Tōson, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Mori Ōgai, etc.

It is due to the existence of a great number of readers of Western literature that translators in Japan can make a living only by translating such works.

Another characteristic is the fact that even the writer of a first book can sometimes reach the height of popularity in Japan. For example, it is said that Harada Yasuko's *Banka* (An Elegy) which was published around the end of 1956 has already sold a total of 700,000 copies in the first half of 1957. The majority of her readers are said to be teenage girls.

In contrast to writers, most of the literary critics in this country are college professors. There are some who earn a lot more than they do in teaching by writing literary comments. There are many critics, of course, who can live on their incomes by engaging exclusively in writing literary comments.

The following reasons are given: (1) magazine space has increased, (2) the weekly magazines, which during prewar days chiefly carried stories for amusement purposes, have now changed their policies and are allotting an increasing amount of space to higher-class literary comments, and (3) newspapers also are giving more space to their literary pages.

The first editions of books on novels generally published are from about 5,000 to

6,000 copies. Books on literary commentaries on the other hand total around 3,000 copies for first editions. Consequently, it can be seen that sales of this type of books are not as good as novels. Therefore, most of the literary critics have made their names popular by writing chiefly for journalism, and this type of articles are short.

In conclusion, we would like to point out here that the literary prizes offered by newspapers and publishers are contributing much to the fostering of Japanese writers.

Among the prizes offered are the following:

Akutagawa Prize—This was established in 1935 by the *Bungei Shunjū* in memory of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke and offered twice a year. The object of this prize is to discover new writing talent. The prize money is ¥200,000 (from the second half of 1955).

Naoki Prize—This was also established by *Bungei Shunjū* in 1933 in honor of Naoki Sanjugo. Prize money is ¥200,000 and given out twice a year.

Yomiuri Prize—¥100,000 given out annually by the *Yomiuri Shimbun*.

Shincho Prize—¥100,000 a year by *Shincho Sha*.

Noma Prize—Established by the *Kōdan Sha* with prize money totaling ¥1,000,000.

Mainichi Prize—¥100,000 annually by the *Mainichi Shimbun*.

The influence journalism exerts on Japanese literature is pretty strong under present circumstances and we cannot take journalism lightly in studying the present situation of Japanese literature.

Life of Writers

Ikejima Shimpei, a famous Japanese editor has this to say about Japanese writers:

"There are only about 40 to 50 Japanese writers who can fully satisfy newspaper editors with their serial novels at present. These are the first-line writers of today. It can be seen from this fact that only a limited number of writers are now engaged in writing or being forced to write for a great number of newspapers".

"It not only entails a lot of labor for editors to obtain stories from these restrict-

ed few but the writers themselves are greatly overworked".

"It is estimated that these writers have to turn out at least 150 pages of manuscript a month. There are some, it is believed, who have to write more than 300 pages a month to meet demand".

The total number of writers in this country (including beginners) is tremendous, but if we are to count the number of established authors whose lives are given big publicity by journalism, there is only a handful. The rest of the writers are not even guaranteed a monthly income and it is presumed that they are having a hard time in making a livelihood.

The handful of popular writers on the other hand, lead extravagant lives. Some of them even own race horses and automobiles which only presidents and directors of big business firms can afford in this country. They are the ones who are most frequently seen in Ginza's bars and cabarets.

Big pictures of these writers surrounded by cabaret girls or family photos are played up in newspapers and magazines. They are considered as the elite of the literary circles and this is one of the reasons why many young men in this country aspire to become a writer.

It is commonly believed that the great majority of writers in this country are enjoying an ample life, but this is not the true situation.

For example, many famous Japanese writers are members of the "National Health Insurance Union" established by the Literary Writers Association, and this organization is utilized extensively by members and their family.

This union pays half of the medical expenses in case the writer himself falls ill and a certain percentage of the medical bills for his family members are footed by the union.

One thing, however, can be said concerning the standard of living of writers in Japan today. Writers in Japan, on the average, live much better than writers during the prewar days.

The establishment of the abovementioned health insurance organization, of course, is one factor which contributed to the rise in writers' standard of living, but 2 other important reasons must also be mentioned. One is the cut in tax rates and the other is the wide sphere of work (newspapers and magazines) present-day writers may engage in.

There was a certain period immediately after the end of World War II when magazines and novels were gobbled up by the reading public as fast as they were published. This was due to the lack of paper during the war which led to the dearth of such publications.

However, reactions soon followed and a large number of publishing firms became bankrupt while many had to discontinue or limit their publications. A representative novelist of that period, Kambayashi Akatsuki wrapped up the situation by the words "writers must be more careful in spending their earnings".

This was the time when writers could not get paid for their stories because of the large number of publishing firms either going out of business or in a serious stage of financial crisis. The total amount of unpaid fees came up to ¥30,000,000 at one time.

The writers Kojima Seijirō and Hayashi Fusao are said to have been unpaid for their stories amounting to several million *yen* each. There were some authors whose houses were full of unsold books which the publishers had given them instead of monetary payment.

In comparison, there are practically no publishing firm today which are in arrears in payments to writers.

The scope of writers' activities also have expanded tremendously. For example, there are new post-war magazines such as the *Shōsetsu Shinchō*, *Shōsetsu Kōen* and the *All Yomimono* which provide a lucrative field for novelists while the magazines *Bungei Shunjū* and others publish special numbers several times a year whose pages are allotted chiefly to novels. Furthermore the increase in sales of so-called weekly magazines have also provided writers with another good field of remuneration.

In regard to the tax issue, credit must be given to the efforts of Funabashi Seiichi, the first postwar board chairman of the Literary Writers Association who made it possible for a reduction in tax rates applicable to writers.

Funabashi, a prolific writer with a large income, is famous for his arguments with the Finance Minister. He not only heatedly urged the Minister to cut down the tax rate for writers but even went so far as to appear before the House of Representatives Financial Committee to accomplish his objective.

In Japan, 15 per cent of the writer's fee for stories contributed is deducted at source. What Funabashi wanted was the lowering of this rate to 10 per cent. He also demanded that the 40 per cent allowed to be deducted by writers as "necessary expenses" be raised to 50 per cent.

Funabashi based his demand for the deduction increase of "necessary expenses" on the fact that sometimes when a writer wants to write about a lovers' suicide, he has to go to such places as Hakone and Atami where suicides frequently occur. Only by going to the spot where the suicide occurred can a writer complete a good plot for his story. However, the trip to Hakone and Atami entails a large amount of expenditures. Money for train tickets, hotel rooms and research must be spent, Funabashi argued.

He finally even quarreled with the Finance Minister. Furthermore, he went on to write the novel *Gosuke* exposing his negotiations with the Minister on writers' tax problem.

Funabashi finally managed to push through his demand for a deduction of 50 per cent for "necessary expenses" for writers whose annual incomes were ¥500,000 or less. For a writer in this category, it means that if he has a couple of dependants, he would have to pay only about 5 or 6 thousand *yen* a year in income tax. And since 15 per cent of the fee he receives for all his writings is deducted at source, he generally is paid back some

40 to 50 thousand *yen* which he had overpaid at the end of the year from his tax office.

Compared to a salaried man who earns a total of ¥500,000 a year and pays ¥100,000 in income tax, it can be said that Japanese writers today are in an enviable position.

One of the characteristics of the lives of writers in postwar Japan is that the so-called sex and other decadent story writers not only write stories blasting conventional morals and customs, but they themselves lead decadent lives. 4 of these writers, Sakaguchi Ango, Dazai Osamu, Oda Saku-no-suke and Ishikawa Jun have always been classed as a group symbolizing sex and decadent story writers at one stage in postwar Japanese literature. Only Ishikawa is now living. Alcoholic Dazai committed suicide with a clandestine sweetheart by plunging into the Tama River while Oda died of tuberculosis caused by too much injection of the antisoporific drug "Philopon". Another author, Tanaka Eiji who might be classified in this group, committed suicide in front of Dazai's tomb after long years of heavy drinking and addiction to the antisoporific drug. Sakaguchi, who had to drink a bottle of whisky every morning and sometimes continued drinking for three whole days, died of brain hemorrhage.

Veteran writer Uno Kōji says that both Sakaguchi and Oda were actual victims of suicide although they died of too heavy drinking. It was their hard living that ruined them, he says.

It is widely believed in Japan that writers in this country general are living loose lives such as represented by the writers mentioned above. Therefore, when a boy tells his parents that he aspires to become a writer, the parents usually oppose their sons plans. This is the case even today. Although there are some parents who give approval to their children pursuing a writing career because they have seen certain writers making much money in postwar Japan, the majority of the parents of the middle class are against the children becoming writers. This is because they consider the writing profession does not

bring steady remuneration. There even is a custom today to call writers "shameless, lazy, spendthrifts", and other equally ignoble names.

However, the fact that almost every writers who spent a life of dissipation during the 10 years after the war have already either died or taken their own lives, has clearly proved that a writer cannot go on living such a life today.

Today, we can say that the life of an average writer has become more sedate and only a certain few of the more popular authors are keeping up with such carefree and wild lives.

Another notable characteristics is that writers leading extravagant lives are chiefly those writing for popular story magazines. The lives of writers who seek the meaning of life and truth and beauty in this writings usually are not more than those of a middle-class salaried man, or may be a little better.

According to 1931 statistics, the 10 writers who had the most income for that year were: Kawaguchi Matsutarō, Yoshikawa Eiji, Yamate Kiichirō, Funabashi Seichi, Osaragi Jirō, Hōjō Makoto, Tomita Tsuneo, Niwa Fumio, Kawabata Yasunari, and Inoue Yasushi. Among these 10 men, only four—Funabashi, Osaragi, Niwa and Kawabata—can be considered writers of pure literature. Furthermore, among these four, only Kawabata is adheres strictly to pure literature, while the other three frequently write for popular story magazines.

The annual incomes of these writers are as follows: Kawaguchi ¥21,239,000, Yoshikawa ¥20,970,000, Yamate, Funabashi, Osaragi and the rest between ¥10,000,000 to ¥13,000,000.

Compared with the incomes of Kabuki actors Ichikawa Ennosuke and Matsumoto Kōshirō (about ¥5,420,000 and ¥4,800,000 respectively), it must be said that the earning power of the pen is much greater than the leading artists.

However, in the shadow of these small number of privileged, it must be pointed out that there are hundreds, or thousands of other writers who can barely afford the

luxuries of a middle-class life because of the lack of orders for their stories. These poor writers, who have no health insurance or retirement allowance or pensions are all looking eagerly for requests for their works.

There are certain cheap drinking places

in Shinjuku where writers in this category like to congregate and sip cheap sake and beer. They are almost never seen at high-class bars or cabarets.

This, we might say, is the actual living standard of the majority of Japanese writers.

History of Literature; Interpretation of Major Works

Period division of literature

Although there are many theories concerning the period division of Japanese literature, the most frequently adopted is the classification of the periods based on the location of the seats of the Government during the various different eras.

According to this method, Japanese literature is divided into the following periodic classifications:

Yamato Period—This period was formerly called the Nara Period but since there are works that have appeared before A.D. 710 when the capital was moved to Nara, it would be more appropriate to call this period the Yamato Period if these earlier works should be included. This period continues up to A.D. 793.

Heian Period—This is the period when the capital of Japan was established in Kyoto and starts from A.D. 794 to 1191.

Kamakura-Yoshino-Muromachi Period—This three-phased period extends from the establishment of the Kamakura Shogunate until its dissolution in 1333, the establishment of the Ashikaga Shogunate and the split in the Imperial dynasty in 1392, and then the amalgamation of the so-called North and South dynasties and during the years that the Ashikaga Shogunate took over the rule of the country from 1192 to 1573. This period is also called the Kamakura-Muromachi Period.

Azuchi-Momoyama Period—This is the period after the fall of the Ashikaga Shogunate from the time Oda Nobunaga pacified the country up to the unification of the

nation by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. This period was formerly included into the Kamakura-Muromachi Period. However, with the development of researches into the fields of social and economic sciences, it was thought appropriate that this period should be differentiated from the Kamakura-Muromachi Period because of its similarity with the Edo Period. This period starts from 1575 and ends in 1602.

Edo Period—This is the period from 1603 to 1867 when the Tokugawa Shogunate held sway over Japan.

Tokyo Period—This period starts with the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate from 1868 up to the present. It embraces the 3 eras of Meiji, Taishō and the current Shōwa.

Parallel with the abovementioned period divisions, there is another classification based primarily on political and economic factors. They are the Tribal Period (up to the 7th century), the Ritsuryō Period (from the 7th century to the first half of the 10th century), the Sekkan Period (latter half of the 10th century to the 12th century), Feudal Period (from the end of the 12th century to the first half of the 19th century), and the Capitalistic Period (from the last half of the 19th century to the present).

Another method was to divide it into the Period of Noblemen's Literature (corresponding to the Nara-Heian Period), the Period of Warriors' Literature (corresponding to the Kamakura-Muromachi Period) and the Citizens' Literature Period (corresponding to the period after the Edo Era up to the present).

Aside from the abovementioned divisions, there is also a classification of periods which is similar to the historical divisions in Western countries. For example, the periods are divided into ancient, medieval and present. In order to apply this method to the corresponding periods of Japanese history with its specific conditions, the ancient period is divided into remote ancient and middle ancient while a near modern and near present period are inserted between the medieval and present periods. This six-phase division is generally adopted widely in Japan.

Remote Ancient (corresponding to the Yamato Era)

Middle Ancient (corresponding to the Heian Era)

Medieval (corresponding to the Kama-kura-Yoshino-Muromachi Eras)

Near Modern (corresponding to the Azuchi-Momoyama-Edo Eras)

Near Present (corresponding to the Tokyo Era up to World War II)

Present (corresponding to the Period after World War II)

For the convenience of the reader, the period division in this article adheres to the abovementioned six classifications together with occasionally divisions based on the administrative centers of this country.

Remote Ancient (Yamato Era, up to the end of the 8th century)

Outline. The age of the tribal system in Japan was replaced by the Ritsuryō Period in the beginning of the 7th century, but the literature during the tribal period can be called legendary—handed down from mouth to ear. It was only with the beginning of the Ritsuryō Period that books began to appear.

We have already touched on the primitive form of Japanese literature in the chapter titled "Outline" saying that Japanese literature was at first in the form of primitive *utagaki* (dancing and singing by young men and women in ancient Japan). However, it is not clear, how and by what process the ancient *utagaki* developed in the different forms of Japanese literature.

The Japanese originally did not know the usage of literature and it was usual for the elders and storytellers of clans to sing songs about the origin of their clan as well as about their heroes.

The prayers offered during Shinto rituals as well as songs sung during festivals were all passed down orally to future generations.

The Taika Reformation (A.D. 646) made away with the clan system and a central government established. Together with the legislation of various laws, the authority of the Emperor became absolute. For example, Emperor Temmu who was on the throne for 14 years, did not have even one minister to help him and he ruled the land alone with an iron hand. With the unification of the country under the Emperor, Chinese culture was increasingly imported and in the year 710, the colossal *Heijō Kyō* or castle designed after Chinese architecture was constructed at the present site of Nara.

The first half of the 7th century is called the Asuka Era, the second half the Hakuō Era and the period after 710 called the Nara Era.

Japanese culture saw an amazing development during the Asuka and Hakuō Eras parallel with the growth of the country.

The Emperor Temmu not only made political reformations, but also undertook the compilation of 2 famous books—the *Kojiki* (completed in 712) and the *Nihon-shoki* (finished in 720)—in order to establish the authority of the Imperial Family. The material for these 2 books were records of the Imperial Family as well as various clans. He also established the foundation of national Buddhism in the country.

Chinese poems were imported from the Chinese Continent and became very popular. Part of such poems have been collected in an anthology called the *Kaifū Sō* which was completed in 751.

Waka or Japanese poems were also popular, and the majority of poems collected in the *Manyōshū* (Collection of Myriad Leaves completed around the middle of the 8th century) are said to be the representative works of this period. These *waka*

were characterized by their grandioseness as well as directness.

With the advent of the Nara Era, the cultures of the preceding eras mellowed into ripeness, and it was during this period that the legendary mouth-to-mouth stories and songs were compiled into a history book. Also, the geography of various provinces in the country were recorded and a topography of all the provinces was completed in the first part of the 8th century.

Artistic literature centering on *waka* began to appear and the works of many individual poets were recorded during this period.

Prose. The highest literary expression of the Japanese in ancient times was found in the many legends concerning various gods as well as the prayers they offered to these gods. Since the written word did not exist during this period, the legends and prayers were handed down from generation to generation verbally. Some of these legends and prayers disappeared in a short time while some continued to be handed down. During this process, the various expressions underwent changes in forms.

With the importation of *kanji* (Chinese characters) these expressions came to be recorded in writing. However, these olden records have either been lost or destroyed and are not found today. The only existing documents relating of these records are the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki*—both of which were compiled based on these records. The *Fudoki* and the *Manyōshū* also contained some stories which had been handed down verbally in ancient times.

Kojiki: The preface to this ancient book is written in pure *kanji* but the contents of the book is written in *kanji* pronounced in Japanese. It was compiled in the year A.D. 712. The circumstances surrounding the compilation of this book is clearly understandable from the preface written by the compiler Ō-no-Yasumaro. Emperor Temmu early recognized the fact that the documents on lineages, legends and stories concerning the Imperial Family and which was passed down to the families of noblemen were not historically true in many cases. In order to rectify this situation, the Em-

peror found it necessary to adjust and revise these discrepancies so he forthwith ordered a certain person called Hieda-no-Are (one theory says he was a male and another that he was a female) to interpret these written documents and legends transmitted by mouth.

The *Kojiki*, however, was not completed during the reign of Emperor Temmu. In 711, after the Emperor's death, his successor Emperor Gemmyo ordered Ō-no-Yasumaro to arrange and adjust the interpretation's of Hieda-no-Are and compile them in book form. Yasumaro took 4 months and finished the *Kojiki* in January the following year.

The *Kojiki* is in 3 volumes together with the preface by Yasumaro explaining the circumstances of its birth. Volume I treats of the creation of Japan, the Imperial Family and other noble families, and the stories are all myths.

Although the myths concentrate chiefly on the Imperial Family it can be surmised from the contents that there existed 2 Imperial Families—one concerning the Hyūga (Kyūshū) family and the other regarding the Izumo family (Izumo is a region facing the Japan Sea in Western Honshū). One of the strongest characteristics of the myths collected in *Kojiki* is ancestor worship. Volume I begins with the arrival in Japan of the ancestor gods of the Imperial Family and ends with the transfer of the country in Izumo. Volume II and III relates of the activities of Japan's first sovereign Emperor Jimmu and down to Emperor Suiko (A.D. 592—628) as well as historical accounts of that period. Many legends and myths are related in literary form and provides interesting reading. Of particular attention is the fact that many ancient songs are also recorded in the book. An attempt will be made to interpret these songs in the chapter titled "Poetry".

Nihonshoki: This book, the second most ancient anthology, was completed in A.D. 720. It is written entirely in Chinese characters with the exception of *waka* which are written in Japanese. The compilers are listed as Ō-no-Yasumaro and others. It is not known when the compila-

tion was started. The book is made up of 30 volumes. The first 2 volumes treat solely of myths and legends. In contrast to *Kojiki* which emphasizes *Kamiyo* (the age of gods) the *Nihonshoki* places accent on historical facts and has collected historical material widely from throughout the country as well as recorded contrary theories. This book has adopted the style of Chinese history books and for this reason, is highly evaluated.

Fudoki: Parallel with the compilation of history books such as *Nihonshoki*, the compilation of books on geography was started by the Emperor. The object was to obtain historical data as well as to keep in touch with outlying provinces. In 713, the year after the *Kojiki* was completed, the Emperor ordered the chiefs of outlying provinces to compile the geographies of their respective places as well as to submit reports of legends and myths transmitted by old men. The various *Fudoki* are in reality such reports submitted. Many of the reports that were sent in to the Emperor were lost during the passage of time and at present the only existing reports are the five from Hitachi, Izumo, Harima, Bungo and Hizen provinces and a part of the reports from some 30 other provinces which have been quoted in later day books. The most complete of the various *Fudoki* is the *Izumo Fudoki*. The others are all records of legend and myths passed on from olden times as well as stories of unusual occurrences. However, the myths and legends which appear in the various *Fudoki* are different from those of the *Kojiki* in that they are not centered on the Imperial Family and are rather independent. The majority of the articles in the *Fudoki* concerns the origin of geographical locations. From these articles, one can readily know the history and feelings of the masses which could not be witnessed in stories in the *Kojiki* which centered on legends concerning the Imperial Family and nobles. Most of the reports are written in Chinese characters and in a special case, the *Hitachi Fudoki* has even changed the *waka* into Chinese poems. However, the *Izumo Fudoki* uses Chinese characters to be read in Japanese.

Takahashi Ujibumi: This is a document submitted by the Takahashi family to the Imperial Court in A. D. 789. This was a collection of various data and material aimed at establishing the correct lineage of the Takahashi family. A complete book is not in existence today, but a part of the book has been re-recorded in books that appeared in later days. It is a valuable book for those who want to know the legends, myths and history of ancient Japan.

Kogo Shūi: This was compiled in the year 807, during the Heian Period. The contents include historical facts, legends and myths which cannot be found in the *Kojiki* or the *Nihonshoki*. The author is Imbe-no-Hironari.

Ryōiki: This book is sometimes called *Reiki* but its full name is *Nihon Koku Genpō Zenaku Ryōiki (Reiki)*. The completion of this book is said to be between 810 and 823 in the Heian Era. The book deals with narratives of provincial people from the Yamato Era up to the year 810. The majority of the narratives take up the problem of right and wrong based on Buddhism as well as extraordinary happenings.

Norito, Semmyō, Kotodama: Together with myths and legends, there are Shintō prayers called *norito* which express the philosophy and faiths of the ancient Japanese.

The ancient Japanese had a faith called *kotodama*. They believed that a supernatural spirit inhabited the spoken word and was endowed with the power of changing happiness into misery and vice versa. They believed in the magical power of words would bring prosperity to the land. And it was a matter of fact that in ancient times, the daily lives of the people were greatly influenced by Shintō rituals and ceremonies. The people believed that if they would offer their prayers to the Shintō gods in beautiful words, the gods would fulfil their hopes and desires. The prayers must be made up of solemn and beautiful words if the gods are to be induced to hear the people's desire. As a result, these *norito* inevitably took on beautiful literary expressions. The origin of *norito* is very old, but the only one in existence today is the *Engi-shiki* compiled by Fujiwara-no-Tadahira in 927.

The *Engi-shiki* records in detail the various systems of the Heian Era as well as regulations concerning ceremonies and taboos. It is made up of 50 volumes, and volume 8 treats exclusively of *norito*. There are some 28 articles of *norito* but the authors are not known. The *norito* have a peculiar smooth rhythm when read and the ancient style of the prayers usually start off by relating the origin of the rituals and then continue on to mythological narratives. There were some *norito* in this collection which do not appear even in the *Kojiki* or the *Nihonshoki*. After these narrations, there are parts in which prayers of hopes and felicitations are recorded. These prayers hoping for happiness principally include those concerning daily life such as immunity from crime, pollution, disasters, etc. They also sing for the peace of the Imperial Family and the country as well as pray for the happiness of the race and for good rice harvests.

Although *norito* are prayers that the people offer to the gods, the *semmyō* are words that the Emperor speaks to his subjects. Of these words, the part which is written in Chinese characters is called *Shōchoku* and is differentiated from the part which is written in Japanese. There are some 62 articles of *semmyō* now in existence.

Alike *norito* the *semmyō* is written in solemn and beautiful language, but since they were compiled with politics as an objective, they lack the deep feeling of the words in the *norito*.

Poetry. The songs and poems of the ancient Japanese described in full the actual daily lives of the people, and like *norito* they were sung by the masses during festivals and feasting. These songs and poems were not the works of individual persons, but were transmitted down from mouth to mouth and can be said to be literature of the masses. Part of the songs of ancient Japan are recorded in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki*. The authors of the songs are attributed to legendary figures but in most cases this is hard to believe. Also, a great many changes in the wording and style of the songs have apparently been

made by the time they were compiled in books.

With the advent of the Nara Era, these songs were appreciated more by reading them off rather than singing them, and there were a great many collections of such songs whose authors are known. However, the majority of the collections have been lost and today, the only existing collection is the *Manyōshū* (Collection of Myriad Leaves) which was compiled later and consisting of 20 volumes.

What can be said about these songs is that the majority of them express the candid and naïve feelings of the people living during that age. Even the songs that describe nature are generally straightforward.

Aside from these songs, many Chinese poems were written before, during and after the Nara Era. This was a period when literature in the T'ang dynasty flourished in continental China. Li Po and Tu Hu and other famous Chinese poets and literary men lived in this age. Japan sent scholars to China during these period and when they returned they wrote a tremendous amount of Chinese poems. They were also influential in creating a Chinese poem craze in the country. Individual works of Japanese scholars of Chinese poems were compiled during this period, and although all of these compilations have been lost, but there is one existing anthology. It is called the *Kaifūsō* which is a collection of Chinese poems written by nobles and men of culture of that period. The poems were written in exact styles as their counterparts in China.

Songs Recorded in *Kiki*—The *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* which we have mentioned in the chapter titled "Prose" is generally abbreviated and called *Kiki* in Japan. There are some 200 songs recorded in this two books, excluding duplications. The style of the songs which was popular was the 5 and 7 syllables, but there still was no fixed form. Since they were songs sung by mouth and not read, the style is easy for choral singing. There are many words and refrains that have been conveniently placed in the songs for better rhythm.

The songs deal chiefly of love, war, hunting and festivals which eloquently describes the daily lives of the ancient Japanese. The songs are generally cheerful and naive expressing the heart and mind of the people of that age. Songs expressing individuality are few. Some of the songs even have titles and are similar to folksongs.

Kinkafu: This is a one-volume collection of music notes of the Japanese harp (*koto*) compiled from the Nara to the beginning of the Heian Era, and finished in the year 1002. There are only 22 songs in this collection and five of them have been recorded in the *Kiki*. Because of the musical notes attached, this book is considered valuable material in the study of Japanese music.

Bussokuseki no Uta: 21 songs are inscribed on a stone monument which is presently in the possession of the Yakushi-ji Temple in Nara. The author or authors are not known, but all of them are related to Buddhist matters.

Manyōshū: According to the songs which have their dates of origin clearly identified in the *Manyōshū* (Collection of Myriad Leaves), the songs range from the 4th century up to the year 759 or a period of about 450 years. This 20 volumes of this collection was completed around the end of the Nara Era by the year 790. There is no authoritative theory on the compiler of this collection. One of the most influential theory is that the collection was compiled by Ōtomo-no-Yakamochi, but there are other theories pointing out that it was the work of several men.

The number of songs are about 4,500. Out of this, there are about 260 *chōka* songs and some 4,200 *tanka* songs. The authors of most of the songs are not known. The date the songs were written are also not clear. However, the principal authors of the songs (in chronological order) are Emperor Jomei, Nukada-no-Ōkimi, Emperor Tenchi, Emperor Temmu, Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro, Takechi-no-Kurohito, Yamanoue-no-Okura, Ōtomo-no-Tabito, Yamabe-no-Akahito, Ōtomo-no-Yakamochi, and Sakano-no-Iratsume.

Most of the songs are about life in the Imperial Court, but there are some con-

cerning the eastern provinces (*azumauta*) which are recorded in volume 14 of *Manyōshū* and some regarding the soldiers who were sent out to guard the frontiers called *sakimori-no-uta* which are seen in volume 20. These songs provide valuable information in studying the actual life and feelings of the masses of that period.

Although it is difficult to point out the characteristics of this collection due to the fact that songs written during a long period of time have been recorded, it can be said, however, that the strength and purity engendered from the daily lives are forcefully expressed. The songs have left an indelible imprint on even present-day *waka* style.

The songs are written in Chinese characters but are read in Japanese style, and this form of characters are called *manyō gana*, which are the antecedents of the present day *hiragana* and *katakana*. However, due to the fact that Chinese characters are used, there are some parts in the songs which are difficult to read and understand.

The most authoritative text of the *Manyōshū* today is generally said to be the *Manyōshū* compiled in 1957 by Takagi Ichinosuke, Ōno Susumu and others and published by the Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo.

The following is a brief sketch of the famous authors of *waka* collected in the *Manyōshū*.

Nukada-no-Ōkimi—Nothing is recorded or her birth or death. She was a representative poetess of the early songs collected in the *Manyōshū*. She was the mistress of Emperor Temmu as well as his elder brother Emperor Tenchi. Twelve songs attributed to her are in the *Manyōshū*. Her songs are characterized by their naivety and grand scale. Her songs on love are also extremely beautiful.

Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro—Birth and death obscure. However, he is generally considered as having died around 709 at the age of less the 50. He is believed to have been a court singer since many of his works are elegies concerning members of the Imperial Family. He, however, was not of high rank. There are 18 *chōka* and

68 *tanka* definitely attributed to him in the *Manyōshū*. He has written many outstanding songs on the Imperial Family, travels, love and elegies. He not only composed short but also long poems. The Japanese long poem (*chōka*) is said to have reached its pinnacle with Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro. His rhythmical style expresses great fluidity, and the feelings of the ancient Japanese are full to the brim in his works.

Yamanoue-no-Okura—(660-733?). He was one of the few intellectuals of his period. He was not of particularly high station, and is said to have been a minor provincial government official. He wrote poems pointing out the defects of the noblemen's society from a practical point of view. Many of his poems deal with old age, sickness, poverty and other hardships of life. There are 10 *chōka*, 1 *sedōka*, and 50 *tanka* attributed to him in the *Manyōshū*. He was also good at Chinese poems and prose writing.

Yamabe-no-Akahito—Birth and death not clear. Akahito and the aforementioned Hitomaro are acclaimed as the 2 most representative authors of ancient Japan. Akahito is also revered as the "master of poem". 13 of his *chōka* and 38 *tanka* are recorded in the *Manyōshū*. The oldest poem is listed as having been written in 724 and the latest in the year 736. He was a minor government official and worked at the Imperial Court. Akahito was a naturalist poet. In contrast to Hitomaro, who was a lyric poet, Akahito sung of the beauty of nature.

Ōtomo-no-Yakamochi—Born in 718 (?) and died in 785. He is the son of Ōtomo-no-Tabito (665-731) and a descendant of an illustrious warrior family. He is said to have helped in the compilation of the *Manyōshū* and 46 of his *chōka*, one *sedōka*, 432 *tanka*, one Chinese poem (*kanshi*) and one *renga* are included in the *Manyōshū*. He is a representative poet of the final period of *Manyō* and during his youth, he wrote a great number of poems concerning love but as he matured, the scope of his poems grew larger. He was a poet who lived in the transition period between

the Nara Era and the succeeding Heian Era.

Kaifūsō: This book of poems composed of one volume was compiled in the year 751. The compiler is unknown. This is Japan's oldest collection of Chinese poems. There are 120 poems included in this volume from the works of 64 persons who lived from the latter half of the 7th century to the first half of the 8th century. Also included in the volume are the Chinese poems written by 18 poets whose works appear in the *Manyōshū*. The majority of the authors of poems in the *Kaifūsō* are government officials, with a sprinkling of emperors and princes as well as priests. Most of the poems are poems that have been sung by request from the emperor during court feasts. Chinese literature was greatly respected during this period because China was considered a much more advanced country than Japan at that time. Chinese characters were used by the court officials and intellectuals of that age to express their thoughts and feelings. The *Kaifūsō*, therefore, is in great contrast to the *Manyōshū* since the latter was primarily based on the masses.

Middle Ancient (from the beginning of the 9th century to the end of the 12th century)

Outline. This period covers the approximately 400 years from the time Emperor Kammu transferred his capital from Nara to present Kyoto to the time Minamoto-no-Yoritomo established his shogunate in Kamakura in the year 1192. Ever since the Taika Reformation in 646, the members of the Imperial Family wielded great political powers under the absolute authority of the Emperor. However, with the amassing large lands by noblemen and temples, they began to outstrip royalty which resulted in a keen battle for power among the 3 groups.

Consequently, the *Ritsuryō* System which was based on the possession of land by the Government as well as tax income gradually saw a decline. However the descendants of the Fujiwara clan whose forbears

played an important role in the establishing the Ritsuryō System during the Taika Reformation, attempted to restore the waning authority of the system. The transfer of the capital from Nara to Kyoto was one of the measures taken by Emperor Kammu to accomplish this end.

Since the target of the early phase of the Heian Era was to maintain the Ritsuryō System, China-worship was still strongly predominant because the Ritsuryō System had been originally patterned after its Chinese counterpart. Even in literature, Chinese poems were greatly idolized. Collections of Chinese poems such as the *Ryōun Shū*, the *Bunka Shūrei Shū*, and the *Gekoku Shū* were compiled during this early phase of the Heian Era by special order from the Emperor.

It seems as if the Ritsuryō System would be revived in the early stages of the Heian Era, but this was not so. The noblemen and temples which were exempt from taxation, began amassing greater and greater land and properties until the financial basis of the central Government gradually became shaky. The land owned by nobility and temples were called *shōen* (cf. "History"). The original land system began to crumble while there appeared many provincial officials who swindled the taxes that should have been forwarded to the central Government. This brought about a gradual change in the structure of the Ritsuryō System.

From the latter half of the 9th century, the political power gradually changed from the hands of the Emperor to the Fujiwara family. The Emperor side, however, tried hard to retain their power and maintain the Ritsuryō System.

From a cultural viewpoint, the Emperor side started out with the compilation of history books centered on the Imperial Family. A successor to the *Nihon Shoki* called the *Sandai Jitsuroku* was completed.

However, with the masses behind nobility, the Emperor's efforts in the cultural field did not bear much fruit. A noblemen's culture gradually began to flourish which was not Chinese but rather Japanese in character. There arose a movement to

adapt Chinese culture to the peculiar characteristics of the Japanese land and the Japanese people's daily life.

The custom of sending Japan scholars to the Chinese mainland was abolished in the year 894 and further contact with Chinese culture was entirely cut off. In place of the Chinese characters which had been used up to them, a new form of words called *kana* was invented. It must be mentioned, however, that Chinese characters were still popular with the nobility and not only official documents but also private letters were written in Chinese. However, the ladies of the nobility began to write in the new *kana* letters.

Because these *kana* letters were able to express the feelings of the Japanese much better than Chinese characters, they provided basis for the outcrop of many women writers in the Heian Era.

Kana gradually infiltrated among the men as well and not only women but also poets began to write their poems in *kana* as well as keep diaries in this form of words.

However, the noblemen who were used to court life did not engage in productive work. They lost interest in politics and spend their time in easy comfort. Consequently, the literature of this period was quite different from the simple but majestic form of the *Manyōshū*. It tended to be elegant and intellectual, with emphasis placed on technique. *Tanka* was more popular than *chōka*.

The first collection of these poems was compiled in 905 known as the *Kokin Wakashū*. It was also around this time that a new form of prose literature was created centering on *monogatari* or tales. Instead of directly expressing the feelings of the individual as is the case with *waka*, the authors of these *monogatari* tried to express themselves objectively and provide room for reflection. These *monogatari* are divided into two categories—one which developed from *waka* and the other treating of the development of certain incidents. In the former category are the *Ise Monogatari* (compiled probably around the end of the 9th century and later revised) and the *Yamato Monogatari* (part of which was

completed around the year 950). In the other group can be found such collections as the *Taketori Monogatari* (compiled around the latter half of the 9th century) and the *Utsubo Monogatari* finished around the latter part of the 10th century.

Aside from the abovementioned collections of *waka* and *monogatari*, diaries and travelogues were also written during this period. Representative diaries are the *Tosa Nikki* (935) and the *Kagerō Nikki* (around the end of the 10th century?).

With the coming of the 10th century, the power of the Fujiwara family grew tremendously surpassing other noble families. Trouble within the Fujiwara family, however, broke out and it was Fujiwara Michinaga (966-1027) who eventually emerged victorious.

Michinaga became a *sesshō* (regent) in the year 1016 attaining the highest position next to the Emperor. The Fujiwara family and other noblemen indulged in a life full of luxuries and worldly enjoyments which they could afford because of the revenue coming from their *shōen* (manors) in the provinces.

The Japanese-styled culture which began to flourish from the beginning of the 10th century saw its culmination in the 11th century. Noblemen used *waka* poems as a tool for social intercourse and a medium for the enjoyments. Several Imperial ordained collections of *waka* poems appeared after the *Kokin Wakashū*. However, there were not many poems which were outstanding in literary value except those of Izumi Shikibu (975?-1027). However, in the field of prose, it was during this period that the famous *Genji Monogatari* (Tales of Genji) and the *Makura-no-Sōshi* appeared. Other outstanding work in this field were the *Murasaki Shikibu Nikki* (Diary of Murasaki Shikibu 1008-1010), *Izumi Shikibu Nikki* (according to a recent study, the author of this diary is not Izumi Shikibu. This diary was completed around the year 1007) and the *Sarashina Nikki*.

Many daughters of the Fujiwara family became empresses. The family therefore, concentrated on finding intellectual ladies

in waiting for its empress daughters and the middle-class noble families turned their efforts in educating their daughters to fill the post of ladies in waiting. Consequently, the majority of the literary works during this period was written by these highly intellectual daughters of middle-class noble families.

These women authors, however, could not entirely adjust themselves to the extravagant environment they had been placed in. They took an attitude of introspection and the things they wrote strongly reflected their attitude. This is one of the characteristics of Heian literature written by the distaff writers of that period.

While the Fujiwaras continued their soft life at the capital, there arose in the provinces a new class called *bushi* (warriors) who started to challenge the former's authority. It was the revenue that came in from provincial manors that made possible the extravagant life of the Fujiwaras. And it was the military power of the warriors which had originally enforced the rule of the Fujiwaras in the provinces and enabled the latter to obtain revenue.

However, the time came when these "Bushi" class began to unite and challenge the Fujiwaras and other noblemen. These noblemen, however, did not recognize the threat coming from the warriors early enough. In the 12th century the country was plunged into a political chaos due the struggle between the Imperial Family and the Fujiwaras over political hegemony. Riots occurred in Kyoto and the might of the warriors were fully displayed in subjugating such uprisings. On the other hand, the power of the Imperial Family as well as the Fujiwaras declined considerably. The apathetic noblemen exhausted from their former rich living and the struggle for power were in a sorry state. Their literary outputs also reflected this tendency. In contrast to the *Genji Monogatari* which is realistic and inquisitive, the *Hamamatsu Chōnagon Monogatari* (completed around 1053) and the *Sagoromo Monogatari* (around 1080) written during that period tend to have intricate constructions

and abnormal psychological plots but which they tried to appeal to the people.

On the other hand, the tales of historical happenings depicting the changing times also appeared. The noblemen whose hopes were shattered turned back to writing nostalgically of the golden days of Fujiwara Michinaga. Some of them, however, wrote objectively and critically of the good days.

Among the books that appeared during that period was the *Eiga Monogatari* (11th century) which eulogized the Michinaga era and another called the *Okagami* (beginning of the 12th century) which was rather critical of the era.

Among the most prominent waka poets of the period were Fujiwara Shuzei (1114-1204) and his son Teika (1162-1241). Their poems were full of aesthetic thoughts representing the last downfall of the nobleman class. These poems were collected in the *Shinkokin Wakashū* which was compiled in the beginning of the Kamakura period.

On the other hand, literature authored by the warrior class and the general citizens began to appear parallel with the noblemen's literature. The *Konjaku Monogatari* (end of 12th century) is a collection of anecdotes and stories which was popularly transmitted among the mass. The *Ryōjin Hishō* (completed between the years 1169 and 1177) was a collection of popular maxims and proverbs of the time.

With the advent of the 12th century, Taira-no-Kiyomori, the first warrior to grasp the reins of the government appeared on the scene. However, Kiyomori, as representative of the warrior class, did not create a new political organization. Kiyomori, with his military might as background, utilized the Imperial Family to get into power. This was no different from the method the Fujiwara family took during the Heian Era.

The clan presently assumed an aristocratic nature, and consequently, furious attacks from all hostile cliques were concentrated on it toward the end of the 12th century, resulting in the eventual defeat and downfall of the Taira family. The rule was taken over by the Minamoto family headed by Minamoto-no-Yoritomo

(1147-1199), who was one of the military leaders in the war against the Tairas. Instead of advancing into Kyoto, Yoritomo opened his Shogunate Government at Kamakura in the Kantō area, under which was instituted a peculiar military administrative system.

Prose. Prose in the Heian Period can be classified roughly into romance, diaries, essays, historical literature and legendary literature.

The most characteristic of them is the romance, or *monogatari*, which, as mentioned in the Outline, was the first form of Japanese literature written exclusively in the Japanese letters of *kana*. Still retaining the rhythm of *waka* poetry, the literary form of *monogatari* may be said to be a compromise between novel and romance. The authors were mostly women from the nobility.

Originally, there were 2 styles of *monogatari*. One type consisted of stories based on Japanese and foreign legends and tinged with the imagination of the author. Of this style of *monogatari* novels, the ones surviving to this day are *Taketori Monogatari*, *Utsubo Monogatari* and *Ochikubo Monogatari*. The other style is the collection of short stories, which were amplifications of *waka* poems. The only ones in this group remaining today are *Ise Monogatari* and *Yamato Monogatari*, the latter of which has a stronger prosaic nature than the former.

Genji Monogatari, widely known among foreigners through its translation titled "Tales of Genji", is considered to be a fusion of the above 2 styles of *monogatari*. Its tremendous popularity among the titled class of the day brought about a *monogatari* boom, but most of the works, with the exception of *Tsutsumi Chūnagon Monogatari*, are regarded as mere imitations of *Genji Monogatari*, or otherwise unrealistic, fantastic and stimulating, if not obscene, works with little literary value. The plagiaristic works include *Sagoromo Monogatari*, *Yowa no Nezame*, *Hamamatsu Chūnagon Monogatari* and *Torikawabata Monogatari*.

Nikki Bungaku, or diary literature, has its origin in *Tosa Nikki*. Diaries, entries in which were made in Chinese characters, were originally kept by the Imperial Court and nobility as official records of daily happenings, and were not recognized as literary works.

As *kana* letters were invented later, people came to use them in private writings, including diary keeping. The diaries were not simply factual accounts of daily occurrences, but a compilation of thoughts and ideas entertained by the people. The diaries were believed to have been kept as a means of personal introspection and improvement.

Diaries were accepted as a branch of literature with the appearance of *Tosa Nikki*, which were followed by many precursors including *Kagero Nikki* produced some 30 years later than the former. In the best days of Fujiwara-no-Michinaga there appeared *Izumi Shikibu Nikki*, which was followed by *Sarashina Nikki*. Among diaries of the closing years of the Heian Era, *Sanukinosuke Nikki* is the most well known.

As for essays, they were born as an entirely new field of literature about the time *Genji Monogatari* was created, when female authors were at the height of prosperity. The most representative work is *Makura-no-Sōshi*.

Historical literature, which came into being after the collapse of the Fujiwara family, was a product of reminiscence of and yearning for the "good old days" during the Fujiwara reign. *Eiga Monogatari*, *Ōkagami* and *Imakagami* are typical works under this category.

Legendary literature emerged about the same time as historical literature, when the possibilities of creative stories were almost exhausted. However, a work belonging to this group of literature titled *Nihon Ryōiki* (an anthology of Buddhist legends) had already been produced as early as in the end of the Nara Period. Later, narrative passages appeared in the latter half of the *Yamato Monogatari*. Also, in the *Imakagami*, a historical work produced toward the end of the Heian Era, legends were told in the narrative style.

Toward the end of the Heian years, compilation of stories in narrative form appeared in large quantities. One of them, *Uchigiki-shū*, part of which remains to this day, is a collection of Buddhist legends from India, China and Japan. *Konjaku Monogatari* is another well-known anthology of short stories told in the narrative form.

Hereunder will be made an observation of representative works of Japanese prose literature in each of the above categories: *Monogatari*:

Taketori Monogatari: Composed of 2 volumes, the anonymous work is believed to be a product of the end of the 10th century. The story tells of the heroine, Kaguyahime, who is discovered as an infant among bamboo bushes by a childless old man named Taketori-no-Okina (lit. the old bamboo collector), who carries her home and brings her up with the help of his aged wife. Under the care of her foster parents, the adopted daughter grows, in only 3 months, into a beautiful young lady. She is courted by 5 young men, all of whom, however, are turned down their proposal of marriage for the reason that they cannot meet the preposterous conditions imposed by the beauty. Upon hearing of the heavenly beauty of Kaguyahime, the ruling Emperor asks for her hand, only to be rejected. Eventually, Kaguyahime leaves all the worldly cares behind her and flies back to the moon where she had come from.

Taketori Monogatari, believed to be the first literary work written in the Japanese syllabaries of *kana*, is told in a plain and familiar language incorporating satires on human acts.

Ise Monogatari: The one-volume story book was written during the latter half of the 10th century by an anonymous author. It is composed of 125 independent chapters with *waka* poems, all of which chapters, with the exception of a few, deals with anecdotes of a poetic-minded, amorous nobleman called Ariwara-no-Narihira, who actually existed in the day.

Yamato Monogatari: It was written in 2 volumes, containing about 170 short stories, by an anonymous author who lived

around 950. In the first volume, each story tells of a different character and is based on *waka* poems, as in the case of *Ise Monogatari*. The second volume is a collection of legendary tales connected with *waka* poems.

Utsubo Monogatari: The 20-volume work is believed to have been written Minamoto-no-Shitagō between 960 and 980. A strong ultra-naturalistic tendency can be detected throughout the whole work. The first, which is suspected to be a mimicry of *Taketori Monogatari*, deals with the love affairs of several men who seek to gain the hand of the heroine, Atemia. The second half gives a minute description of the life of the noblemen in the Imperial Court.

A combination of romantic and realistic elements, the work is considered a transitional work leading to *Genji Monogatari*.

Ochikubo Monogatari: The four-volume work was presumably produced toward the end of the 10th century, a little later than *Utsubo Monogatari*. It relates the adventures of the heroine, who is mistreated by her stepmother, but later avenges herself and lives a happy life. The romantic tendency seen in all its predecessors is replaced by a strong realistic idiosyncrasy.

Genji Monogatari: One of the most noted works of Japanese classics, it was completed early in the 11th century by an authoress by the name of Murasaki Shikibu (although some contend otherwise.). Composed of 54 volumes, the first 44 treats the love life of Prince Hikaru Genji, who relinquishes his Imperial title and assumes the status of a subject. The following 10 volumes entitled *Uji Jūjō*, deals with his son Kaoru after the death of the hero of the first 44 volumes.

Hikaru Genji, an ideal type of the nobleman of the day, feels a passionate affection toward his stepmother, Fujitsubo, who strikingly resembles his real mother, and causes her to give birth to a child. The Emperor, Hikaru's father, is not aware that the child has been fathered by his son, but the incident was only the start of a chain of extramarital relations for Genji, who feels no love for his wife, Aoi-no-Ue.

Genji loses his heart to all types of women, including Yūgao, Oborozukiyo-no-Naiji, who are described as girls of weak will power; the strong-minded Utsusemi and Rokujō-no-Miyasundokoro; the humorous Suetsumu Hana; and the old maid Gen-no-Naiji. The only lover who is portrayed as a perfect woman is Murasaki-no-Ue, whom Genji molds into a woman suiting his taste by educating her from her childhood. As she grows up she more and more resembles Fujitsubo, Genji's ideal of a woman. As soon as his wife Aoi-no-Ue dies, Genji ties the nuptial knots with her to lead a delirious married life with her. But all the while Genji is obsessed with the desire to enter the priesthood in penitence of his wrong-doings.

Presently, Genji's stepmother Fujitsubo dies, and her illegitimate son, who has now succeeded to the throne, finds out the secret of his birth and broods over it. When Genji arrives at the age of 40, the preceding Emperor, his brother, leaves his beloved daughter San-no-Miya in care of Genji and starts on a pilgrimage as a Buddhist bonze. Genji falls in love with San-no-Miya, but she commits adultery with a man called Kashiwagi and gives birth to a son, who is named Kaoru. Genji finds out about the improper connection but considers it Heaven's vengeance on himself for his misconduct with Fujitsubo. He, therefore, offers forgiveness to the adulteress but she declines and takes the tonsure in repentance of her sin.

Genji finally fulfills his long cherished desire to become a priest when, at the age of 51, he is overcome with grief at the loss of his devoted wife. In leaving for the monastery, Genji disposes of all the love letters he has received from his former lovers, including his late wife. His disappearance from his luxurious mansion is referred to in the novel as *kumogakure* which means "getting behind the clouds", and the name is given to the chapter narrating his disappearance.

The illegitimate child Kaoru takes a pessimistic view of life and becomes a pious Buddhist. He is a good looking young man from whom a mysterious scent emanates,

but he is never successful in his love making, being interfered by his rivals. The last 10 volumes are surrounded in a gloomy atmosphere.

Genji Monogatari may be said to be a story of the love and anguish of noblemen of the day roaming now in the world of fantasy and then back to reality. The story is considered to be a product of the fusion of the lyrical tendencies of *Ise Monogatari* and the romantic characteristics of *Taketori Monogatari*.

Besides *Genji Monogatari*, the authoress Murasaki Shikibu (978-1016?), who was also a poet, wrote *Murasaki Shikibu Nikki*. Her father Tametoki, an authority on Chinese affairs, was a local government official. The family belonging to the middle class nobility produced many great poets. Murasaki Shikibu married at the age of 22 but her husband died 2 years later. She is believed to have started working on *Genji Monogatari* between about 5 years after her husband's death and the time she entered the service of the Imperial Court. Murasaki Shikibu was a woman of reason and introspective nature, while at the same time she was a sensitive and passionate woman although she did not show her emotions.

Sagoromo Monogatari: The four-volume novel is believed to have been completed by an unknown author somewhere around 1080 A.D. It is a clever imitation of *Genji Monogatari* describing the distressful love life of Sagoromo, a niece of an emperor, who later succeeds to the throne. In comparison with *Genji Monogatari* it lacks reality and is overly sentimental and decadent.

Hamamatsu Chūnagon Monogatari: The six-volume fiction, the first volume of which is missing, is said to have been written by the daughter of Sugawara-no-Takasue, the authoress of *Sarashina Nikki*, around the year 1053. It is an imitation of *Genji Monogatari* again, but it is saved to some degree by incorporating an exotic feeling by taking the scene in China and using a Chinese Empress as the Heroine.

Yowa-no-Nezame: This is said to be a work of the daughter of Sugawara-no-Takasue completed between 1045 and 1067. Only 5 volumes of the whole work remain

to this day. It is another imitation of *Genji Monogatari* telling of the unrequited love of the girl Nezame-no-Ue, an expert *koto* player, who lures a nobleman with her skilful performance and gives her heart to him. The man later forsakes her in favor of her sister and marries her.

Torikaebaya Monogatari: The four-volume anonymous work seems to have been completed in the end of the Heian Period and revised in the early days of the Kamakura Period around the year 1192. It tells of a brother and sister born of different mothers of a noble family. The brother is brought up as a girl, and the sister as a boy, but later they are awakened sexually and have connections with members of the opposite sex, respectively. Their adventures lead to a happy married life. The work reflects the decadent social conditions during the closing years of the Heian Era.

Tsutsumi Chūnagon Monogatari: The author of the 10-volume book is unknown. Apparently it consisted of 10 independent short stories originally. Each story is an episode from the life filled with amorous experiences of the principal character. The stories describe with satire the epicurian and phantastic world of the day. It is conspicuous in that it is the only literary work in the Heian Period with the features of a modern novel.

Nikki:

Tosa Nikki: Completed in one volume in the year 935, it is a record of the famous poet Ki-no-Tsurayuki's 55-day boat voyage from Tosa Province (now Kōchi Prefecture), where he had been serving as Governor, to Kyoto upon completion of his term of service. In writing the diary it is said that Tsurayuki deliberately used *kana* letters, which were despised as women's hand, to conceal his identity.

Kagerō Nikki: The first of the three-volume work was produced in about 970, while the remaining two were added by about 972. The work consists of a psychological and realistic description of a life of a woman suffering under the oppression of the nobility enjoying a gorgeous life of dissipation in the Heian Era. The literary work is a record of the 20-year home life kept by

the authoress, who was the daughter of Fujiwara-no-Tomoyasu and mother of Fujiwara-no-Michitsuna. She tells of her troublesome life from the time she is 20 years old until when she finds solace in the love toward her son Michitsuna.

Izumi Shikibu Nikki: The one-volume work was believed to be a work of Izumi Shikibu, but some experts have contended recently that it was written by a ghost writer. Presumably completed in 1007, it describes in the third person the heroine's pathetic love with a certain imperial prince.

Murasaki Shikibu Nikki: The diary with entries from July, 1008 to January, 1010 was written in 2 volumes by Murasaki Shikibu, the authoress of *Genji Monogatari*. During that period she was serving as lady in waiting to the empress. While making an objective description of the gay court life and the graceful court functions, the authoress shows sympathy to the people of the lower classes who are not treated as human beings and is constantly conscious of the distance between herself and the glorious life of the courtiers. Through the work we perceive the human agonies of the authoress as well as her introspective nature. The diary is valuable in that it gives us an idea of the manners and customs of the day.

Sarashina Nikki: It is a one-volume record of 40 years from the life of the daughter of Sugawara-no-Takasue. It starts at her age of 13, when the authoress accompanies her father on a trip to Kyoto after completion of his term of service as a high official of one of the eastern provinces. The diary continues until 2 years after she is bereaved by her husband at the age of 51, when she is forced to lead a lonely widow's life. She relates the disillusionment she experiences upon her arrival at the capital, where she had dreamed in her childhood as a wonderland. She prays to Buddha for a happy future life.

Sanukinosuke no Nikki: The one-volume work is Fujiwara-no-Nagako's record of service as a court lady to Emperor Horikawa from June, 1107, when the emperor took ill, until he passes away. The record continues after her resumption of service

with the succeeding Emperor Toba, but features the death of his predecessor.

Essays

Makura no Sōshi: It is believed to have been completed by Sei-Shōnagon between 995 and 1001. There are large divergences among the handwritten copies remaining to this day. The original work consists of 300 chapters. It is noteworthy that its literary form is entirely different and new when compared with that of *Genji Monogatari* and other contemporary works produced in the literary age dominated by women writers.

The work, in prose poem style, may be considered as a variety of diary literature in that it contains passages in diary form based on the daily experiences of the authoress. On the other hand, it should be classified with essays for the reason that the larger part of it is a compilation of thoughts occurring to her, observations of the natural phenomena, and impressions obtained during her life in the court as a lady in waiting. The chapters are arranged in casual order. We can detect the keen perception of the authoress especially from her description on nature.

The authoress Sei-Shōnagon (965?-?) is the daughter of Kiyohara-no-Motosuke, a governor of a local province, from a middle class noble family which produced many poets and scholars. Although the authoress was known and envied as a talented woman among the court ladies, of which she belonged to the medium stratum, she is believed to have led a lonesome and unhappy life in her old age. In sharp contrast with Murasaki Shikibu, the authoress of *Genji Monogatari*, who was of a retrospective nature and constantly conscious of humanity, Sei-Shōnagon reveals, through her work, her keen perception, wit, optimism and realism.

Historical Literature:

Eiga Monogatari: Literary experts have not agreed as to the author or date of completion of the 40-volume historical work, which describes, in chronological order, the historical events during the 200 years up to 1092, centered around the luxurious life of Fujiwara-no Michinaga. It is a mere

factual description with no critical attitude.

Okagami: 8 volumes (there also exist a three-volume and six-volume edition of this same book). The author is not known. The date of its compilation is also uncertain except that it was completed after the *Eiga Monogatari* appeared. *Okagami* is a story concerning the history of the 157-year period from 850 to 1025. It is written in narrative form recording the dialogues of 2 men—one 140 years old and the other 150—concerning what they themselves have seen and heard. A young *samurai* dubs in some critical comments.

This work covers practically the same period as that of the *Eiga Monogatari*, but in contrast to the latter which eulogizes the golden era of the Fujiwara, the *Okagami* takes a critical objective attitude.

Imakagami: 10 volumes. Author unknown. Completed around the year 1170. Following the style of the above-mentioned *Okagami*, it relates of the history of the period from 1025 to 1170. The *Imakagami* is rather monotonous compared with its predecessor *Okagami*.

Narrative Literature:

Uchigiki Shū: Made up of only one volume, there is only a part of this book in existence today. The author is unknown but it is believed that the book was completed around the end of the Heian Era. Buddhist stories which had been transmitted from mouth to mouth are included in this work. A total of 27 narratives from India, China and Japan exists, out of which some 20 stories have been recorded in the *Konjaku Monogatari*.

Konjaku Monogatari: This is made up of a total of 31 volumes, but volumes 8, 18 and 21 do not exist today. This is a collection of narratives of the end of the Heian Era. It is believed that Minamoto-no-Takakuni was the one who collected these stories and someone later made some additions. It is also called by the name of *Uji Dainagon Monogatari*.

Volume 1 up to 5 contain stories from India, volume 6 to 10 those from China and Japanese tales are recorded in volume 11 to 31. The stories in these 31 volumes total some 1,000. The stories are strongly Bud-

dhistic and educational. However there are some stories in the volumes on Japan that contain popular narratives in which a conglomeration of personalities from generals down to robbers are depicted. Among the class of people that appear in the stories are noblemen, priests, *samurai*, farmers, merchants, fishermen, wrestlers, physicians, whores, animals and birds and even ghosts. The scope of the stories cover practically all of Japan.

Stories on the new class of warriors which sprang up with the establishment of the Shogunate Government in Kamakura after the fall of the nobility in the Heian Era are mixed together with jolly tales of the mass depicting actual life in that period.

Poetry. Among the *waka* recorded in the *Manyōshū* which was compiled around the end of the Nara Era, the newest *waka* was written in 759. The *Kokin Wakashū*, which was the first collection of poems ordered to be compiled by the Emperor was finished in the year 905. Therefore, there is a span of about 150 years from the time the latest *waka* in the *Manyōshū* was written up to the time of the compilation of the *Kokin Wakashū*. During this 150-year period, *waka* was utilized as a sort of present to be given and received as well as a game.

One of the *waka* games played was as follows: 2 groups of *waka* poets would compete against each other by composing *waka* poems and have their work evaluated and judged. This is called *uta-awase* and became a very popular sort of recreation.

However, it must be admitted that the composing of *waka* poems were carried out chiefly by private individuals because Chinese poems were still more popular officially than the former. Accordingly, Chinese poems were more prevalent in early days. This was obviously the situation at least until the abolition, in 894, of the system of sending regularly Japanese envoys to China.

Under these circumstances 3 anthologies of Chinese poems were compiled in compliance with Imperial order—these are *Ryōunshū* (814), *Bunkashūreishū* (818) and *Keikokushū* (820). However, the Japanese

reflected upon their attitude of attaching undue importance to Chinese poems and compositions and attempted to transcribe them to their own language. This resulted in the commencement of prevalence of the 31-syllable Japanese poems.

Owing to the invention of kana letters the Japanese obtained the freedom of expression by writing, and thus Japanese poems have become popular more than ever. Toward the end of the 9th century 6 famous poets (known as the *Rokkasen*), including Ono-no-Komachi, took active part in the composition of *tanka* poetry and in 905 a collection of Japanese poems called *Kokin Wakashū* (the Anthology of Ancient Japanese Poems) was edited by Imperial order.

In the anthology there are shown an intelligent and skilful style of poems reflecting the life of nobles in the Heian Era, and this style is in sharp contrast with that of poems in *Manyōshū* which is simple but grand. Later, in obedience to Imperial order there were published such anthologies as *Gosen Wakashū* (the compilation of which was started in 951), *Shūiwakashū* (completed about 1009), *Goshūi Wakashū* (1086), *Kinyō Wakashū* (1127), *Shika Wakashū* (published about 1152), *Senzai Wakashū* (1187), *Shinkokin Wakashū* (completed in the early days of the Kamakura Era).

In addition to the above compilations made by Imperial order, there are many anthologies of Japanese poems published by individuals, including *Tsurayuki-shū* (completed by Ki-no-Tsurayuki in the middle of the 10th century), *Sotan-shū* (completed about 999 by Sone Yoshitada) and *Sanka-shū* (completed by the Buddhist priest Saigyō about 999).

During this time theoretical and artistic studies began concerning the 31-syllable Japanese poem, and on which subject there were published various books and articles. Most representative among them are the Japanese preface by Ki-no-Tsurayuki to *Kokin Wakashū*; *Shinsen Zuinō* by Fujiwara-no-Kintō, completed about the middle of the 11th century; *Fukuro Sōshi* by Fujiwara-no-Kiyosuke (1159); *Toshiyori Kuden* (also known by the names of *Toshiyori*

Zuinō, *Toshiyori Mumyōshō* or *Shumpishō*) by Minamoto-no-Toshiyori, completed about the beginning of the 12th century. Works belonging to this category produced during the Kamakura Era include *Korai Fūtaishō* by Fujiwara-no-Shunzei, *Maigetsushō* and *Eika Taigai* by Fujiwara-no-Teika.

The Chinese and Japanese poems mentioned above were expressed chiefly with characters and appreciated by seeing. However, there were also kinds of poems which were chanted, namely, *kagura*, *saibara*, *azuma-asobi*, *fūzoku-uta*, etc., which were a kind of folk songs and contrasted with the said Chinese and Japanese poems monopolized by nobles and Buddhist priests. In most cases these popular songs were written in styles different from that used in *tanka* poems, which are in the five-and-seven syllable meter.

In the middle of the Heian Era recitation of poems became popular, since the people were dissatisfied with such folk songs as *saibara*, which lacked in high taste. In response to popular demand, Fujiwara-no-Kinto compiled, about 1013, a book named *Wakan Rōeishū*, containing Chinese and Japanese poems with high literal values which could be recited to the accompaniment of musical instruments.

In the 11th century *imayō* (modern) ballads became prevalent and verses for this type of ballads were collected in the *Ryōjōin Hishō*, completed about 1177.

Chinese Poems

Ryōunshū (one volume): Properly known as *Ryōunshinshū*, it is an anthology of Chinese poems, the first of its kind completed in 814 in response to Imperial order. It contains 91 works of 24 authors produced between 782 and 814. The poems in the anthology were greatly affected by works in the Chinese T'ang Dynasty.

Bunka Shūreishū (3 volumes): A collection of Chinese poems edited by Imperial order in 818, it comprises 148 poems composed by 28 authors. The works in the Chinese T'ang Dynasty have had a great influence on the contents of the collection.

Keikokushū: The 20-volume anthology of Chinese poems, of which only 3 volumes survive to this day, was completed by Im-

perial command in 827. Originally, it contained 1033 poems by 178 authors written between 707 and 827, but there remain today about one fourth of the poems. This compilation may be said to have marked the end of the golden age of Chinese poems and composition in this country in the early days of the Heian Era.

Bunkyo Hifuron (6 volumes): Completed about the beginning of the 9th century, it is a theoretical compilation of Chinese poems and composition made by the Buddhist priest Kūkai.

Sugawara-no-Michizane: A famous Chinese and Japanese poem composer who lived between 845 and 903. Opposed to the Fujiwara family, the most powerful family then who had great influence in Imperial Court, he was exiled to Kyūshū and died there. As he was a person of noble character and loyal to the throne, he was sympathized by the public and was enshrined after his death. *Temman-gū* erected later in various places of Japan is a shrine dedicated to Sugawara-no-Michizane. His works include a compilation of 12 volumes called *Kanke-bunsō*.

31 Syllable Japanese Poem

Kokin Wakashū: Of 20 volumes, it was completed in 905, containing 1100 poems. This was compiled, in obedience to Emperor Daigo's order, by 4 famous poets, including Ki-no-Tsurayuki, who wrote the preface on literary awakening. From *Kokin Wakashū* there almost disappeared *Chōka* (long poems) and *Sedōka* (a kind of poem) which were found in a large number in *Manyōshū*, and instead there appeared the *tanka* type of poems (short poems).

Reflecting the stabilized life of nobles in the Heian Era which was, however, divorced from national production, the art of expression became skilful in this anthology and there were found many poems composed in an intellectual way in lieu of poems expressing frankly the author's feelings. The representative poets whose works are included in the anthology are the *Rokkasen* (6 famous poets), 4 selectors of the poems and a woman poet called Ise.

The *Rokkasen* are 6 noted poets at the end of the 9th century as has been mentioned already. Their names are: Ariwara-

no-Narihira, Ono-no-Komachi (female), Sōjō Henjō (Buddhist priest), Bunya-no-Yasuhide, Kisen Hōshi (Buddhist priest) and Ōtomo-no-Kuronushi.

Selectors of works in *Kokin Wakashū*, are Ki-no-Tomonori, Ki-no-Tsurayuki, Ōshikōchi-no-Mitsune and Mibu-no-Tadamine were representative poets of their times and Ki-no-Tsurakuyi (859-945) was the most outstanding of the four. He was a low-ranking nobleman, but became famous as a poet and attached importance to the intellectual way of expression, maintaining the necessity of balance between the form and contents. He was idolized by poets of the Imperial Court in the Heian Era until the advent of Fujiwara-no-Teika and other celebrated poets.

Ise: Living approximately between 877 and 939, she was a daughter of a middle class nobleman belonging to the Fujiwara family. She served at the Imperial Court. Having experienced love affairs several times, she mastered the art of composing graceful but high-spirited poems in which hid florid emotions.

Goshūi Wakashū: The selector of poems collected for the 20-volume compilation was Fujiwara-no-Michitoshi. It was the 4th anthology of Japanese poems compiled by Imperial command, but was a collection of poems brought out about 80 years after the appearance of the third gleanings of Japanese poems.

In *Goshūi Wakashū* and subsequent compilations known as *Kinyō Wakashū* and *Shika Wakashū*, poems became free from artificial ways of expression and tended to express emotions on nature in objective and interesting ways.

Of the authors and authoresses of poems collected in the anthology, Izumi Shikibu was the poet whose works were selected for the compilation more than any other person, 67 of her poems having been chosen. Most of the poems included therein were those composed in the heyday of Fujiwara-no-Michinaga when *Genji Monogatari* (the Tale of Genji) and *Makura-no-Sōshi* were written.

Kinyō Wakashū: This is an anthology of Japanese poems in 10 volumes. It was

completed in 1127 by Minamoto-no-Toshiyori. In this compilation the new trend of poems seen in *Goshūi Wakashū* became more pronounced. Artificial expressions and mannerisms were rejected and works of poets who wrote about nature rather than human affairs were selected in a large number for the compilation.

Senzai Wakashū: An anthology in 20 volumes compiled by Fujiwara-no-Shunzei (otherwise known as Fujiwara-no-Toshinari), it was completed in 1187. The gleanings of poems was made about the time when the Heikes, a newly risen group of *samurai* known as the Taira family, was brought to ruin by the Minamoto family, and the Kamakura Shogunate was established by Minamoto-no-Yoritomo.

Fujiwara-no-Shunzei was the foremost poet in those days but his poems were of such a style as reflecting the feelings of nobles in the Heian Era who were degenerating in the time of turmoil.

There were selected for *Senzai Wakashū* many poems which give one an impression as if the author were appreciating quiet natural scenery with serenity of mind.

It may be said, from the historical viewpoint, that the new trend of poems which came to appear in *Goshūi Wakashū*, took root in *Senzai Wakashū*, and that it became more eminent in *Shinkokin Wakashū*.

Fujiwara-no-Shunzei: Shunzei (1114-1204) lived in days of turmoil, when there were various struggles among nobles who were declining in power. Especially, the middle and lower class peers were leading a life of grief and distress.

Standing aloof from the dark life in those days, Shunzei sought refuge in spiritual life, and wished to introduce the profundity of feeling into Japanese poems. The profundity in the mind of Shunzei symbolized the world where there were a pleasant atmosphere and real beauty and where there ran a gloomy but quiet air underneath. In short, he wanted to avoid naked expressions and desired to express feelings hidden behind words more effectively.

Singing and recitation (see the sections on theatrical performances and Japanese music, etc.). *Kagura*: This is a kind of

dance played at ceremonies in the Imperial Court and at religious services of Shintō shrines to the tunes from musical instruments and to the singing of songs. The songs sung on the above occasions were *kagura uta* (or *kagura songs*). *Kagura* originated in years before the Nara Era, but it is said to have been formalized more or less at the middle of the 9th century. The texts of *kagura songs* seem to have been chosen from folk songs of old days.

There are 2 kinds of songs, one is solemn songs which are sung on the occasion of religious services and the other is humorous songs sung for entertainment after ceremonies.

The former songs take the form of *tanka* poem and the latter takes a free form from which popular feelings in those days are discernible.

Saibara: Originating from local folk songs introduced to the Imperial Court and nobility, it became favored widely in the Heian Era and was sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments. Scores were prepared for *saibara* along with those for *kagura songs* at the middle of the 9th century.

Saibara was sung on the occasions of court functions, parties held by nobles and services at temples. It waned in popularity during the 11th century and almost disappeared between the 13th and 14th centuries, and *imayō*, which came into being about the middle of the Heian Era, became prevalent to take the place of *saibara*.

The texts of *imayō* were simple and dealt mostly with love affairs, many being humorous and satirical songs.

Azuma asobi: This is singing and dancing which developed from folk songs of Eastern Japan and performed to the accompaniment of musical instruments. It was played on the occasions of religious services at temples and Shintō shrines in the Heian Era. In the Muromachi Era, it was played at seasonal events and parties.

Fūzoku uta: Local folk songs were introduced to the capital as a result of a custom observed from before the Nara Era, when men and women of various provinces who were proficient in singing folk songs

were presented to the Court. Thus folk songs seem to have developed into *fūzoku uta*.

In the Nara Era folk songs evolved into *gagaku* in the Court (see "Music"), and in the Heian Era *fūzoku uta* prevalent in the neighborhood of Kyoto was named *Saibara*, with its texts adapted from folk songs in eastern Japan. There still remain 26 songs of this kind.

Rōei: This existed since olden days, but it was very popular about the middle of Heian Era.

In most cases Chinese poems were used for *rōei* and it was recited in Japanese pronunciation to the accompaniment of music. *Rōei* was most prevalent among the noble between the end of the 10th century and the 11th century, but later recitation was made by female entertainers at banquets and it became popular among the general public.

Imayō: It is a new song which came into vogue in competition with *kagura* and other ancient songs and was most prevalent in the 11th century. It was sung by professional entertainers at banquets, while it was chanted also at court ceremonies as in the case of *kagura* and *saibara*. *Imayō* was in the seven-and-five syllable meter, and it is considered to have originated from the Buddhist song *wasan*.

Wasan: It is the Japanese translation of Buddhist hymns praising Buddha himself and high priests. It came into vogue about the middle of the Heian Era, and with the popularization of Buddhism in the Kamakura Era, it was sung by the general public. The descriptive nature of *wasan* had great influence on *katarimono* of medieval ages (a kind of song in a broad sense in which descriptive compositions were recited to a simple tune).

Ryōjin Hishō: This was a compilation consisting of 20 volumes, but there remain only 2 perfect volumes and 2 imperfect ones. Its compiler was the retired Emperor Goshirakawa who completed it about 1179.

In the compilation religious songs were placed in the beginning, but a greater part of songs collected therein were folk songs depicting life in those days as it was.

Since persons of various classes were taken up in songs, they give us an idea of the social condition of the day.

Middle Ages (Kamakura, Yoshino and Muromachi eras)—the 13th century—3/4 of the 16th century

General statement. At the end of the 12th century, namely, in the closing days of the Heian Era, civil wars broke out one after another owing to conflicts between various factions of newly risen *samurai* and also to the ambitions of nobles who hoped to take advantage of the frictions.

Of the warriors, Minamoto-no-Yoritomo who led a semi-aristocratic group of *samurai* known as Genji or the Minamoto family, gradually established his Shogunate which was an administrative structure for militarists' rule, after reaching an agreement with the Imperial Family.

From the beginning he recognized the ownership of their fiefs of *samurai* who came under his banner, and established with them the relation between master and retainer. Although Yoritomo set up his Shogunate in Kamakura in 1192, it was replaced by another one established by the Hōjō family who had a longer lineage as *samurai* than the Minamoto family.

Yoritomo took a somewhat compromising attitude toward the Imperial Family and nobles, but the Hōjō family found no necessity to compromise with them.

Availing themselves of the civil war in the Shōkyū Era, the Hōjō family expelled its opponents in the Imperial Family and confiscated the fiefs of nobles and *samurai* who sided with the Imperial Family in the civil war. Consequently, the rule of the Shogunate under the Hōjō family extended over the whole country and the influence of the Imperial Family and nobles waned.

In order to protect the life of *samurai* and to consolidate the Hōjōs' control of the country, the Shogunate promulgated the first *samurai*-made code. It provided, as moral bases, the subject's loyalty to the ruler, the child's filial duty to parents and the wife's obedience to her husband. Furthermore, it stressed the necessity to

protect farmers' lives in a hope to prevent injustice in law cases due to difference in social standing and influence.

The code was put in practice gradually throughout the country, representing the establishment of military government and of *bushidō* (morals of *samurai*). On the other hand, agricultural technique markedly advanced in comparison with those of the Heian Era, and farmers became able to support themselves. Handicraft also began to grow. Under these circumstances production started to increase to such an extent that of products were accumulated, and there were opened markets in various places. Accordingly, currency economy and commodity economy were born, and a new class of people acting concurrently as landlords, merchants and usurers emerged.

It is undeniable that a part of the masses who was not treated like human beings began to show activities. The culture in the early days of the Kamakura Era reflected the social conditions mentioned above.

The morals on the relation between master and man chiefly among the newly risen *samurai* classes, and family morality attaching importance to children's filial duty to parents and wife's obedience to their husbands were based on the principle of respecting one's family and *samurai*.

In the meantime, what dominated in the mind of nobles was traditional adherence to culture and this mental attitude was clearly shown in poems composed in those days. As regards the title of *Shinkokin Wakashū* (New Gleanings of Ancient Japanese Poems) compiled in the early days of the Kamakura Era, the word *shin* (new) was prefixed to *Kokin Wakashū* brought out in the Heian Era, but in the choice of the former's title the yearning of nobles for the prevalence of Japanese poems and prosperity of peers in the Heian Era can be seen.

In *Shinkokin Wakashū* remnants of the Heian nobles created a beautiful artistical atmosphere, though lacking in a progressive spirit, with poems reflecting desperation and aspiration for better state of affairs. After this anthology, there were

brought out no compilation worth mentioning except *Kinkai Wakashū* compiled by Minamoto-no-Sanetomo.

Monogatari (narratives) in those days was simply imitations of works in the Heian Era, and there was no noteworthy *Monogatari*. There are in historical literature such works as *Mizukagami* (produced about the end of the 12th century) and *Masukagami* (written about the middle of the 14th century), but the authors of these compilations imitated *Ōkagami* in the Heian Era and these lacked in the critical spirit which *Ōkagami* boasted of.

In the episodic legendary literature such as *Uji Shūi Monogatari*, *Kokon Chōmon Shū*, and *Jikkin Shō*, which followed *Konjaku Monogatari*, there is an aspect which reflects the climate of the common people. *Jikkin Shō* was written for the children of the *samurai*, and this fact indicates that since the *samurai* were not, at the time, able to create fully a new culture, there appeared among the nobility and clergy an attempt to meet the cultural wants of the *samurai*. After the fall of the *Kamakura Bakufu* in 1333, there was continuous strife and bloodshed, and social confusion was extreme. It was quite natural that the nobility, who suffered increasing privations under these conditions, were filled with a sense of the transiency of life and showed an added interest in Buddhism. Such privations were not, however, limited to the nobility; the *samurai* and the common people also experienced the privations caused by war. Among the *samurai* and the common people there were many who, faced by these troubled times, came to think about the other world. But people were not satisfied with the existing Buddhism, which was closely connected with the court and tended to be ritualistic or vainly expounded abstract philosophical principles. Hence, popular religions such as *Jōdo-shū* and *Nichiren-shū* were newly born. Furthermore, *Zenshū*, which gained its main following among the *samurai*, became gradually more popular. (cf. section on "Thought and Religion")

Such religious trends spread throughout the cultural activities of the time, and in the field of religious literature itself ap-

peared works such as *Tani Shō* which is a kind of pious confession of Shinran, a *Jōdo-shū* priest. At the same time, among the priests of *Zenshū*, Chinese poetry and writing which were of a new trend different from the ancient traditions of Chinese poetry and writing were produced. These Chinese poems and writings are referred to as Gozan literature (literature of 5 temples), because they were written by priests who belonged to the 5 outstanding temples of *Zenshū*. Since *Zenshū* came to be supported and respected by the Imperial Family, the nobility, and the *samurai*, the priests of the five temples occupied a high position among the intellectuals of the time and, from about the middle of the 14th century to the middle of the 16th century led the culture of the upper class in Japan. Gozan literature declined with the fall of the *Muromachi Bakufu*, but its literary spirit formed the main current of medieval literature and influenced learning, literature, art and drama widely. To be more specific, it cultivated such literary concepts as *yūgen* (abstruseness), *wabi* (quietness), *sabi* (sombreness) and for a long time it spread throughout the life of the Japanese people in general as the tradition of medieval literature.

Yūgen: It can be said that Fujiwara-no-Shunzei (1114-1204—annotated earlier) was the first to use *yūgen* specially as a concept of art. Later it came to be valued as an aesthetic concept in *waka*, *renga* (a kind of poem—annotated later), *noh* (a kind of play—annotated later). In the Heian Era, the word *yūgen* meant generally "a condition with considerable depth, so that its actual form cannot easily be indicated clearly", or "a mystical condition". In *waka* the word *yūgen* referred to a form of expression which had a suggestiveness. Shunzei laid special stress upon this as being the ideal state in *waka*. *Yūgen* as used by Shunzei included "elegant and noble beauty", "soulful and deep beauty", and "extensive and vast beauty". Later, Shinkei (1406-1475—a priest) presented *yūgen* as an aesthetic concept in *renga*, but in his case *yūgen* was a cold and dry beauty and had something in common with *wabi* and

sabi. At about the same time, *noh*, which had been brought to perfection in about the middle of the 15th century, also placed value on *yūgen*. In *noh*, *yūgen* despises blunt expressions and esteems symbolic action, so it strenuously rejects gaudy and ostentatious beauty or hurried action which exposes emotion. Through its means of expression *noh* tried to present the truths which lie deep within phenomenal life.

Wabi, sabi: On entering the medieval times, the *samurai* became the governing class, but once strife war broke out their initial duty was to fight in the battlefields at risk of their lives. In this sense there was a need to train themselves to discard any attachment to life. At the same time, since they were permitted to fight for supremacy with force of arms, they were not able to neglect the cultivation of matter-of-fact strength. The *samurai* was thus in a position where he could not rest in ease and indolence. *Zen* was favorable welcomed by the *samurai*, and the tendency to discard splendour, ease and indolence and to give priority to simplicity and training grew stronger. *Wabi*, which indicates such a tendency, became the basic concept of *sadō* (also called *chadō*—it refers to the tea ceremony, but its purpose is to detach oneself from troublesome real life and to purify one's mind and soul in an environment of simple equipment and formality). Like *wabi*, *sabi* was the product of the religious tendency of the medieval times, the tendency to dislike and detach oneself from realities. In contrast to *wabi*, which though giving added profoundness to *yūgen*, still could not completely discard an affection for the charming and romantic, *sabi* grew out of the renouncement of such an attitude. *Sabi* is an aesthetic concept which was established by Bashō (1644-1694—a poet) in the Edo Era. It was against ostentatiousness and valued sombreness, and by taking off the exterior luster it tried to recognize beauty in sober things. *Sabi* came to take deep roots the aesthetic consciousness of the Japanese.

In addition to *waka*, *renga*, Chinese poems and writings, which have been mentioned already, there were among the prod-

ucts of the nobility, clergy and *samurai*, who were responsible for the culture of medieval times, war literature, which can be represented by *Heike Monogatari*, and essays or miscellaneous writings, which can be represented by *Tsurezure Gusa*. Furthermore, in the latter half of this age was born the *otogizōshi* (taking their materials from popular episodic legends in most cases and were writings midway between episodic legends tales). It was in this latter half also that such forms of drama as *noh* and *kyōgen* were firmly established, and this fact marked a new epoch in Japanese drama, which till then had been comparatively undeveloped.

Prose. As already stated in the outline, in the earlier half of this age, there were many works which, out of admiration of the *monogatari* of the Heian Era, imitated such writings. The main works which still exist are *Torikaebaya Monogatari* and *Sumiyoshi Monogatari*, which were completed in the Heian Era and rewritten in the Kamakura Era, and *Matsura-no-miya Monogatari* (3 volumes—considered to be the work of Fujiwara no Teika), *Koke-no-koromo* (4 volumes—writer unknown—completed about the middle of the 13th century), *Iwashimizu Monogatari* (2 volumes—writer unknown—completed about the middle of the 13th century), *Sayogoromo* (3 volumes—writer unknown—completed in latter half of the 13th century), and *Ama-no-karumo* (4 volumes—writer unknown—though there were two kinds, old and new, the older work no longer exists—newer work was completed in the latter half of the 13th century), which are regarded as original works. These are all lengthy tales covering several volumes, but have little literary value since they are redundant descriptions of various phases of the love affairs of the nobility in most cases.

The tales set forth above are merely residues of the tales of the Heian Era, but the thriving of war literature upon entering medieval times is probably a matter that deserves special mention. The people, who from the end of the Heian Era into the Kamakura, Yoshino and Muromachi eras had experienced many times wars which

resulted in basic transfers of the central power in politics, wanted to have literature which gave expression to such experiences. The *Hogen Monogatari* and *Heiji Monogatari* (3 volumes each—completed about 1220?), which were based on *Hogen no Ran* (1156) and *Heiji no Ran* (1159) respectively, were the first of such works. These were followed by the completion of the *Heike Monogatari* and the *Genpei Seisuiiki*, and eventually the *Taihei Ki* (40 volumes—completed about the middle of the 14th century—writer is said to be a priest called Kojima Hōshi—in the earlier half of the 14th century there was disunion in the Imperial Family, and conflict arose in the *samurai*, which strife is described in this work) was completed. Although the direct participants in such fighting were the *samurai*, the actions of the *samurai* were, at such a turning point of the times, supported by a wider public. Because of this, these works generally became epic-like *katarimono* which addressed the public at large. In particular, the *Heike Monogatari* was narrated with a peculiar tune and melody to the accompaniment of a musical instrument called *biwa*. Furthermore, among the works which, differently to these works, portrayed the tragic fates of the heroic individual *samurai* who played an important role during the same period of change, were the *Gikei Ki* (8 volumes—writer unknown—Yoshitsune, the younger brother of Minamoto-no-Yoritomo, the founder of the Kamakura Bakufu, was glorified as a national hero, and the legend concerning him became fixed in the earlier half of the 15th century and formed the *Gikei Ki*) and the *Soga Monogatari* (10 or 12 volumes—writer and date of completion unknown—a faithful and detailed description of the tragic events experienced by the Soga brothers until they revenge their father's murder after 18 years of suffering and endurance).

In the latter half of the medieval times, upon entering the Muromachi Era, prose literature different from the above-mentioned tales and war literature appeared. The works which were later called the *Otogizōshi* compose this prose literature, and al-

though there are more than 500 of them, they are mostly short, while in most cases neither date of completion nor writer is known. In contrast the fact that the love stories of the Kamakura Era had an aristocratic character, their audience was widened to cover the common people, too. Hence, there are many which are popular or instructive in content. Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935) made the remark that they were similar to what are known as fairy tales and fables in other countries. Generally speaking, there were many that were intended to be religiously instructive.

The representative essays of the medieval times are *Hōjō Ki* (completed in 1212) and *Tsurezure Gusa* (completed in 1330-31). Both have a strongly hermit-like flavor. Among the diaries and accounts of travels, there were many diaries of a person's travels, the movement of people between Kyoto and Kamakura became more frequent in the Kamakura Era. Representative among them are *Kaidō Ki* (completed in 1223—writer unknown), *Tōkan Kikō* (completed in 1242—writer unknown), *Izayoi Nikki* (completed in 1277—written by a nun called Abutsu-Ni), etc.

Heike Monogatari: 12 volumes (apparently supplemented and enlarged from an original 3 volumes). Completed in the earlier half of the 13th century. There is no established view about the writer. It is a description of how, at the end of the Heian Era, Heike, a powerful group of *samurai*, gained political power and enjoyed the height of prosperity, but were eventually overthrown by Genji, the opposing group of *samurai*. The whole story has unity in the Buddhist philosophy that those who prosper surely fall, and that the present world is a fleeting one; but it gained the sympathy of many people because this way of thinking was not preached but presented through facts, the rise and fall of Heike. What is more, the *samurai* who appear in this story act resolutely as representatives of the newly risen class, though within the limits of their own destinies. In this respect also, *Heike Monogatari* was a kind of heroic epic in the eyes of the common people of the time. *Heike*

Monogatari was narrated melodically to the accompaniment of *biwa* (cf. "music"), and in that case is called *Heikyoku*.

Gempei Seisui: 48 volumes. It is said to be supplementary to *Heike Monogatari*. Although the structure of the work is exactly the same as *Heike Monogatari*, this was not written to be narrated like *Heike Monogatari* but to be read.

Hōjō Ki: 1 volume. Essay. Completed in 1212. Written by Kamo-no-Chōmei. The writer was a Shintō priest, but was one who entered priesthood and became a hermit because he could not find his place in this world. The first half is a realistic description of the great fire in Kyoto in 1177, the typhoon in 1180, the great famine of 1181 and 1182, all events which he had seen or heard of before entering priest-hood, and portrayal of the uneasy mode of life in the world. The second half is a description of his life after becoming a hermit.

Tsurezure Gusa: 2 volumes. Essay. Written by Yoshida Kenkō. The writer was a Shintō priest and later became a priest without office. Completed in 1330-31. It is a collection of impressions, arguments, and studies about various subjects which happen to arouse his interest. There are 244 in all. Although it follows the format of *Makura no Soshi*, which appeared in the Heian Era, but whereas *Makura no Soshi* relied almost entirely upon keenness of perception, *Tsurezure Gusa* was characterized by a strongly contemplative tendency.

Poetry. In poetic literature of the medieval times, the first to be mentioned is *Shinkokin Wakashū*, a collection of *waka*. The representative collections of Japanese *waka* are *Manyōshū* of the Nara Era, *Kokin Wakashū* of the Heian Era, and this *Shinkokin Wakashū*. In *Shinkokin Wakashū*, there are many poems that symbolically express delicate emotions and moods. This collection had as its center Kyoto, which was the capital in the Heian Era and was the headquarters of the nobility. On the other hand, in Kamakura, which was the city of the *samurai*, Minamoto-no-Sanetomo (1192-1219—the second son of Yoritomo, the third *Shōgun* of the

Kamakura Bakufu) had inherited the imposing poetic style of *Manyōshū* and was giving expression of his feelings frankly, in a powerful manner. His collection of *waka* is called *Kinkai Wakashū* (1 volume—contains 663 of the *waka* made during his youth).

After this period, *waka* in the medieval times became gradually inactive, in spite of frequent compilations of collections selected by the Imperial Court. The last of these collections selected by the Imperial Court was *Shinzoku Kokin Wakashū*, which appeared in 1439. This was the 21st of its kind counting from *Kokin Wakashū*, which was the first of the Imperially selected collections. The poetic field was monopolized by the descendants of Fujiwara-no-Teika, who was the selector of the poems going into *Shinkokin Wakashū*. Moreover, these descendants had broken up into 3 families, Nijō, Kyōgoku, Reizen, and were constantly engaged in disputes, so that they were unable to add anything new to the poetic style. *Gyokuyō Wakashū* (about 1313—Imperially selected collection), *Fūga Wakashū* (1348—Imperially selected collection), *Shinyō Wakashū* (1331—1381) are about the only collections of *waka* that are worthy of mention. With the decline of *waka*, *renga* came to flourish in its place. *Waka* consists of five clauses of 5, 7, 5, 7 and 7 sounds respectively, but this can be more broadly divided into *kami-no-ku* (first clause) of 5, 7, and 5 sounds and *shimo-no-ku* (latter clause) of 7 and 7 sounds. From early times, there were cases where *kami-no-ku* and *shimo-no-ku* were composed by 2 persons in order to make one poem, but from the end of the Heian Era (the latter half of the 12th century) the practice arose of a number of persons composing a longer clause of 5, 7, and 5 and a shorter clause of 5 and 5, and for them to continue this at length. In the beginning of the Kamakura Era (the earlier half of the 13th century) this practice had developed to the extent that the clauses continued until they numbered 50 or 100. The interesting point about the long *renga* was that if a clause was composed to follow the preceding clause, this would create one poetic world, yet if another

clause is attached, then the preceding clause together with this new additional clause creates another different poetic world. In other words, the same clause comes to have 2 poetic worlds. In this manner, the interest lies in the fact that the situation in each clause changes with every addition of a clause and develops endlessly. This *renga* became even more widely practised upon entering the 14th century, and its supporters were not only the nobility but came to include the clergy and the *samurai*, and eventually it became popular even among the people in general. In place of the stagnancy of *waka*, *renga* flourished increasingly and produced figures such as Nijō Yoshimoto (1320—1388—a noble—compiler of the first collection of *renga*, *Tsukuba Shū*), Shinkei (1406—1475—annotated earlier—a priest) and Sōgi (1421—1502—a priest—He spent the latter part of his life traveling and is called the traveling poets together with Saigyō and Bashō. While traveling he introduced culture into the provincial areas. He has the distinction of being the one who advanced *renga* to the level of literature and not merely amusement. The *renga* which he as leader made with his disciples, Sōchō and Shōhaku in 1488 is called *Minase Sangin Hyakuin*. The word *hyakuin* means to make a hundred clauses. The collection of *renga* which he edited is called *Shinsen Tsukuba Shū*).

Renga, however, fell into natural decline because after a while its established form became too complicated. This tendency provided the opportunity for the rise at the end of the medieval times (the earlier half of the 16th century) of the *haikai-no-renga*, which aimed at something more free, humorous, and witty. The representative figures in this field were Yamazaki Sōkan (1460—1540?—selector of *Inu Tsukuba Shū*, a collection of *haikai-no-renga*) and Arakida Moritake (1473—1549—a Shintō priest). The meaning of the word *haikai* is humorous fun, and thus it attempted to add a touch of humor to *renga*, which had become fixed, and by so doing to make it into poetry dealing with life in a realistic and popular manner. Out of this *haikai*-

no-renga came to be born *haikai* of the Edo Era, which will be described later.

Among the *utai-mono*, the *enkyoku* (meaning songs to be sung at banquets) were popular from the latter half of the 13th century to the 15th century. Today 161 of these have downed through the ages. Although *enkyoku* had much meaningless embellishments and was a sequence of folklore and flowery words, in the earlier half of the 15th century songs consisting of a combination of 7 and 5 sounds (or 7 and 4 sounds) were sung to the accompaniment of *shakuhachi* (cf. "Music"), so its rhythm gave pleasure to people. In addition to this, in the 15th century *kouta* was practised as a popular song form. They were all in the form of short poems, and whereas *enkyoku* was aristocratic, *kouta* presented the feelings of the common people in a light and subtle vein. Among the collections of *kouta* on this period are *Kangin Shū* (1 volume—compiler unknown), *Muromachi Jidai Kouta Shū* (date of completion unknown—compiler may be Sōan).

Shinkokin Wakashū: 20 volumes. A collection of Imperially selected *waka*. The selectors totaled 5 including Fujiwara no Teika. Selection was started in 1201 by order of Gotoba-In (cf. "History") and completed in a sense in 1225. But for a long time after that Gotoba-In put in or took out the poems in the collection many times, so that there are many different versions. The poets who have many of their works included in this collection are Saigyō, Jien, Fujiwara-no-Yoshitsune, Fujiwara-no-Shunzei, Princess Shikishi, Fujiwara-no-Teika, and Gotoba-In. The ideal poetic style which the selectors had in mind was that which was most widely practised at about 1190–1210, and under the term *Shinkokin-chō*, it is regarded as one of the 3 typical styles in the history of *waka*, along with *Manyō-chō* and *Kokin-chō*. This period was one in which the confusion arising from the change from the nobility-led society of the Heian Era to the samurai-led society of the Kamakura Era had subsided and the *samurai* were trying to join forces with the nobility who had held power in the

past, in order to consolidate their newly acquired position. Because of this the affection for the culture of the Heian Era became strong. Nevertheless, since the power and economic strength of the nobility was rapidly declining, the only means left for them was to seek the pleasures of artistic and romantic life. Because of this an extremely romantic trend was born. Here came to be formed the worlds of *yūgen* (annotated earlier) of Shunzei and *ushin* of Teika. In order to discard the unpleasant realities and to build a more beautiful world of ideas, a world of imagination, Teika made colorfully and musically fascinating *waka*.

Fujiwara-no-Teika: Formally called Fujiwara-no-Sadaie (1162–1241). Composer and theorist in *waka*, he also did text criticisms of *Genji Monogatari* and other works.

Drama. At the end of the Heian Era, *sarugaku*, which consisted of mimicry or vulgar and humorous dialogue, was being performed at the shrines and temples near Kyoto. Subsequently this developed into *noh* (cf. "Japanese Drama") on the Muromachi Era (from the end of the 14th century to the 15th century). The script for *noh* is called *yōkyoku* or *utai*. There still remain over 1700 of them, and 240 or more are being performed currently. The greater part of the scripts were written from the latter half of the 14th century to the middle of the 16th century. Originally, *yōkyoku* was not written to be read. It becomes complete only in combination with music and dancing, though it does have considerable value as a form of literary expression. In form, *yōkyoku* is composed of lines spoken by the lead (called *shite*) and the supporting roles (called *waki*) and of descriptive parts explaining the feelings and actions of the characters and the scenes. In actual stage presentation, the descriptive parts are sung at a fairly even pitch by a group of singers who are seated in a line in one corner of the stage. This is somewhat similar to the chorus in the Greek plays. The style of writing draws upon beautiful words in old poems and prose, and various rhetorical techniques are incorporated into the com-

position. The subject matter too is mostly taken from classic works. In developing the plot, the prologue, development, catastrophe, and the denouement are divided into five stages, and dances are inserted in between. The representative writer was Zeami (1363-1443). Most of the writers were concurrently performers.

The vulgar and humorous part of *sarugaku* was dramatized and became *kyōgen*. In contrast to the aristocratic and musical-drama type character of *yōkyoku*, *kyōgen* was of a more popular nature, being farce, satire and dialogue.

Zeami: 1363-1443. Together with his father, Kannami, he was the creator and consolidator of *noh*. He received the patronage of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, the *Shogun*, but after the death of Yoshimitsu, he had to make strenuous efforts without support. In addition to being a famed *noh* performer, he was the author of the best *noh* plays. Almost half of the 240 or more plays that are now being performed were written by him. Furthermore, he was the author of 20 theoretical works on *noh*, among which is *Kadensho*.

Modern Times (Azuchi-Momoyama Era and Edo Era) —from about the last quarter of the 16th century to the middle of the 19th century

Outline. The *Ōnin no Ran*, which broke out in 1467, was finally subdued in 1477, but during that period Kyoto was completely reduced to ashes. The feudal lords of the various districts, who were centered in Kyoto, returned to their respective domains, so that strong rivalry arose among the powerful leaders and territorial disputes by force of arms came to break out in various areas. It was Oda Nobunaga, who gradually distinguished himself among these numerous military leaders and came closest to unifying the entire nation. In 1563, Nobunaga occupied Kyoto. In 1573, the *Muromachi Bakufu* fell. In 1576, Nobunaga moved to the Castle of Azuchi, near Kyoto, and made it his headquarters. At about this time, commercial capital

gradually gained ascendancy. Subsequently to Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi grasped political power, practically completed unification of the nation, and made the Castle of Momoyama in Kyoto his headquarters. Since Hideyoshi adopted a policy of protecting commerce, the merchants were freed from the old restrictions and merchandise circulated freely. This gave Hideyoshi his foothold for unifying the nation. At length Tokugawa Ieyasu grasped political power upon this foundation and established the *Tokugawa Bakufu* in Edo (now Tokyo) in 1603. This marked the start of centralized feudalistic government. Although political power lay in the hands of the *samurai* in the form of the *Bakufu* and the various territories, economic power was in the hands of the lowly *chōnin* (bourgeoisie) because of the development of money economy, which after passing through the Azuchi-Momoyama Era showed still further progress. Whereas the nobility centering around the Imperial Family, which still remained in Kyoto, and the *samurai*, who had firmly established their position as the governing class, were toying with such traditional literature as *waka*, *renga*, essays, Chinese poems and writings, the newly risen *chōnin*, with the help of the rapid development printing techniques, came to display their creativeness in literature also. Until about the middle of the Edo Era (about the middle of the 18th century) *chōnin* literature flourished around Kyoto and Osaka, and after that its center moved to Edo. If one divides this as the earlier period and the latter period, the literature of the earlier period is lively and abounds in creativeness, but the literature of the latter period becomes stagnant and conservative.

In the literature of the earlier period, the prose included such kinds as the *kanazōshi*, *ukiyosōshi*, and *hachimōji-ya-bon*, and among the writers was Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693). In poetry, *haikai* flourished, and Matsuo Bashō (1644-1694) was the outstanding composer in this field. In drama, *jōruri* and *kabuki* was born, and Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1724) was the representative playwright. These three, Saikaku, Bashō, and Chikamatsu,

were active at almost the same time, the main part of which is known as the Genroku Era (1688-1703), and they are regarded as the foremost writers through out both the earlier and the latter periods of the Edo Era.

On entering the latter period, fiction included such kinds as *yomihon*, *sharehon*, *kokkeibon*, *ninjōbon*, *kibyōshi*, *gōkan*, and there appeared writers like Santō Kyōden (1761-1816), Kyokutei Bakin (1767-1848), Jippensha Ikku (1765-1831), Shikitei Sanba (1776-1822), Tamenaga Shunsui (1790-1843), Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783-1842), etc. The above-mentioned writers were active in a period which is mainly of the Bunka-Bunsei Era (1804-1829), but the tendency to cater for reader-interest was strong and the works fell into the class of light or popular writings. In the field of poetry, *haikai* continued to flourish, but there was nobody who could add anything to the literary scope and heights reached by Bashō. The representative writers were Yosa Buson (1716-1783) and Kobayashi Issa (1763-1827). Apart from *haikai*, there appeared poetry which mainly aimed at humor and satire, and these were called *kyōka* and *senryū*. The representative writer of *kyōka* was Shokusanjin (1749-1823), while that of *senryū* was Karai Senryū (1718-1790). In drama, *jōruri* waned and *kabuki* prospered. But even in *kabuki*, the decadent tendency had become conspicuous. The outstanding writers were Tsuruya Nanboku (1753-1829) and Kawatake Mokuami (1816-1893).

The above-mentioned are chiefly *chōnin* literature, but against this *waka* were being actively made by the nobility and the *samurai*. There was, however, nothing that surpassed the traditions of *Manyō*, *Kokin*, and *Shin Kokin*. The representative writers were Hosokawa Yūsai (1534-1610), Toda Mosui (1629-1706), Shimokōbe Chōryū (1624-1686), Keichū, a monk (1640-1701), Kada-no-Azumamaro (1663-1736), Kamo-no-Mabuchi (1697-1769), Katō Chikage (1735-1808), Tayasu Munetake (1715-1771), Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), Ozawa Roan (1723-1801), Kagawa Kageki (1768-1843). In the field of Chinese

poetry and writings, many scholars in Confucianism were produced, since the *Tokugawa Bakufu* advocated Confucianism from a political standpoint. Fujiwara Seika (1561-1619), Hayashi Razan (1583-1657), Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725) produced Chinese poems and writings and wrote essays, as well as being scholars in Confucianism. Although his school of learning is different from these scholars, the name of Ogyū Sorai (1666-1728) cannot be omitted either. In the latter period, Rai Sanyō (1780-1832) appeared. Rai Sanyō's *Nihon Gaishi*, a history written in Chinese, is especially famous.

Thoughts and ideas woven into these works were generally based on the moral principles of Confucianism. In the middle of the 18th century, however, Motoori Norinaga, noted authority on Japanese classics, began to level harsh criticism on Buddhist teachings and Confucian morality. He left behind him many well-known works of literature which he wrote in the light of *kokugaku*. *Kokugaku* is a school of literary science aimed at studying Japanese classics from the angle of nationalism. (See chapters on "Thoughts and Religion") It was developed by Buddhist priest Keichū and persued by Kada-no-Azumamaro, Kamo-no-Mabuchi, Motoori Norinaga and Hirata-Atsutane.

Specially worthy of note among books written from the standpoint of *kokugaku* was *Gunsho Ruijū*, a textual critic of Japanese classical literature by blind scholar Hanawa-Hokiichi (1746-1821).

Prose. An edifying trend and mercenary elements that were noticed in the so-called *otogisōshi* became all the more conspicuous in books called *kanasōshi*. *Kanasōshi* appeared in the second half of the 17th century and comprised various forms of literature, such as stories and essays, written in Japanese syllabary and in a familiar style. These had an illuminating nature but many of them could not be called literature. They were written chiefly by *samurai*, Buddhist priests and nobles. In comic tales, descriptions on scenic and historic interest and books describing life at gay quarters, however, a trend that

could not be found in *otogi zōshi* was observed.

Representative among these were *Urami-nosuke* (love story published after 1604, anonymous), *Usuyuki Monogatari* (love story published in 1632, anonymous), *Nise Monogatari* (collection of short and comic stories patterned after *Ise Monogatari* of the Heian Period, published in around 1620), *Kashōki* (a kind of essay with an instructive nature, authored by Jo Raishi in 1642), *Inga Monogatari* (simple introduction to Buddhism written by Suzuki Shōzō who, together with Asai Ryōhei, was one of the best authors of *kana zōshi*), *Otogi Bōkō* (ghost story written by Asai Ryōhei in 1666) and *Chikusai* (description of noted places authored presumably by Kara-suma Mitsuhiro sometime between 1624 and 1643).

On the heels of *kanasōshi* came *ukiyo-sōshi*. *Ukiyosōshi* appeared mainly in the Kyoto-Osaka area in the Genroku Period (1688-1703). The word *ukiyo* had a dual meaning of the land of living and caprice. Authors of this type of literature upheld epicureanism in their resistance against a pessimistic view of life prevailed in the medieval days. In contrast to *kanasōshi* which pursued the gay vision of *samurai* and nobles in by-gone days, *ukiyosōshi* described the life of rising tradesmen.

The age of *ukiyosōshi* covered a period from 1682 when Ihara Saikaku wrote his famous story *Kōshoku Ichidai Otoko* to the early days of the 18th century which saw the publication of a number of novels called *Hachimonji-ya-bon*. The representative author of *hachimonji-ya-bon* novels was Ejima Kiseki (1667-1736). His works were classified as *katagimono*—short stories giving exaggerated descriptions of characters of men according to their age, occupation and social status. They were not so realistic as the works of Ihara Saikaku and were intended mainly for lowbrows. They had a strong tinge of romanticism and later developed into the so-called *yomihon*.

Yomihon is the definition of imaginary and romantic novels which made their debut in the Kyoto-Osaka district in around

the middle of the 18th century (1748-1763). They developed on the basis of mysterious elements of Chinese novels which came to be translated into Japanese or adapted to various stories in Japan from the Genroku Period and the romantic trend of *ukiyosōshi* in its final stage. Picking up subject matters widely from both domestic and foreign affairs, stories of this category stressed the principles of cause and effect and reproval of vice and promotion of virtue. Representing the early works of *yomihon* were *Nishiyama Monogatari* authored by Takebe Ayatari in 1768 and *Ugetsu Monogatari* by Ueda Akinari in 1776 and those representing the later works were *Sakurakime Zenden Akebonosōshi* written by Santō Kyōden in 1805 and *Nansō Satomi Hakkenden* by Kyokutei Bakin in 1814. Late works of *yomihon* were published mainly in Edo, present Tokyo.

In Edo, literature that was called *sharehon* gained popularity between 1751 and 1829. Stories of this type described, mainly in a comic conversation style, the association between prostitutes and their customers in a considerably realistic manner. They laughed at failures of country trippers, who were not acquainted with urban customs and manners. The authors' attitude to copy actualities, however, was by no means sufficient.

Representative among early works of *sharehon* were *Hijiri Yūkaku* (published in Osaka in 1757, anonymous), *Iso Rokujō* (written by Sawata Tōkō in Edo in 1757). Realism in *sharehon* improved to a maximum in *Tsūgen Sōmagaki* written by Santō Kyōden in 1787. The realistic nature of *sharehon* disappeared quickly after *sharehon* was banned from publication by the Tokugawa Shogunate Government in 1790 for passing the line of decency. Thus *sharehon* came to take the forms of *nin-jōbon* and *kokkeibon*.

Nin-jōbon established its name as a form of literature after the Bunsei Period (1818-1830). Tamenaga Shunsui (1789-1843) was the most prominent writer of this kind of stories which described the sensual life of tradesmen in the Edo Period. He wrote

such noted stories as *Shunshoku Umegoyomi* and *Shunshoku Tatsuminosono*.

Stories of this kind were continued to be published until the end of the Edo Period, although there was a short period of suspension following a press ban imposed by the Tokugawa Shogunate Government in 1842.

While *sharehon* portrayed affairs at gay quarters alone, *ninjōbon* pictured the daily life of merchants and their love affairs, chiefly unhealthy three-cornered romances, reflecting the decadent life of men in the closing days of the Edo Period.

Kokkeibon was the name given to comic stories. In their early stage, they were wrote on the basis of similar stories included in *kanasōshi* and *katagimono* of *ukiyosōshi* which were written by Hiraga Gennai alias Fūrai Sanjin (1728-1779). (Hiraga Gennai is known also as an author of *jōruri* or dramas. Originally, he was a *samurai* of a low rank interested in the study on medical plants, Confucianism and *kokugaku*, but later began literary activities. He also took interest in natural science and devised various kinds of electrical appliances and worked for development of natural resources.)

Kokkeibon established its name after the publication of *sharehon* was banned by the Tokugawa Shogunate Government. Stories coming under this category depicted the daily life of the common people—their words and deeds at home, barbers' shops, public baths and festivals as well as on a trip—mainly in a comical conversation style. They made a liberal use of wise cracks.

This type of stories reached its zenith of development in the early days of the 19th century. Representative among these stories were *Tōkaidōchū Hizakurige* by Jippensha Ikku (1765-1831) during the period of from 1802 to 1809 and *Ukiyoburo* and *Ukiyodoko* written by Shikitei Samba (1776-1822) during the period of from 1809 to 1812 and that from 1812 to 1814, respectively.

The style of *kokkeibon* can be found even in works of Kanagaki Robun (1829-1892) in the early period of the Meiji Era (1868-1892).

Besides these, there were a number of novels with illustrations which obtained wide favor from the middle to the end of the Edo Period. These were called *kusasōshi*.

These books had an illustration on each page and, sometimes, words remained a mere explanation of the pictures inserted. They were called *akahon* (red book), *kurohon* (black book), *aohon* (blue book) and *kibyōshi* (yellow book) according to the colors of their covers. The first three were easy and simple illustrated books intended for women and children and the last one was for grownups.

Comic jests and satires were the essentials of these stories, but with their satirical statements rousing the ire of the Shogunate Government, an edifying trend in them gained in intensity from around 1790. The authors of these books sought to retain public favor by offering stories of revenge and other similar subjects.

This resulted in the combination of several volumes (each volume was made up of 5 sheets of paper). This new format was named *gōkan*, which was represented by *Nisemurasaki Inakagenji* written by Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783-1842) during the period from 1829 to 1842.

Besides these novels, the Edo Period saw the publication of accounts of trips and essays written by *haikai* poets. Details of these, however, will be given in the chapters on poetry. Among works by authors other than *haikai* poets, *Oritaku Shibanoki* by Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725) is generally known as a masterpiece. The book was the author's semi-autobiography.

Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693)

The journey of life made by Ihara Saikaku is still veiled from public knowledge, but it is generally believed that he was a rich Ōsaka tradesman and led a free and unrestricted life from about the age of 34, by settling his business on another. Turning to writing *haikai* poems when he was about 15 years of age, he gained fame in the school of *danrin* (to be mentioned later).

In 1682, he accomplished his maiden work of *Ukiyosōshi Kōshoku Ichidaotoko* which described the life of an amorous man

called Yonosuke. *Kōshoku Ichidaiotoko* is known as a work depicting the celestial view of life and tradesmen's living conditions from the standpoint of a merchant.

He wrote many *ukiyo zōshi* in the subsequent 10 years, while composing a maximum of 23,500 haikai poems in a day. His representative works were *Kōshoku Ichidaionna* and *Kōshoku Gonionna*, both depicting the degenerate life of tradesmen, *Saikaku Shokokubanashi*, *Honchō Nijū Fukō*, *Honchō Ōinhihi*, all based on narratives, *Danshoku Ōkagami*, *Budō Denrakiki* and *Buke Giri monogatari*, all samurai stories.

Among his late works were *Nippon Eitaigura*, *Seken Munesanyō* and *Saikaku Okimiyage*. These dealt with the economic life of tradesmen viewed from his extremely realistic eyes.

He was towering high among writers who tried to picture man's desire for love and property. He is ranked among the best authors of modern literature together with Matsuo Bashō and Chikamatsu Monzaemon.

Ueda Akinari (1734-1809)

Ueda-Akinari's date of birth is unknown. Although he was adopted into a family of a merchant at the age of 4, he made a name in literature. He is now known to be a prominent author of *ukiyo zōshi*, *yomihon* and *waka*.

Among his early masterpieces were *Shodō Kikimimi Sekenzaru* and *Seken Tekake Katagi*. These 2 stories gave an account of the life of common people whose resistance against feudalism crumbled down in a miserable manner.

After these 2 works, he wrote in a most piquant style stories based on tales introduced from the Chinese continent. These were represented by the famous *Ugetsu Monogatari* which was composed of 9 mystic stories based on Japanese classics. His *Harusame Monogatari* a historical story, is also well-known.

Santō Kyōden (1761-1816)

The first son of a pawnbroker, he is known as a renowned writer of *kibyōshi*, *sharehon* and *yomihon*.

He first took lessons on *ukiyo* (see the chapters on arts), but later began writing novels. Being well-accustomed to the manners and customs at gay quarters, he wrote various *sharehon* stories, such as *Musukobeya*, *Tsūgen Sōmagaki* and *Keiseikai Shijūhatte*.

Although he won the fame as the best *sharehon* writer, his works fell under scathing criticism of the Tokugawa Shogunate. In 1791, he was found guilty and was given a sentence under which he was placed in chains for 50 days.

Shikitei Samba (1776-1822)

Author of *kokkeibon* and *kusasōshi* coming from a family of trader in Edo. His representative works were *Ukiyoburo* and *Ukiyodoko* which gave a vivid description of public baths and barbers' shops, places of social intercourse of the public at that time.

Jippensha Ikku (1765-1831)

Author of *kokkeibon*. He was a samurai of low standing but later lost his master. He leaped into literary eminence by writing *Ukiyodōchū Hizakurige* in 1802. He also wrote various famous stories, such as *Tōkaidōchū Hizakurige*. *Tōkaidōchū Hizakurige* was a comic itinerary of 2 men named Yajirobei and Kitahachi during their trip from Edo to Kyoto.

Takizawa Bakin (also known as Kyokutei-Bakin) (1767-1848)

Author of *yomihon* and *kusasōshi*. When a boy, he went into service of a samurai family, but lost his job because of his obstinacy. After wallowing in the depth of poverty for some time, he became a disciple of Santō Kyōden and rose in the world as a *kibyōshi* writer. He later turned to *yomihon* and authored such long stories as *Chinsetsu Yumiharizuki* and *Nansō Satomi Hakkenden*.

Nansō Satomi Hakkenden was made up of 98 volumes comprising 106 books. It was completed in a long period extending from 1814 to 1841. He lost his eyesight while writing this story, but continued the work by means of dictation.

The story begins with a mysterious life of a daughter of a war lord called Satomi who, loved by her favorite dog, undergoes

pregnancy. The daughter, named Fusehime, grieving at her immoral connection with the dog, commits suicide. At the time of her death, 8 brave warriors are born from an eight-bead rosary which takes to pieces as it is scattered.

The 8 men have names including the word dog and the beads of which they are born in their bodies. Each of the beads bears a principle of Confucianism. The 8 men do not recognize one another at first, but they later come to know each other and work for the reinstatement of the Satomi family.

The story was written on a magnificent scale and in an elaborate framework. It read smoothly and solemnly as it was written with a rhythm of 5-7 syllables. The only defect was that the characters appearing in it lacked individuality because it was aimed at stressing the chivalrous and Confucian ideas to stamp out vice and promote virtue as well as a fatalistic view of life and that the plot was based too much on contingency.

Poetry. *Waka* which lost public favor and gave way to *renga* in the latter stage of the medieval age barely escaped extinction through the efforts of Hosokawa Yūsai (1534-1610).

From under the tuition of Yūsai came such a talented man as Matsunaga Teitoku (1571-1653). Teitoku worked hard to diffuse his profound learning of Japanese classical literature to the general masses in a period of transition from the medieval to the modern age. Viewing the rise of traders who would represent the newly dawning era, he recommended *haikai* poems (the word *haikai* originally meant comicality) as an introduction to hard and fast *waka* and *renga*.

Waka, however, remained to be too "academic" to the general masses. With the advent of the Genroku Period, Toda Mosui (1629-1706) advocated free composition of verses by ignoring all traditional rules. Buddhist priest Keichū (1640-1701), Kada-no-Azumamaro (1669-1736) and Kamo-no-Mabuchi (1697-1769), as stated in "Introduction," found principles of new-style *waka* in *Manyōshū* and opposed the tradition of *Shinkokin Wakashū*. They were

moved by the free and unrestricted expression of human sentiments made by *Manyōshū* poets.

Murata Harumī (1746-1811) and Moto-ori Norinaga (1730-1801), both followers of Kamo-no-Mabuchi, made a new interpretation of *Kokin Wakashū* and *Shinkokin Wakashū*, respectively, and discovered in them a new and refined sense of beauty.

Meanwhile, Tayasu Munetake (1715-1771) developed his theory mainly from *Manyōshū*. Ozawa Roan (1723-1801) opposed technicalism and advocated instead expression of deep emotions in a simple and clearcut way. His attitude on poetry was upheld by Kagawa Kageki (1768-1843). Kagawa tried, on the basis of Roan's theory, to create harmony between the meaning and rhythm of the song. Called the *keien* school of poetry, his advocacy was supported by many people and was carried over even to the Meiji Era.

Besides these poets, Buddhist priest called Ryōkan (1757-1831), Tachibana Akemi (or Ide Akemi) (1812-1868), Hiraga Motoyoshi (1800-1865) and Ōkuma Kotomichi (1798-1868) displayed spectacular poetical activities.

Waka became comparatively popular in recent times, but it could not become a form of the so-called tradesmen's literature. Winning popularity as the tradesmen's literature was *kyōka* which made free and simple expression of things on the basis of the form of *tanka* (5, 7, 5, 7, 7). *Kyōka* or comic and satirical poems had been composed even in the days of *Manyōshū*, but it was down in the Genroku Era that they came to be written by professional tradesmen-poets as a form of literature.

They prospered first in the Kyoto-Osaka district but later enjoyed popularity in Edo. They reached their peak of fame from the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th century. The most prominent composer of *kyōka* was Yomono Akara (Shokusanjin or Ōta Nampo) (1749-1823). He was also known as a good author of *sharebon* and *kokkeibon*.

Meanwhile, *haikai no renga* which was established by Yamazaki Sōkan and others in the later days of the medieval age gained

popularity at a rapid pace with the appearance of Matsunaga Teitoku in the early days of the Edo Period. It was in those days that *haikai no renga* came to be called merely *haikai*.

However, *haikai* composed by Teitoku and his followers proved to be a mere word play, their comicality tended to be too "intellectual" and finally sounded monotonous. Teitoku and his followers established new *haikai* rules, but these rules were no less complicated than those for *renga*.

Such a trend gave rise to the so-called *danrin* school of *haikai* which called for composition of *haikai* freely from the standpoint of the man-on-the-street. This school of *haikai* was developed by Nishiyama Sōin (1605-1682) and his group.

The *Danrin* School of *haikai* however, soon came under criticism of a number of "honest" poets because *danrin* poets, in their pursuit of originality, composed extremely odd and whimsical poems. Among those criticizing the *danrin* School were Kamijima Onitsura (1661-1738) and Matsuo Bashō (1644-1694).

Bashō opened up his own land of *haikai* and reformed the traditional *haikai* completely. He took in the sense of *sabi* or the elegant simplicity of the medieval age into his works. This new style of Bashō's poetry is called *shōfū*.

Bashō had many prominent disciples under him, such as Kikaku, Ransetsu, Kyorai, Jōsō, Shikō and Kyoroku.

The *shōfū* style, however, gradually lost popularity after Bashō's death and remained neglected until Sumi Taigi (1709) and Yosa Buson (1716-1783) worked for its recovery.

Taigi was good at composing poems depicting human affairs but was no match for Buson. Buson's poems giving a picturesque description of things defied all comparison.

After Taigi and Buson, *haikai* again rolled downhill. Only Kobayashi Issa (1763-1827) made his name in this field of literature.

The form of poetry which should be mentioned here together with *haikai* is *senryū* which gradually came in vogue from around the Genroku Era.

As explained in the foregoing pages, *tanka* has a rhythm of 5, 7, 5, 7, 7 syllables and the first syllables of 5, 7, 5 is called *kami-no-ku* or the upper hemistich and the last syllables of 7, 7 *shimo-no-ku* or the lower hemistich. It had been practiced since long ago to compose *shimo-no-ku* first and then to make *kami-no-ku* that would match the former.

In the middle of the 18th century, a *tanka* poet named Karai Senryū (1718-1790) made a number of *shimo-no-ku* alone and sought public contributions of *kami-no-ku*. He chose interesting works from *tanka* poems thus completed and published it in a book entitled *Manku Awase* in 1757.

In 1765, he extracted from this book only *kami-no-ku* which expressed a complete meaning and published in a book form.

This is the first section of the *Haifū-Yanagidaru*. Till 1938 when the publication was banned by the Tokugawa shogunate 167 books were published.

By applying the rule of 5.7.5. but disregarding other rigid rules *senryū* (satirical poems) were written in a freer spirit and with humour. This became popular among the masses during the Edo Era. Matsuo Bashō (1644-1694)

Born to a low-class warrior's family he quit his job at the age of 23 and began a roaming life which continued for 6 years. In 1672 he published the *Kai-Ooi* which is a collection of poems written by 37 poets with comments by Bashō. The poems were written with words then commonly used and reflected dissipated feelings of the age.

In 1680 he settled down in the *Bashō-an*, a cottage in Fukagawa in the downtown area of Tokyo and made his living by teaching *haikai* (seven syllabled verse). Gradually he gave up the superficial style of the *Danrin* School of *haikai* poetry and began to show elegant simplicity in his work.

In search of a new place he went on frequent trips in defiance of hardships. During his trip he wrote many poems, the outstanding of which is *Oku-no-Hosomichi*, a famed account of his trip. This was completed in 1694.

Unsatisfied with simple serenity which is called *sabi* in Japanese he made efforts to find art in the Edo popular customs.

The new style generally known as *Shōfū*, became adopted in the poetic style in later years. His disciples wrote books on Bashō's poetic principles. They were *Sanzōshi*, *Kyoraishō* and *Haikai mondō*.

Yosa Buson (1716-1783)

His pen name was Yahantei. He was born somewhere near Osaka. At 20 he went on a roaming trip and upon arriving in Edo he took up the study of *haikai*. While on trip he studied painting, but arriving in Kyoto in 1757 he concentrated on creating a new style of *haikai*.

Kobayashi Issa (1763-1827)

Born in Nagano Prefecture he was unable to get along with his step-mother and left home at the age of 14 to come to Tokyo where he suffered from poverty. As he was brought up in privations and poverty as son of a poor farmer his poems reflected his experiences.

Drama. (consult chapters on drama and music) Representing the drama of the Edo Era *jōruri* (ballad) and *kabuki* must be enumerated.

The beginning of *jōruri* can be traced back to the middle of the Muromachi Era (1582-1600). Accompanied by *biwa*, a kind of lute, (consult chapter on music) strolling minstrels told stories. During the Eiroku Era (1558-1567) the *biwa* was replaced by *shamisen* (consult chapter on music). Since then this type of story-telling had developed as *jōruri* by adopting new tunes. To this *jōruri* the puppet manipulation was combined resulting in the creation of puppet shows.

Generally speaking *jōruri* means the script used in puppet plays, which is read with special tunes.

The *jōruri* further assumed dramatic character thanks to Takemoto Gidayū (1651-1714) noted story-teller born in Osaka, and Chikamatsu Monzaemon, (1653-1724) composer. Since this time the narrative *jōruri* began to be called the old *jōruri* to distinguish it from the new *jōruri* invented by Takemoto and Chikamatsu. The latter is often called the modern *jōruri*.

The *jōruri* which was hitherto made up of religious stories and narrations eulogizing the brave achievements of warriors

began to assume a different character. Chikamatsu in 1703 wrote about the tragic love of a young employee of a business firm and a prostitute. In the end the couple committed double-suicide in a forest known as Sonezaki, hence the story was called *Sonezaki Shinjū* (double suicide in Sonezaki). The narration depicted the tragic fate of merchants who suffered in the feudalistic society where the sense of duty collided with human feelings.

This kind of story based on the life of merchants was called *sewamono* as against historic stories. The *sewamono* became popular not only with the puppet plays but with Kabuki plays.

The *ningyō jōruri* (puppet plays performed with the accompaniment of *jōruri*) enjoyed popularity during 1720-1760. However, the *ningyō jōruri* gradually lost popularity. Today it is being performed only at the Bunraku Theater in Osaka. Following Chikamatsu only 2 composers, Ki-no Kaion (1663-1742) and Takeda Izumo (1691-1756) were outstanding.

The *kabuki* was originated in the 16th century by a woman called Okuni who performed simple dances. Later in 1664 2 or 3 acts with dialogues began to be put on. At the same time scripts and stage setting were studied.

During the Genroku Era (1688-1703) the Kabuki theater showed a considerable progress. The plays written by Chikamatsu contributed greatly to this progress. Meanwhile, the great masterpieces of *jōruri* were adopted to *kabuki* with the result that the *jōruri* and *kabuki* developed by influencing each other.

The romantic and bombastic tendency of *kabuki* was replaced by more realistic and lighter expressions thanks to such playwrights as Namiki Gohei (1747-1808) and Sakurada Jisuke (1734-1806). Through the influence of Tsuruya Namboku IV (1755-1893) and Kawatake Shinshichi (later renamed Kawatake Mokuami) (1755-1829) the so-called *kizewamono* which depicted the customs of Edo developed. This drama reflected the unwholesome social conditions of the latter part of the Edo Era. Sensational scenes presenting deterioration of social

situations such as murders, intimidations and love-making were emphasized.

The Meiji Restoration took place in 1868. After 1888 *kabuki* was improved.

Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1724), writer of *jōruri* and plays for *kabuki*. Born in a warrior's family he took up *jōruri* and *kabuki* which were regarded as arts of the masses, at the age of 25 or 26. First he wrote *ko-jōruri* (old *jōruri*). Influenced by Shusse Kagekiyo, 1686 he departed from the *ko-jōruri* written in a narrative style and created the *shin-jōruri*. During his lifetime he wrote about 100 *jōruri* and 30 plays for *kabuki*.

Present Ages (Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa eras) from the middle 19th century to the middle 20th century

Outline. The history of Japan made a great change with the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Japan broke away from the feudalistic national structure and began to start anew as a modern nation. Though Japan was unable to adopt the modern natural structure, the same as in Europe, it cannot be denied that the country adopted principles of freedom and humanism in thoughts and democracy, and parliamentary procedure in politics and capitalism in state economy.

In political, economic, social and cultural spheres Japan has a mixture of things old and modern. Particularly in culture and arts the mixture or merger of traditional things with modern things is conspicuous. This fact gives a special color to the modern Japanese culture and arts.

For the sake of convenience the progress of Japanese literature can be divided into 4 periods. The years between 1870-1905 can be called the former period, between 1906-1925 the middle period, from then to the end of World War II the latter period and the years after the war to date, contemporary.

For the first 20 years of the former period efforts were exerted to discard everything feudalistic and gain an equal position with foreign countries. The people's inter-

est was concentrated on the modernization and rationalization of politics and science while literature and arts were pushed in the background. For the first 10 years there were only a few low-level recreational works, rudimentary of the Edo Era.

Since 1878 translated novels which introduced the foreign things into Japan and political novels propagating the rights of the people, begun to be published (consult the history section). After 1882 consciousness of modern literature became evident.

However, the conditions in Japan at that time were not so modernized as to help the progress of such literature with the result that the new literary trend did not mature. Instead the Kenyūsha literary movement came to the fore. In this movement the writers resorted to realistic description of details expressing modern conception of humanity and the world.

On the other hand around 1890 the young people who became conscious of themselves and realized the need for respect for human beings, began to advocate romantic literature. However, nothing outstanding in romantic literature was published except in poetry.

The literature of the middle period started with naturalism. Following the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-5 Japan's capitalism based on the pre-modern cottage industries, expanded into large-scale industries. Gradually Japan's large industries developed. The people's vision expanded to the world and strong individualism and realism influenced the feudalistic conventionalism and morals. Reflecting the social situation in which realism was in demand the Japanese literature underwent changes from naturalism, to neo-romanticism, neo-idealism and neo-realism. Thus the middle period was marked with changes from one after another.

The literature of the latter period started in 1925 with the *shin kankaku-ha* (new perceptionist school). By this time naturalism which respected inevitability and objectivity became stagnated, because the writers of this school only depicted their own direct experiences.

The new school, therefore, opposed to such tendency, placed importance on contingency and tried to grasp the innermost truth of things through intuition. This was a sort of modernism. Objecting to the proletarian literature which stressed the importance of contents and gave priority to politics, this perceptionist school advocated the art-for-art's sake.

The latter period was marked with 3 different elements, namely those who inherited the style of the middle period, those of the modernistic group who were not satisfied with the naturalistic literary conception though they belonged to the art for the art's sake school and those adhered to the proletarian literature. This tendency continued till 1933.

After 1931 when the Manchurian Incident occurred the proletarian literature was suppressed due to the ultra-nationalistic policy operated by the military authorities. At the same time those who belonged to the art for art's sake school and the others who advocated modernism felt the danger of usurpation of freedom and planned to form a joint front to protect themselves.

However, with the outbreak of the China Incident in 1937 all kinds of literature were pushed behind by the militaristic policy by which the country was driven to the war.

Prose. The main flow of Japanese modern literature is found in prose, particularly in novels. For a short while after the 1868 restoration the same Edo literature continued though with changes in subject matters. As representative literary men of this age there were Kanagaki Robun (1829-1894) and Aeba Kōson (1855-1922).

After 1878 translations of English, French and Russian literary works came into prominence. Those translations introduced the conditions of the Western countries and showed to the Japanese people the Western literature and arts. Such translations had much to do with the enlightenment of the people. The works by Jules Verne, of France, author of "Le Tour du Monde en 80 Jours", John Bunyan, author of *Pilgrim's Progress*, Lord Lytton, Scott, Dumas, Boccaccio and Shakespeare were introduced to Japan. Representatives of the political novels were *Keikoku Bidan*

(Anecdotes of Statesmanship) written by Yano Ryōkei (1850-1931) and *Kajin-no-Kigū* (Unexpected Meeting of a Beautiful Lady) written by Shiba Shirō (1852-1922).

In the above-mentioned works no modern literary consciousness can be detected. The modern sense in novels first became evident in the *Shōsetsu Shinzui* (Essence of Novels) written by Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935). The *Ukigumo* (Floating Clouds) published in 1887-1889 by Futabatei Shimei (1864-1909) was written, in aware of modern novels. However, the public preferred the works in which the atmosphere of elegance which was the artistic conception of the Edo Era, was prevalent. They liked the works by member of the Kenyūsha literary school and those of Kōda Rohan (1867-1947), who wrote *Gojū-no-Tō*, (Five-Storied Pagoda) in 1892. This work also represented the elegance valued in the Edo Era.

Around 1890 Mori Ōgai published novels according to the modern romanticism. He differed from the members of the *Kenyūsha*, the outstanding of whom was Ozaki Kōyō (1876-1903), or Rohan who maintained the color of the Edo literature or Shimei who was a realistic novelist. At the same time Higuchi Ichiyō (1872-1896), wrote *Takekurabe* and *Nigorie* in which she expounded the feeling of abandonment and lyricism, in full consciousness of the women's hapless position.

Japan was engaged in the Sino-Japanese War during 1894-5. This war influenced Japan's democracy. The subject matters which were taken from the feudalistic elements came to be regarded as worthless though such constituted the foundation of Kōyō and Rohan's literary work. From among the Kenyūsha school many began to write about the situation which was full of contradictions and tragic life of the people. Hirotsu Ryūrō (1862-1926), Izumi Kyōka (1873-1939), Oguri Fūyō (1875-1926) and other members of the Kenyūsha School and Kosugi Tengai (1866-1952) belonged to the latter group of writers though Kosugi did not belong to the Kenyūsha School. He was greatly influenced by Zola, French novelist and wrote descriptive novels.

The works of the above-mentioned cannot be said as belonging to modern literature, because they included a number of unrealistic actions and their conception of human beings was stereotyped. Furthermore, the writers showed too much interest in the events.

The social condition which turned even the members of the Kenyūsha School toward realism naturally produced radical youths. In the *Bungaku-kai* magazine which was first published in 1893 Kitamura Tōkoku, (1868-1894) and Shimazaki Tōson, and others who belonged to the school of romanticism demanded loudly the spiritual emancipation of human beings. This outcry was not accepted by the public.

Around 1901 Takayama Chogyū, (1871-1902) and others recognized the meaning of physiological life and advocated sensual freedom. This literary tendency affected the young people, but was bitterly criticised by the public with the result that it did not have a chance to develop.

Such advocacy if put into practice would have caused tragedies in the Japanese society of those days. As a result the people began to embrace in their hearts a wish for human liberation while confronted with the realities of life. Such people and the Kenyūsha School which assumed a tendency toward realism formed the beginning of the literature of realism during 1907-1910.

Naturalism in Japanese literature was not as endorsed by science as that of France. Therefore, emphasis was placed on the description of one's experiences as they were. It lacked social-consciousness and the scale was small, too. Due to over-estimation of daily things the literature degraded to mannerism and trivialism. However, in the modern Japanese literature, for the first time, realities in life were taken up as the goal of literary search and the method of description begun to be discussed.

The representative publications and writers of this era follow: Shimazaki Tōson (1872-1943), author of *Hakai* (Destruction), *Ie* (House), *Shinsei* (New Life), *Yoakemaye* (Before Dawn) and others; Tayama Katai (1871-1930), author of *Futon*

(Bedding), *Sei* (Life), *Tsuma* (Wife); Tokuda Shūsei (1871-1943), author of *Ashiato* (Foot-prints), *Kabi* (Mold), *Tadare* (Erosion), *Arakure* (Tough Woman), *Shukuzu* (Epitome of Life); Masamune Hakuchō (1879—), author of *Dokoe* (To Where), *Doro Ningyō* (Mud Doll), *Iriyeno-Hotori* (By the Inlet), *Ushibeya-no-Nioi* (Smell in Cow Pen); Iwano Hōmei (1873-1920), author of *Tandeki* (Indulgence) and many others including literary comments. The noted theorist was Shimamura Hōgetsu (1871-1918).

While the writers who advocated naturalism attempted to reproduce reality in novels, but Natsume Sōseki established a world of novels outside the real life and in that world of novels he attempted to search for the real character of egoism of human beings. From Natsume's way of thinking arose the Shirakaba School. Members of this school tried to get away from the skeptical and pessimistic way of thinking and find the will power of human beings and instinct for improvement. Members of this school published the *Shirakaba* first issue in 1910. They were welcomed as having revived humanism and importance of man.

Prominent among them were Mushakōji Saneatsu (1885—) and Shiga Naoya (1883—). The latter was said to hold the grasping power and to the core he is primly self-conscious and laid a foundation for psychological novels. Others include Arishima Takeo (1878-1923), author of *Aru Onna* (Certain Woman). He showed volume in his writing, which is generally lacking in Japanese authors; and Satomi Ton (1888—) and Nagayo Yoshio (1882—).

Mushakōji Saneatsu who was a central figure of this school showed a tendency to forget the real things and fly away to the idealistic world. The public began to be dissatisfied with this tendency and as a result the new realism began to appear around 1915.

Members of the Shirakaba School were called the neo-idealists. On the other hand efforts were made by some to get away from idealism and also from the skepticism and ennui of naturalism. They were called neo-romantists, the most prominent of whom is

Tanizaki Junichirō, Nagai Kafū, (1879—). The latter was influenced by the French writer, Zola and after having toured around the United States and France he became active as writer of neo-romanticism. He has more ideas than Tanizaki, but he gave up his thoughtful inclination and assumed a pose as pleasure-seeking and esthetic writer. So doing he challenged frivolity of his age. His representative works include *Ude Kura-be* (Trial of Skill Against Others) *Tsuyuno-Ato-Saki* (Before and After the Rainy Season) and *Bokutō-Kitan* in which he dealt with the love affairs of a waitress. This love story is about an affair between a woman at a den in Sumida area of downtown Tokyo and a lonely old man. In this novel Kafū depicted the naïve feelings of a woman at the den.

Members of the school of neo-realism tried to see realities from the back while those of the school of naturalism grasped realities from the front. Among the outstanding writers were Kikuchi Hiroshi (1888-1948), who had strong intellectual quality and wrote many short novels. From about 1920 he began to write popular novels. Another is Akutagawa Ryūnosuke. Though not as intellectual as these above-mentioned there were other authors who tried to grasp the complexity of human nature intellectually and esthetically, namely Satō Haruo (1892—), Uno Kōji (1891—), Hirotsu Kazuo (1881—), Yamamoto Yūzō (1887—), Kasai Zenzō (1888-1928) and Muroo Saisei (1889—).

After 1904 Kinoshita Shōkō and others wrote socialistic novels, but after 1917 Ōsugi Sakae (1918-1923), anarchist, and others began to advocate the art for the masses and in 1921 the *Tanemaku Hito* (Sower) was issued to propagate the socialistic literature. Gradually the socialistic literature developed into the proletarian literature movement. The *Tanemaku Hito* was discontinued in 1923 and in the following year the *Bungei Sensen* (Literary Front) was published. A group of proletarian writers and critics was organized. This group disbanded and reorganized over and over again till it became reorganized into NAPF. The NAPF made up of com-

munist elements published *Senki* (War Flag) while the socialist elements published the Literary Front which later renamed as *Bunsen* (Literary War). Thus the socialist and communist elements were divided.

Among the representative theorists were Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke (1892-1931) of the Sower, Aono Suekichi (1890—) of the Literary Front and Kurahara Korehito (1920—) of NAPF.

Among the writers were Maedagawa Kōichirō (1884—), Hayama Yoshiki (1894-1945), Satomura Kinzō (1902-1944), Hirabayashi Taiko (1905—), who all belong to the Literary Front. Hayashi Fusao (1903—), Takeda Rintarō, Murayama Tomoyoshi (1901—), Miyamoto Yuriko (1899-1951), Fujimori Seikichi (1892—), Nakano Shigeharu (1902—) all belonged to NAPF. In the NAPF Tokunaga Sunao (1899-1958) and Kobayashi Takiji (1903-1933), author of *Kanikō Sen* (Crab-Packing Vessel), are the best known as proletarian writers.

As above-mentioned the proletarian literature which was at its peak in the early Shōwa Era, advanced into journalism, thus threatening the authors of the art-for-art's sake school. Those who belonged to the latter school thereupon, banded together to fight against the proletarian writers.

The art-for-art's sake school merged as modernism. At the beginning it was Neo Perceptionist School as afore-mentioned. The proletarians defended materialistic dialectic, objecting to the out look on the world according to the 19th century natural science, but as literary means they followed realism of the 19th century.

The Neo Perceptionist School denied the political character of the proletarian literature as well as the 19th century realism which depicted realities from outside and relied upon intuition. Members of this school showed freshness in description handling the life in big cities, the fact which was a rarity in those days.

The representative writers of the Neo Perceptionists School were Yokomitsu Toshikazu (1898-1947), and Kawabata Yasunari. Later 32 writers of modernism school organized a club, among whom Tsunekawa Akira (Naruse Masakatsu) was the out-

standing theorist and Ryūtanji Yū, Nakamura Masatsune (1901—), Funabashi Seichi (1904—), Kuno Toyohiko, Ibuse Masuji (1851—), Abe Tomoji (1903—), Hori Tatsuo (1904–1953), were prominent.

It seems rather strange that Kamura Isota (1897–1933), who succeeded in style Kasai Zenzō who was active in the middle period, belonged to this school. He became famed because of his autobiographical novels.

The Japanese Government suppressed the proletarian literature while using pressure against modernism on the reason that it lacked loyalty to the country. Hereupon, the men of letters banded together in their effort to protect humanism as mentioned before. The publication of *Bungaku Kai* (Literary World) in 1933 and *Kōdō* (Action) was the outcome of their efforts.

Among those who became active around this time were Itō Hitoshi (1905—), Okamoto Kanoko (1889–1939), Ishikawa Tatsuzō (1905—), Ishizaka Yōjirō (1900—), Niwa Fumio (1904—), Shimagi Kensaku (1903–1945), Takami Jun (1907—), Dazai Osamu (1909–1948). However, the intensification of the war gradually suppressed all literary activities and many writers were commandeered to follow the army to the front and during this time many war literary works were published, but except those written by Hino Ashihei (1907—), Satomura Kinzō and Ishikawa Tatsuzō, there was nothing outstanding.

A few classical literary works which became recognized after his death were written by Nakajima Atsushi (1909–1942). They are worth mentioning.

Such literary critics as Ikuta Chōkō, Katakami Tengen, and Kobayashi Hideo were also active around this period.

Ken'yūsha:

This was a group of literary men organized in 1885 with a membership made up of Ozaki Kōyō, Yamada Binyō, Iwaya Sazanami, Kawakami Bizan, Hirotsu Ryūrō. They also published a magazine called *Garakuta Bunko* (Miscellaneous Library). Later Izumi Kyōka, Nagai Kafū, Oguri Fuyō and Tokuda Shūsei joined this group. Mori Ōgai (1862–1922):

He was an army surgeon and later became a surgeon general. Thus, he had a peculiar background. During 1884–1888 he studied in Germany and upon his return started writing novels, comments and poetry from the standpoint of idealism and romanticism. Later he wrote "Resignation" which is a collection of historical novels and legends. He is called the Japanese version of Goethe.

Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916):

Around 1905 he tried to build up an ideal of life in novels transcending the reality of life. This is apparent in *Wagahai-wa-nekodearu* (I am a Cat). Later he started a research in the egoism of human beings. On this line he wrote many books, but the best known are *Sorekara* (Hereafter), *Mon* (Gate), *Kokoro* (Heart), and *Michikusa* (Loitering).

Tanizaki Junichirō (1886—):

He is well-known as writer of the esthetic school. Representative works are *Shisei* (Tattooing), *Tadekū Mushi* (Some Prefer Nettles), *Sasame Yuki* (Makioka Sisters) and *Kagi* (Key).

Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892–1927):

His masterpieces are *Rashōmon*, *Hana* (Nose) and *Kappa* (Water Imps).

Kawabata Yasunari (1899—):

His outstanding works are *Izu-no-Odori-ko* (Dancer in Izu), *Kinjū* (Birds and Beasts), *Yukiguni* (Snow Country), *Senbazuru* (Thousand Cranes) and *Yamano Oto* (Sound in Mountain).

Poetry. In poetry there are *tanka* (verse of 31 syllables), *haiku* (5.7.5) and *shintaiishi* (long poems) introduced in 1882. The most modern is long poetry. It first regularly followed the rule of stanzas (consult the section for lyric poetry), but in 1907 freer style was adopted.

From 1890 to 1903 lyric poetry or romanticism was in vogue. Most outstanding in this period were Kitamura Tōkoku, Shimazaki Tōson, Yosano Tekkan (1873–1935), Tsuchii Bansui (1871–1952), Miyazaki Koshoshi (1864–1922), Kawai Suimei (1874—), Susukida Kyūkin (1877–1945).

For some years from 1904 symbolism was popular. Kambara Ariake (1876–1952) and Iwano Hōmei were outstanding. Symbolism

was brought into Japan by Ueda Bin (1874-1916).

In 1907 due to the influence of naturalism in other literary works colloquial speech style was adopted to poetry by Kawaji Ryūkō.

Around 1909 esthetic and symbolic poems by Kitahara Hakushū (1885-1942) and meditative symbolic poems by Hinatsu Kōnosuke, were read widely. Also the symbolic poems which gave vent to the sharp nerves of Hagiwara Sakutarō (1886-1942) and other lyrical poems by Satō Haruo and Muroo Saisei appeared.

On the other hand around 1902 poetry of socialism was composed by Kodama Kagai. He was followed by Tomita Saika, Shiratori Shōgo, Momota Sōji and Katō Masao who wrote popular poems around 1918.

At the same time there were poets belonging to the Shirakaba School, who eulogized humanism. They were Takamura Kōtarō (1883-1956), Senke Motomaro (1888-1948) and Ozaki Kihachi.

Influenced by the futurist school represented in 1920 by Hirado Renkichi, poems of Dadaism appeared. The outstanding of this school were Tsuji Jun and Takahashi Shinkichi.

Hagihara Kyōjirō wrote poems of destructive character, influenced by anarchism.

Those who belonged to the people's and Dadaism schools became proletarian poets. Among them Nakano Shigeharu was the most prominent.

On the other hand influenced by Horiguchi Daigaku, interpreter of French poems, poets of artistic inclination appeared introducing the surrealist style. They were Nishiwaki Junzaburō, Miyoshi Tatsuji, Kitagawa Fuyuhiko, Haruyama Yukio, Kitazono Katsue and Takenaka Iku.

Among the above-mentioned Fuyuhiko wrote ideological poetry and Tatsuji turned toward neo-classicism. Among those who became outstanding from round 1925 were Kusano Shimpei, Miyazawa Kenji (1896-1933) and Yamanokuchi Baku.

Around 1935 those who were anti-proletarian and anti-surrealism banded together and published the *Shiki* (Four Seasons),

periodical. They developed the poetic style in which sensitivity and intelligence found harmony. They were Miyoshi Tatsuji, Maruyama Kaoru, Tachikawa Michio.

On the other there were those who composed satirical poems including Oguma Hideo, Tsuboi Shigeharu and Kaneko Mitsuharu.

Though the main trend of the modern poetry was in favor of long poetry *tanka*, traditional Japanese poetry, also influenced by the flow of the time indicated varied changes. The most prominent was that in 1926 the modern language poets organized a group. Also some advocated the proletarian short poetry.

However, generally speaking the main trend of *tanka* was along the line of the orthodox style. Representative poets of this orthodox school were Sasaki Nobutsuna (1828-1891), Kaneko Kunen (1876-1951), Onoe Saishū (1876-1956), those of the romantic Myōjō School including Yosano Tekkan (1873-1935), Yosano Akiko (1878-1942), Kubota Utsubo and Yoshii Isamu. The same school included those of the Araragi group who idealized *Manyōshū*, namely Masaoka Shiki (1867-1902), Itō Sachio (1865-1913), Nagatsuka Takashi (1879-1915) who was known as author of a novel *Tsuchi* or Earth, Saitō Mokichi, (1882-1953), Shaku Chōkū (1887-1953) (his real name was Origuchi Shinobu) known for his studies of Japanese literature through folklore.

Others were those who were influenced by naturalism including Wakayama Bokusui (1885-1928), Maeda Yūgure (1883-1951), Toki Aika, who wrote *tanka* in 3 lines and Ishikawa Takuboku (1885-1912). Ishikawa criticised naturalism from the standpoint of proletarianism.

Those who advocated poetry of modern language and proletarian short poetry were Watanabe Junzō and Ishihara Jun (1881-1947). Maeda Yūgure also denied the rhythm of *tanka*.

In *haiku* the Hototogisu School had become very popular since Masaoka Shiki criticised the traditional style by introducing the new style of depicting nature. Shiki was followed by Takahama Kyoshi. Against this school Kawahigashi Hekigodō

(1873-1937) endorsed the new tendency and was followed by Ogiwara Seisensui, who even ignored the traditional 5.7.5. in rhyme.

Those who were unsatisfied with the monotony of the Hototogisu School began to launch a reformation movement around 1925. This new group was represented by Hino Sōjō, Mizuhara Shūōshi, and Yamaguchi Seishi.

Drama. (consult the section on drama) Around 1887 a movement to renovate *kabuki* was started. Tsubouchi Shōyō wrote historical plays, but they could hardly be called modern plays. The writing of modern plays began around 1910 thanks to the influence of naturalism on Japanese literature. Among those prominent were Yoshii Isamu, Kubota Mantarō, Akita Ujaku, Nagata Hideo, Yamamoto Yūzō and Tanizaki Junichirō.

Later in 1915 along with the neo-realistic novels play writing became rampant. Kikuchi Hiroshi, Kume Masao, Yamamoto Yūzō, Osanai Kaoru, were active in this field.

Around 1924 when the Little Tsukiji Theater (consult the section on drama) was founded those who wrote the French-style plays of artistic trend appeared including Kishida Kunio. Meanwhile the Little Tsukiji Theater concentrated on the performance of translated plays.

After 1929 when the leftist plays became popular, Fujimori Seikichi, Murayama Tomoyoshi, Miyoshi Jūrō, Kubo Sakae and Hisaita Eiijirō became active.

The playwrights who upheld the artistic trend were Kubota Mantarō and Kishida Kunio followed by Iwata Toyoo, Kawaguchi Ichirō, Tanaka Chikao, and Mafune Yutaka. They published excellent works.

Due to the outbreak of World War II all the dramatic activities declined and so did the writing of plays.

Contemporary works (following the close of World War II)

Outline. With Japan's defeat the social condition changed. Things suppressed during the War came to the fore and on the contrary things militaristic and national-

istic were all denied. For Japan this was a great democratic revolution since the Meiji Restoration.

Literary activities became animated to fill the vacuum of 10 years. But the occupation policy following the Korean War in 1950 brought about a delicate influence on Japan resulting in the revival of conservative elements. This tendency also was reflected on literature.

Prose. A new start in the field of novels was made with the revival and publication of magazines with miscellaneous articles and literary magazines. During 1945 and 1946 nine outstanding literary magazines were either republished or newly-published and more than 3 *Sōgō Zasshi* (compilation of miscellaneous articles) made a debut.

As novelists such great masters as Nagai Kafū, Masamune Hakuchō, Tanizaki Junichirō, Satomi Ton, Shiga Naoya and Uno Kōji became active. They were followed by novelists of medium standing including Ibuse Masuji, Kawabata Yasunari, Nakayama Yoshihide.

On the other hand the former proletarian writers organized the New Japan Literary Society. They were Miyamoto Yuriko, Hirabayashi Taiko and Tokunaga Sunao who expressed their burning desire for the revival of human value in their works.

Meanwhile, Odagiri Hideo, Hirano Ken, Honda Shūgo, Ara Masato, published the "Modern Literature", a periodical. Those who were regarded as "après guerre" writers joined this group including Noma Hiroshi, Shiina Rinzō, Takeda Taijun, Mishima Yukio and Umezaki Haruo.

The après guerre writers found themes in their search for essential human nature in egoism which appeared in the extreme condition such as the war. Ōoka Shōhei, who was influenced by the cold attitude of Stendhal, wrote about human psychology of those on the front while Mishima Yukio who adopted the art-first attitude published esthetic writings and Hotta Zene dealt with the post-war Japan and the people in the form of reports.

Kojima Nobuo, Hasegawa Shirō, Yasuoka Shōtarō, Shōno Junzō, Yoshiyuki Junnosuke, Endō Shūsaku and Sono Ayako are

among the new writers. Their writings mostly show technical dexterity.

The latest writers include Ishihara Shintarō who treated in his writing the juvenile delinquency among post-war students. His naked description startled the readers. Another is Harada Yasuko, authoress of *Banka* (An Elegy), who can be likened to the young French authoress, Francois Sagan. More than 600,000 copies have been sold.

Besides the above-mentioned there are Sakaguchi Ango, who expressed his rebellion against the old things, Oda Sakunosuke, Dazai Osamu, Ishikawa Jun, Takami Jun, Tamura Taijirō, who eulogized sensual literature, Inouye Tomoichirō and Itō Hitoshi, who advocated psychological literature around 1930. They all wrote intellectual articles.

As autobiographical novel writers there are Kambayashi Akatsuki, Ozaki Kazuo, Kawasaki Chōtarō, Tonomura Shigeru.

As literary critics there are Nakamura Mitsuo, Yamamoto Kenkichi, Usui Yoshimi, Hirano Ken and Odagiri Hideo.

Poetry. Because of the social change *tanka* and *haiku* are on the decline. However, free poetry is widely written. Besides the old poets there is a group called *Arechi* (Wasteland) with Ayukawa Nobuo as a central figure. These poets confronted with the reality of hardships are trying to love what is real and mould themselves conscientiously.

Drama. (refer to the section on drama) When *kabuki* was criticised by the Occupation authorities because of its feudalistic nature expectations for the rise of new plays were great, but playwrights were not very active.

Kishida Kunio, Katō Michio, Fukuda Tsuneari and Tanaka Chikao published their works. As writers of folklore plays there are Kinoshita Junji, Mishima Yukio, Miyoshi Jūrō and Abe Kōbō.

XXIV FINE ARTS

Outline History of Japanese Painting

Archaic Period

Japanese painting had its origin in the earthenware of the Stone Age, the wall paintings on the ancient tombs, and simple sketches of houses, animals, dancers and hunters drawn on the earthenware and bronze wares from the second to the fifth centuries.

These are crude line drawings common to primitive paintings throughout the world, but their simple, straightforward expres-

sion already gives us a glimpse of Japanese painting of today.

Asuka Period (552-646 A.D.)

The introduction of Buddhism from China sparked a boom in building temples, and painting took on a new importance in the latter half of the sixth century as decorations for the temples.

Records show that the painter Paek Ka came to Japan from Pakche (Korea) in 588 and Dam Ching from Kokuryo (Korea) in

610. Dam Ching reportedly taught the Japanese how to make *sumi* (black ink used for calligraphy and painting) and colored paints.

Painting made conspicuous advancement during this period along with the rise of Buddhism and came to be mentioned with increasing frequency in written records.

In 604, leading naturalized Korean painters were given official status by the Emperor in a move to encourage their artistic ventures. It is believed they left behind a considerable amount of paintings, but the only art works of this period that remain today are the decorative painting at the Hōryūji Temple and an embroidery work preserved at the Chūgūji Nunnery.

Paintings of two heavenly kings are drawn on the main door to the Tamamushi cabinet and of two Buddhist saints on the doors to the right and left. The back side of the doors features paintings of sacred mountains.

The front side of the pedestal for this cabinet features the painting of two disciples of Buddha, and the right and left sides feature paintings of stories based on Buddha's life. These paintings are drawn in red, green and yellow lacquer over a background of black lacquer.

Their expressions are objective and stereotyped, but the strokes are vigorous, the delineation unrestricted, and the lines of the men depicted and their clothing are unbelievably mobile. The general outline of the paintings are extremely fantastic. The paintings on the sides of the pedestal are famous because they subtly merge into a single scene events that took place at widely separated intervals.

Nara Period (710-794)

This period corresponds to the T'ang Period in China, the golden era of Chinese culture. Japan actively imported culture from the China Continent during this period, and the influence was naturally felt in the realm of painting. Buddhist paintings also flowered in this period, but unlike the works of sculpture, very few survive today.

Representative works of the early Nara Period are the wall paintings in Hōryūji

Temple's Main Hall. These paintings are drawn on 12 walls inside the hall. The biggest four paintings feature Buddha in the center and a group of disciples surrounding him. The four smaller paintings depict Buddha alone.

These wall paintings reflect a superb technique and a majestic but detailed composition. The faces of Buddha and his disciples wear a dignified, elegant expression.

The persons in the paintings are of the same proportion, and shades were used to give them the illusion of dimensions.

The style of the paintings are very much similar to the paintings found in the stone caves of India and show influences of the techniques of Central India and Southern Persia. These alien influences, however, are subtly blended into a harmonious whole, a credit that should go to the great Chinese painters of the T'ang Period who provided models to the Japanese painters.

These valuable wall paintings were lost in a fire in 1949, but full-sized color photographs of the originals and intricate duplicates have been preserved for posterity.

The Lady Tachibana cabinet, also located in the Gold Hall of Hōryūji Temple, has a door that depicts the four heavenly kings in red and green against a black lacquer background.

The pedestal for this cabinet features a lotus pond in red, green and white and the Buddhist disciples at prayer on the sides. These paintings bear a remarkable resemblance to the paintings of Hōryūji's walls.

A painting of Prince Shōtoku formerly owned by the Hōryūji and now by the Emperor's Family, uses Indian ink for outlines and the minimum of paints for coloring. It shows a profound regard for the ancient style of the T'ang paintings.

Theories have been advanced that this painting is a duplicate, but even if it were so, it is an extremely well done duplicate and an invaluable material for studying the trends of paintings of this period.

There are very few paintings left of the latter half of the Nara Period. One of the rare Buddhist paintings of this era that

survive today is that of the heavenly goddess *Kichijōten* owned by the Yakushiji Temple. This is a very intricate painting drawn on silk with red, green, blue, purple and gold paint.

The goddess is standing slightly obliquely and wearing loose, wind-blown garments. Her round sensuous face and choice of clothes reflect the tastes of the nobility of the Nara Period.

The faces of a series of beauties drawn on a screen of this era now possessed by the *Shōsōin* bear close resemblance to the expression worn by *Kichijōten* and also to the women in the Chinese paintings of the T'ang Era recently excavated from Sinkiang Province.

The black and white painting of a Buddhist saint on a linen canvas, also owned by the *Shōsōin*, is another important material for studying the rhythmical and open-handed painting techniques of this period.

The paintings in an illustrated scripture based on the life of Buddha show a crude simplicity in outline and coloring and provide a sharp contrast to the elaborate paintings mentioned so far. This scroll has been broken up into parts and are now owned by the Jōbon Rendaiji Temple, *Daigo Hōonin*, Academy of Arts and the Kuni and Masuda families.

Heian Period (794-1185)

Japanese paintings reached new heights of prosperity in this period. In the preceding period, sculpture was given more emphasis than painting, but in the Heian Period, painting came to assume the most important place in the world of culture.

This was partly because of the rise of esoteric Buddhism which used paintings of Buddha and his saints as objects of worship.

Among the representative works of the early Heian Period are the painting of the *Jūniten* owned by Seidaiji Temple, the painting of *Godairikiku Bosatsu* owned by the temple on Mt. Kōya and a painting of the God of Fire owned by the Enjōji Temple.

The *Jūniten* is the principal object of worship of esoteric Buddhism. Its "greatness" is emphasized in the painting by

placing his retinue, who look like midgets by comparison, in the lower corners.

The *Godairikiku Bosatsu* painting exudes an indefinable mysticism that is a peculiar characteristic of esoteric Buddhism.

The painting of the God of Fire is pervaded by vigor.

The *Shingon Shichisozō* portrait owned by the Gokokuji Temple and *Gobushinkan* owned by the Enjōji Temple are also valuable data for studying the history of art in Japan.

Esoteric Buddhism laid emphasis on form, and the paintings of the early Heian Period were largely patterned after the paintings of the China Continent.

In the middle Heian Period, the Chinese techniques were more fully digested and transformed into a more Japanese style of painting.

Buddhist paintings of this era, as exemplified by *Raigō no zu*, showed a romantic elegance designed to evoke religious fervor.

The paintings of Amitabha and a child at the Hokkeji Temple, the *Kubon Amitabha Raigō no zu* drawn on the doors and walls of the Hō-ōdō Hall at Byōdōin Temple and the *Seijū Raigō no zu* at Mt. Kōya are also representative works of this category.

The works at the Hokkeji Temple consist of one large painting of Amitabha in the center and a smaller painting of the Kannon Goddess of Mercy and that of a child on both sides. Some critics have suggested that the center painting and the two flanking paintings may have been drawn in different eras because their style is quite different.

The expression of the mountains and animals in the background show features of the Yamatoe paintings to be described later.

The *Seijū Raigō no zu* at Mt. Kōya was produced while the ruling Fujiwara family was at the height of its power. It is divided into three sections but merged into a harmonious whole. It shows Amitabha arriving on earth from Nirvana to welcome the souls of the dead. A host of Buddhist disciples (*Seijū*) surround him on all sides.

In addition to these *raigō no zu*, the painting of Nirvana handed down by the Kongōbuji Temple on Mt. Kōya, is important historically and artistically.

Produced in 1086, this painting shows excellent technique in outline, coloring and composition.

Other samples of the dazzling painting techniques of this era are the painting of the gold coffin at Chōhōji Temple, the *Sakyamuni Buddha* at the Jingoji Temple and the *Bodhisattva Kokuzō* at the Tokyo National Museum.

The leading works of the esoteric school of Buddhism include the painting of the God of Fire at the *Manjuin* which is almost a carbon copy of the painting of the God of Fire at the Enjōji Temple; the God of Fire at the *Seirenin*; the *Godaisō* and *Jūniten* at the Gokokuji Temple; the *High Priest of the Tendai Sect* at Ichijōji Temple; the *Priest Jion* at the Yakushiji Temple and *Priest Gonzō* at the *Fumonin*.

All of these paintings are more symbolic than realistic.

It was in the realm of natural scenery and the customs and manners of the period rather than of religious themes that Japanese paintings of this period made remarkable advancement.

Until the early Heian Period (9th century), Japanese painters faithfully followed the techniques as imported directly from China, and chose the mountains and personages of China as their subjects.

In the middle Heian Period, however, the painters began to draw the mountains and rivers and personages around them and invented new techniques more suitable for delineating typically Japanese themes.

Thus the *yamato-e* came into being as opposed to the *kara-e* or Chinese painting. (Yamato is an old name for Japan.)

The landscape painting on a folding screen at Tōji Temple shows influences of the *kara-e* in choice of subjects, but its style of expression is characterized by the elegance of the *yamato-e*.

The features of the *yamato-e* are best represented by the scrolls of picture stories. In some cases, the pictures are inserted as illustrations between printed lines. In

others, the story is told by pictures alone.

The *Picture Scroll of the Tales of Genji* is one of the oldest of its kind produced in this era that survives today. This painting was made in dark colors to produce a sumptuous effect befitting the foibles of the Court and aristocracy that formed the subject of the *Tales of Genji*.

The artist used the *hikime kagibana* style in drawing the outlines of the face. This is an extremely simplified method of drawing the eyes with a single, narrow stroke and the nose also with a single hook-like stroke.

The distinction between men and women, the young and the old, and the peculiar characteristics and mood of each individual is surprisingly well expressed by the crude lines.

The *fukinuki yatai*, another new technique used in the picture scroll, delineates the inside of a room from an oblique upper angle.

The *Shigisan Picture Scroll* at the Chōgōsonshiji Temple which depicts three episodes in the life of the high priest Myōren is a representative pure picture scroll unaccompanied by a printed narrative.

The men and women in this scroll wear more realistic expressions than the characters in the *Tales of Genji* Scroll. The lines are more mobile and unrestricted, and the colors are of a lighter shade.

The *Scroll of Birds and Animals at Play*, owned by the Kōzanji Temple, is a collection of line-drawn caricatures in black and white.

During this period, it was considered fashionable to decorate Buddhist scriptures with beautiful paintings. Examples of this fad are the scripture in possession of the Kunōji Temple and the scripture offered to the Itsukushima Shrine by the Taira family.

Usually, these decorative paintings had nothing to do with the meaning of the Buddhist scriptures themselves. In this sense, they should be classified as genre rather than religious paintings.

This era saw a sharp rise in the social status of the painters, and some of them established quite a name for themselves.

Some of the more famous painters were Kose-no-Kanaoka who originated the Kose School of painting; Kimmochi, Hirotaka and Koreshige who were leaders of this school; and Asukabe Tsunenori, Fujiwara Takayoshi and the priest Toba.

Kamakura Period (1185-1392)

This was the age when the rule by the aristocratic Fujiwara family gave way to military administration by the Genji clan. The political and social upheaval was sharply reflected in cultural circles, and the paintings took a turn for more realistic and intellectual expression.

The Buddhist paintings also replaced some of its romantic beauty of the Heian Era with a colloquial touch more acceptable to the masses.

As in the previous era, the *raigō zu* or paintings of Buddha arriving on earth to escort mortal souls into Nirvana, held a strong attraction to the artists.

The landscape of mountain-rimmed Kyoto inspired several paintings of Buddha crossing a mountain to step into the world from Nirvana. A typical sample of this type is owned by the Kinkai Kōmyōji Temple. The Buddha in this painting holds real strings of five colors which the faithful are said to have grasped for blessings on their deathbed.

Several paintings of this period which depict the pleasures of Nirvana and the agonies of the hell also indicate that the religious paintings of this era were becoming more realistic and assuming an explanatory role.

Among the esoteric Buddhist paintings, the delineations of *Fudō Myō-ō*, or God of Fire, best exemplify the characteristics of this period. These *Fudō Myō-ō* have a more mobile form than their predecessors of the Heian Period.

A folding screen featuring the *Jūniten* by Takuma Shōga, now preserved by the Tōji Temple and *Butsugen-Butsubo* at the Kōzanji Temple show influences of the Chinese paintings of the Sung Era.

The Kamakura Period saw the rise of the *Suijaku* style of paintings, also called the *Honji Mandara* or *Miya Mandara*.

The *Shika Mandara* (Deer Mandara) symbolizes the *Kasuga Myōjin* (God of Kasuga) with a deer. The *Kumano Mandara* owned by Nezu Museum in Tokyo, likewise symbolizes the Kumano Shrine with the Nachi Waterfalls. This is an interesting work in the sense that it is at once a landscape painting and a religious painting.

A major characteristic of this era was the increasingly frequent use of landscape as subjects and backgrounds for painting.

Picture scrolls continued to be produced in large quantities. The varieties increased considerably, and there appeared some of considerable length.

This was probably because the instructive explanatory quality of the picture scrolls responded the tastes and inclination of the public.

The *Nezame Monogatari Emaki*, *Makura no Sōshi Emaki*, and the *Murasaki Shikibu Nikki Emaki* were representative works that dealt with literary themes.

The *Nezame Monogatari Emaki* is a picture story of the last chapters of the *Yowa-no Nezame Monogatari* written by the daughter of Sugawara-no-Takasue. It is a very colorful, intricate and dignified series of paintings.

The *Murasaki Shikibu Nikki Emaki*, or picture scroll of the diary of Lady Murasaki, originally consisted of 23 sections of printed narrative and 24 panels of paintings but is now preserved in scattered form. The paintings were allegedly drawn by Fujiwara Nobuzane and the words by Kyōgoku Yoshitsune.

The *Makura no Sōshi Emaki* is a series of pastel colored paintings and is based on a series of essays by Lady Seishō Nagon.

The *Ise Monogatari Emaki* and *Sanjū Rokkasen Emaki* are also picture scrolls with classic themes.

There were also many picture scrolls with a religious theme explaining the origin of temples and shrines, and the sacred experiences and lives of the high priests.

The wars which raged before and during the Kamakura Period were promptly reflected in the popularity of picture scrolls depicting battles on the war front. Among

the representative works that come under this category are the *Heiji Monogatari Emaki*, the *Gosannen Kassen Emaki* and the *Môko Shûrai Emaki*.

The realistic tendency of this era gave rise to numerous colorful portrait paintings. There were some portraits before this period also, but they were mostly sketches of Buddha or monks and virtually carbon copies of Chinese originals.

During the Kamakura Period, the subjects of the portraits were expanded to include common men and women, and such portraits came to be known as *ese-e* (*nise-e*).

Fujiwara Nobuzane, said to be the creator of the portrait of Emperor Gotoba, was one of the leading proponents of the *ese-e* (*nise-e*). He is also said to be the creator of the *Sanjû Rokkasen Emaki*.

Nobuzane's father Takanobu made portraits of the celebrated warriors Minamoto-no-Yoritomo and Taira-no-Shigemori which are regarded as the greatest masterpieces of portraits of this era.

These two paintings are kept by the Jingoji Temple and noted for their noble atmosphere and the deftness with which the painter caught the individual characteristics of his subjects.

The portraits of Abdicated Emperor Go-shirakawa at *Myôhōin*, and of Priest Hōnen at *Chionin*, and Prince Shôtoku at Ninnaji Temple show influences of Chinese paintings of the Sung Era.

Muromachi Period (1378-1573)

This period was a turning point for Japanese paintings. They came to be appreciated for their own values and not as embellishments of religion or literature and thus entered the threshold of contemporary arts.

One of the biggest factors that contributed to this change was the rise of the *Zenshû* (sect of Buddhism) culture.

The *Zenshû* was imported from China, and in the process, new styles of painting developed in China were brought into this country. It was during this time that the simple black-and-white *suiboku-ga* was widely adopted in this country prompted by

the Zen reverence for all things simple and spiritual.

One of the oldest existing example of the *suiboku-ga* is the *Painting of Plum Blossoms* by Rikkyokuan of the late Kamakura Period.

Most of the *suiboku-ga* of the early Kamakura Period were drawn by priests in their spare time. Later, there appeared highly professional priest-painters, including Kitsuzan Minchō also Chōdentsu (1351-1431) abbot of the Tōfukuji Temple.

He painted landscapes, portraits and Buddhist characters reflecting trends of the Sung and Yuan style of Chinese paintings. The painting of Nirvana and the 500 disciples of Buddha preserved at the Tōfukuji Temple, is considered one of his masterpieces.

Landscape paintings in black and white are said to have established their places in painting circles through the efforts of Jyosetsu and Shūbun.

The three generations of the Ami family—Nō-Ami (1397-1471), Gei-Ami (1431-1485) and Sō-Ami (1472-1525), the attendances of the Ashikaga Shogunate—left the famous landscape painting on the paper sliding doors of *Daisenin*.

It was Sesshū (1420-1506), however, who brought the black-and-white landscape paintings of this period to perfection. Like Shūbun, Sesshū was a monk of the Sōkokuji Temple. He visited China and studied painting there and traveled extensively for three years.

After returning to Japan, he developed a unique style of his own that was at once energetic and systematic. His masterpieces are preserved by the National Museum, the Mōri family and Sainenji Temple.

Sesshū's style was carried on by his disciple Sesson, noted for the mobile lines of his paintings of wind and rain sweeping mountains and rivers.

The *suiboku-ga* was originally developed by priests of the Zen sect, but some professional lay painters appeared in the last part of the Kamakura Period. A typical example was the father and son team of the Kanō family.

The father, Masanobu (1434-1530), was originally a *samurai*, but later became a painter retained by the Shogunate. He developed the *suiboku-ga*, which formerly showed strong influences of Chinese paintings and the Zen religion, to a more vigorous and decorative painting acceptable to the samurai-ruled society.

The son, Motonobu (1478-1559), inherited and perfected his father's style. He adopted the *yamato-e* techniques into the Chinese style of paintings, and made them more suitable for the tastes of the Japanese.

Motonobu's works are seen on the paper sliding doors of *Ryōnin* and *Daisenin*. He himself liked his landscape paintings best, but he also produced many paintings of people and birds and flowers. Most of his works are done in black-and-white, but some are heavily colored.

Motonobu's works were carried on by his son Hideyori and brother Utanosuke. Hideyori's *Painting of Maple Trees on Mt. Takao* combines the features of *kan-ga* and *yamato-e*.

Blessed with many excellent disciples, the Kanō School of painters dominated the painting circles until the end of the Edo Period.

The picture scrolls which made a tremendous progress in the Kamakura Period, continued to thrive under the Muromachi Period. But the works of this period somehow lacked the originality, freshness and freedom of the previous era.

The better works of this period were found among the picture scrolls based on what could be termed fairy tales. Examples were the *Fukutomi Sōshi*, *Hyakki Yakō Emaki* and *Dōjōji Engi*.

Tosa Yukimitsu, Tosa Yukihiro, Tosa Mitsunobu and Tosa Mitsushige were leading exponents of the *yamato-e* of this period. Mitsunobu, credited with reviving the Tosa School of painters, produced many masterpieces. Among them were the *Tenjin Engi Ekotoba*, preserved at the Kitano Shrine, and the *Seisuiji Engi Ekotoba*, preserved at the National Museum.

Mitsunobu's efforts can be likened to the last flickering of an expended candle, however, and after his time, the *yamato-e*, as

advanced by the Tosa School, was completely overwhelmed by the Kanō School of *suiboku-ga*.

The only exception was in the case of portraits. The *yamato-e* style was used extensively in making portrait pictures of emperors, warriors and priests. Examples are the portrait of Ashikaga Yoshimochi preserved at the Jingoji Temple; a warrior on horseback owned by the Jizōin; and a portrait of Momoi Naoakira by Tosa Mitsunobu exhibited at the National Museum.

In the last years of the Muromachi Period, the new Chinese style of the Sung and Yuan Era began to encroach on the domain of *yamato-e* in portrait painting. A typical example of this trend is seen in the portrait of a priest by Minchō.

Momoyama Period (1573-1615)

This period saw the unification of a war-torn Japan and the establishment of a secure government. The cultural world broke away from old traditions and began to show signs of liberal and fresh modernism.

The biggest event in the painting circles was the rise of genre paintings and paintings for decorative purposes. The privileged class of this era built big castles and palatial residences, and the need arose for painted sliding doors and folded screens to decorate the rooms and hallways.

The paintings were drawn in rich colors on gold background to match the elaborate architecture of the buildings that housed them. The most popular subjects were flowers and birds.

One of the leading painters of this type of painting, Kanō Eitoku (1543-1590) was the grandson of Kanō Motonobu, and creator of the celebrated paintings at the Azuchi Castle and the Osaka Castle.

His creations are much larger in scale than the past paintings of the Kanō School and represent the best points of both the *yamato-e* and *kan-ga*.

He excelled in black-and-white paintings also, but he is remembered mainly for the elaborate, rich colored paintings on gold background that are believed to have been perfected in his time.

A folded screen bearing his painting of the *Chinese Lions* (*Kara-Jishi*) is now owned by the Imperial Family and another screen featuring the scenes of Kyoto owned by the Uesugi family.

Kanō Sanraku (1559-1635), another famous painter of this era, was Kanō Eitoku's student at first, but adopted into the Kanō family because of his talent.

He helped Eitoku produce paintings for castles, and after Eitoku's death, he became the virtual leader of the Kanō School of painters.

Although the Kanō School of painters predominated the scene, many other painters produced excellent and original paintings and formed cliques of their own.

Kaihō Yūshō (1533-1615) was a *samurai* and studied the techniques of the Kanō School and Liang Chieh of China. The painted sliding doors of Kenninji Temple, the folded screen at Myōshinji Temple featuring peonies, and a landscape painting owned by the National Museum, are considered his masterpieces. His posterity and disciples are known as the Kaihō School of painters.

Hasegawa Tōhaku (1539-1610) was a follower of Sesshū and adopted the *suiboku-ga* of China, especially of the Chinese painter Mokkei (Mu Chi). He also started a school of his own and is remembered for his bold strokes.

Among his major works are the *Folded Screen of a Pine Wood* owned by the National Museum, the *Folded Screen of Monkeys Playing in a Bamboo Grove* owned by the Shōkokuji Temple, and the *Painting of Monkeys Romping around Withered Trees* owned by the Ryūsenji Temple.

Unkoku Tōgan (1547-1618) was an ardent admirer and follower of Sesshū and changed his name to Unkoku after the *Unkokuan* (Unkoku cottage) where Sesshū spent his last days.

Many of his landscape paintings and *suiboku-ga*, featuring the deep, dimensional lines that are typically Sesshū's, are handed down today.

Soga Chokuan (1596-1614) left behind several folded screens of *suiboku-ga* and colored paintings of birds and flowers.

Along with the decorative paintings, the genre paintings depicting the lives and customs of the era, express the atmosphere of the Momoyama Period.

This was the period when the warrior class sprung into prominence and also a time when the grass roots citizens acquired new power politically and socially.

Thus the painters naturally turned their attention to the lives and customs of the men and women on the street and used them for their subjects. These genre paintings evoked the interest of the newly risen samurai class, and many painters of the Kanō School began to take up this new type of painting.

The *Painting of Kyoto* by Kanō Eitoku who was mentioned before can be classified as a genre painting. Other examples were the *Painting of a Scene in front of Sumiyoshi Shrine* at the Emmanin Temple, the *Painting of Workmen* by Kanō Yoshinobu, (1552-1640) owned by the Kitain Temple, and the *Painting of a Festival* by Kanō Naizen owned by the Hōkoku Shrine.

It was around this time that Japan opened trade with Portugal, and Portuguese traders and crewmen provided novel subjects for the genre painters.

These genre painters were the forerunners of the famous *ukiyo-e*.

Edo Period (1615-1867)

This was a period when culture spread among the common people under the cultural promotion programs of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the feudal lords.

Encouraged by such trends of the times, many painters appeared throughout Japan, and painting appreciation came to be considered as assets and sign of an educated person.

The painting circles showed brisk activity and led to the rise of many new schools of painting. In short, this was a period of unprecedented development for Japanese painting.

As in the previous era, the Kanō School of painters predominated the painting circles in the Edo Period under the patronage of the Kamakura Shogunate.

A leading exponent of the Kanō School in this period was Kanō Morinobu (Tanyū) (1602-1674).

He was a grandson of Kanō Eitoku and raised by Kanō Kōi, who excelled in graceful *suiboku-ga*. As a painter on the staff of the Shogunate, he drew decorative paintings for Edo Castle and several other castles, and in a few years, the feudal lords were begging him to paint for them also.

Tanyū was a born genius and a prolific painter and produced an enormous amount of paintings in his lifetime. In addition to following the legacy of the Kanō School, he studied the techniques of Sesshū, Mokkei, the Tosa School and the *kan-ga* to adopt and merge them into a style all his own.

Tanyū's favorite subjects were based on Confucianism, a tenet which was then backed by the Shogunate. Many of his works survive today, including his painted sliding doors in Nagoya Castle and Nijō Castle in Kyoto.

The two younger brothers of Tanyū, Naonobu and Yasunobu, also joined the staff of the Shogunate as professional painters.

Naonobu (1607-1650) excelled in *suiboku-ga* and left behind a landscape screen and another screen now preserved at the National Museum.

Naonobu's son Tsunenobu (1636-1713), another celebrated painter of the Kanō School, consolidated the style of the Kanō School since Tanyū's time into a form more adapted to the changing times.

Hanabusa Itchō (1652-1724), a disciple of Masanobu, produced original genre paintings and later established the Hanabusa School of painters.

Until the collapse of the Shogunate, the Kanō clan ruled the painting world as the orthodox school of painters. But with the exception of the painters mentioned above, the clan members clung rigidly to tradition and made little contribution to the advancement of painting.

However, the basic techniques of the Kanō School were studied by most of the painters of the other schools in their early

stages and thus wielded a latent influence on the whole of the painting world.

The Soga School of the *kan-ga*, originated by Chokuan in the early Edo Period, was carried on by his son Nichokuan and later by Shōhaku (1730-1781), noted for his original technique.

The Unkoku School, founded by Tōgan and carried on by his son Tōeki (1591-1644), gradually deteriorated into a group of cheap streetcorner painters.

The direct line of the Tosa School died out with the collapse of the Ashikaga Shogunate, and it was revived in the Momoyama Period only to be overshadowed by the Kanō School.

Tosa Mitsuoki (1617-1691) is credited with restoring the Tosa School to its former power, but his style was far removed from the orthodox Tosa School of *yamato-e* and influenced more by the *kan-ga*.

His *Kitano Tenjin Engi* is now owned by the Kitano Shrine and *Ōdera Engi* by the Aguchi Shrine.

Hiromichi, (1599-1670) another leading exponent of the Tosa School in the early Edo Period, assumed the name of Sumiyoshi and the Buddhist name of Jyōkei. Along with the Kanō family, he served the *Shōgun* and became more powerful than the original Tosa family.

Hiromichi's works were intricate and beautifully colored, and although he was not as strongly influenced by the *kan-ga* as Mitsuoki was, his strokes were not as powerful as Mitsuoki.

His son Gukei (1631-1705) was also a painter and left behind a beautiful landscape painting of Kyoto.

Iwasa Katsumochi (alias Matabei) (1578-1650) combined the styles of the Kanō and Tosa schools, alternating between the rich colors of the Tosa School and the black-and-whites of the Kanō School as the type and mood of the subject demanded.

Katsumochi is sometimes mistakenly referred to as the originator of the *ukiyo-e* genre paintings.

In the latter part of the Edo Period, a movement was launched for returning to the classical *yamato-e* of the Heian and Kamakura periods.

Tanaka Totsugon (1768-1823), Ukita Ikkei (1795-1859) and Reizei (Okada) Tame-taka (1823-1864) were the major leaders of this movement.

These "reactionary" yamato-e painters gave a modern interpretation to a classical form, but it was the Kōrin School which gave the yamato-e a truly new form of expression befitting the new times.

This group, led by Sōtatsu and Kōrin, revived the elegant, aristocratic trends of the Heian Era on the one hand while adding a fresh and liberal touch to Buddhist paintings. The unrestricted decorative quality of their works expanded the area of Japanese paintings by a wide margin.

A pioneer of this school, Honami Kōetsu (1558-1637) established a unique artists' village in Takagamine, Kyoto, in 1615. He was best known as a calligrapher but also excelled in yamato-e, ceramics and sculpture.

Kōetsu's successor in the field of painting was Sōtatsu (early 17th century), one of the greatest painters ever produced by Japan.

Little is known about his life. However, since he was known by the family name of Tawaraya, it has been suggested that he may have belonged to a wealthy clan of Chinese textile producers in Kyoto. Another theory has it that his surname was Nonomura.

Sōtatsu chose classical themes for his colored paintings and gave a decidedly fresh and elegant touch to painting with his soft strokes, simplified lines and the rich colors of the yamato-e. By simplifying the outlines, Sōtatsu expanded the area of singled colored units.

Representative works of this type include a folded screen with a painting on a theme of the *Tales of Genji* owned by the Iwasaki family; a folded screen featuring the painting of a court dance owned by the Sambō-in; a painting of Priest Saigyō; and a joint painting-calligraphy by Sōtatsu and Kōetsu.

Sōtatsu's tradition was carried on by Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716). Kōrin rose to fame in the Genroku period (1680-1709) when peace reigned in Japan and the nobles and commoners lolled in luxury. Following such trends of the times, Kōrin produced

brilliant ornamental paintings in primary colors. His main works included the *Painting of Iris Flowers* owned by the Nezu Museum; the *Painting of Red and White Plum Trees*; another painting of azaleas; and the portrait of the 36 poets or *Sanjū Rokkasen*.

Kōrin's younger brother Ogata Kenzan (alias Shinsei) (1663-1748) was a famous ceramist but also left behind several Kōrin-style paintings of flowers.

Kōrin was followed a century later by Sakai Hōitsu (1761-1828) who is famous for his lyrical yet realistic painting of flowers. The structures of his paintings, however, were not as bold as Sōtatsu's or Kōrin's.

The Maruyama Shijō School of painters, founded by Maruyama Ōkyo in the middle of the Edo Period, created a new style of painting that broke away from existing formalities and concentrated on faithful and natural delineation.

The birth of this group was a protest of the rank and file artists against the supremacy of the Kanō and Tosa cliques, and their simple, realistic forms of expression were accepted greatly by the common people.

Maruyama Ōkyo (1733-1795) first studied the Kanō School of painting and blended into a harmonious whole the clairvoyant, realistic techniques of Western paintings, the painstaking delineation of birds and flowers in the Yuan and Ming eras in China and the realistic style of Ming and Ching eras introduced by Ch'in Nan-p'in who came to Nagasaki in 1731.

His style was based on realistic delineation molded by typical Japanese perception and embodying realism instead of the stylized delineation of the past. He at once became a big favorite of the times and left behind lasting influence. His paintings are preserved at the Emman Temple in Shiga Prefecture, the Kōpira Shrine in Kagawa Prefecture, the Daijōji Temple in Hyōgo Prefecture, and Kongōji Temple in Kyoto Prefecture.

Ōkyo's leading disciples were Matsumura Goshun (1752-1811), Komai Genki (1747-1797), Nagasawa Rosetsu (1755-1799), Yamaguchi Soken (1759-1818) and Watanabe Nangaku (1773-1845).

Rosetsu painted refreshing landscape pictures which combined highly original composition and ornamental expression with lyrical flavor expressed in two different shades of black.

Genki and Soken carried on and developed Ōkyo's portrait painting and are known respectively for the Chinese and Japanese beauties they painted.

Nangaku transplanted the Maruyama School of painting from Kyoto to Edo (present Tokyo). His painting of flowers of the seasons, owned by the Tokyo Academy of Arts, best represents his style which combined decorative quality with lyrical delineation of nature.

Matsumura Goshun (Gekkei) first studied under Buson and then became a disciple of Ōkyo. He added a soft, romantic touch to Ōkyo's cool realism and started a Goshun style that was quite different from Ōkyo's. Goshun and his disciples were called the Shijō School after the Shijō Higashi-no-Tōin Residence where Goshun lived. After Goshun's death, the Shijō School even eclipsed the Maruyama School.

Credit for this goes in part to Goshun's brother Keibun (1779-1843) who excelled in paintings of flowers and birds in brilliant colors.

Okamoto Toyohiko (1773-1845) produced original landscape paintings. His two leading disciples, Shiokawa Bunrin (1808-1877) and Shibata Zeshin (1807-1891) became famous painters of the Meiji Era.

Itō Jakuchū (1713-1800), an independent and versatile painter, produced both simple black-and-whites and brilliantly-hued, two-toned paintings incorporating the Kōrin style of coloring.

Thirty of his paintings of animals and plants are preserved by the Imperial Family and sliding doors featuring his paintings of chickens by cocks and hen by the Saifukuji Temple.

Mori Sosen (1749-1831) is noted for his paintings of monkeys, and Ganku (1756-1838) for paintings of tigers.

The Maruyama School and Bunjin-ga School were influenced indirectly and in varying degrees by the Chinese paintings of the Ming and Ching eras.

By contrast, a group of artists in Nagasaki studied directly under Chinese painters who settled down in their city. These men were called the Nagasaki School of painters.

The earliest exponents of this school were Watanabe Shūseki (1649-1707) and Kawamura Jakushi (1629-1707) who studied the *hokusō-ga* (Northern Sung style of painting) from the Chinese priest Yijian (1601-1668) who came to Japan in 1645. Their influences were felt for a long time in painting circles in Kyūshū.

Yūhi (Kumashiro Shūkō) (1713-1772), the most famous painter of the Nagasaki School, studied *Hokusō* style of birds and flowers paintings from Ch'en Nan-p'in who came to Japan in 1731. His works are characterized by brilliant coloring and extremely detailed delineation.

Yūhi's disciple, Sō Jiseki (1712-1786) produced many realistic paintings of birds and flowers.

Kurokawa Kigyoku studied by himself the Nagasaki style of painting and opened up the way for the spread of the Nan-p'in style in Edo.

The Bunjin-ga School, which came into being in the latter half of the Edo Era was a clan of painters who followed the Chinese style that was introduced into Japan during this period. The *bunjin-ga* was so called because it was started by literary men who dabbled with paints. (*Bunjin* means literary men in Japanese)

The Chinese paintings of the times were divided into the *nansō-ga* and *hokusō-ga*. The *nansō-ga* were soft and refined, and the *hokusō-ga* were detailed and vigorous.

The terms *nansō-ga* and *bunjin-ga* are used interchangeably in Japan. Actually the two are almost identical except that the name *bunjin-ga* applies to a slightly wider field of paintings than *nansō-ga*.

The *bunjin-ga* was first practiced in Japan by Gion Nankai (1877-1751), Hattori Nankaku (1683-1759) and Sakaki Hyakusen (1698-1752). These men studied the Chinese style of painting by themselves from the publications and paintings of Ming and Ching eras which were shipped into Japan.

Yanagisawa Kien (Ryū Rikyō) (1706–1758) was another pioneer of the *bunjin-ga*. But while the others concentrated on landscape paintings, Kien drew intricate and richly colored paintings of flower petals.

The credit for perfecting the *bunjin-ga* style goes to Ike-no-Taiga and Yosa Buson.

Ike-no-Taiga (1723–1776) was also known as Taigadō and Kashō, and studied under Ryū Rikyō, and Gion Nankai.

Taiga's predecessors interpreted the *nan-ga* formalistically and theoretically, while Taiga created a Japanese type of *nan-ga* on the basis of his own concept of art.

The main features of his works are their transcendentalism and poetical expression. His landscape and portrait paintings are preserved at the *Henjōkō-in* on Mt. Kōya, the Mampukuji Temple and the National Museum.

His disciples included his wife Gyokuran (1728–1784), Aoki Shukuya (18th century) and Noro Kaiseki (1747–1828).

Yosa Buson (1716–1783), a poet and a painter, drew pictures that were full of lyricism and decidedly more objective than the orthodox *nan-ga*. A folded screen featuring his *Painting of a Wild Horse* is preserved at the Kyoto Museum.

The *nansō bunjin-ga* is characterized by strong individuality and subjectivism and primarily should not have been built up into a school. But great masters like Taiga and Buson were bound to draw a large crowd of disciples, and as these *bunjin-ga* painters toured the country in quest of material, they spread their style far and wide until the heyday of the *nan-ga* was established in the Bunka-Bunsei era (1804–1830).

Among its leaders in Osaka were Fukuhara Gogaku (1730–1799), Kimura Sansai (Kenkadō) (1736–1802), Okada Beisanjin (1744–1820) and Okada Hankō (1782–1846).

At this time, the Maruyama and Shijō schools of realistic painters predominated in Kyoto and overshadowed the *nan-ga*. But the situation was reversed later when Urugami Gyokudō (1745–1820), and Urugami Shunkin (1779–1846) in Bizen Province; Nakabayashi Chikudō (1776–1853) and Yamamoto Baiitsu (1783–1856) in

Nagoya; Nukina Kaioku (1778–1863) in Tokushima Pref. and Hine Taizan (1813–1869) in Izumi Province gathered in Kyoto.

Gyokudō in particular, opened up a new phase in the realm of the *nan-ga* with his individual, intuitive and reverberative style.

The celebrated loyalist and poet Rai Sanyō (1780–1832) and ceramist Aoki Mokubei (1776–1833) painted *bunjin-ga* in their spare times. Sanyō drew highly reverberative pictures and Mokubei, clear and simple ones.

The pure type of *nansō-ga* developed much slower in Kyūshū, the portal for import of culture from Ming and Ching China.

Kushiro Unzen (1759–1811) is generally credited with raising the *bunjin-ga* out of obscurity in this district. He was followed shortly afterwards by an even greater painter, Tanomura Chikuden (1777–1835) who was noted for his intricate and elegant style. Chikuden was a typical *bunjin* in character and way of living and exerted a big influence on his contemporaries.

His leading disciples were his adopted son Chokunyū (1814–1907), Takahashi Sōhei (1802–1833) and Hoashi Kyōu. The priest Tetsuō (1791–1871) and Kinoshita Itsuun (1799–1866) were also famous painters in Kyūshū.

The *bunjin-ga* was spread in Edo by Nakayama Kōyō and Kushiro Unzen and rose to new heights with the appearance of Tani Bunchō (1763–1840) in the Bunka-Bunsei era.

Bunchō was a prolific painter and digested the techniques of practically every school of painting that was then in existence. His works ranged from typically Ming paintings to the *suiboku-ga*, and though he cannot be classified as a *nansō-ga* painter in the strict sense of the word, he ruled over the *bunjin-ga* circles of Kantō District in the Bunsei-Bunka era and was surrounded by a big crowd of disciples. Watanabe Kazan (1793–1841) and Takaku Aigai (1796–1843) were his leading disciples.

Kazan was primarily a *samurai*, but he was also a born artist and became one of the greatest painters of modern times. He created a style of his own based on a comprehensive study of the techniques of the

nan-ga and a faithful portrayal of nature. He also digested the Western techniques of creating the illusion of depth with shadows.

Kazan produced many landscape paintings and impromptu sketches and was also adept at portraits. His *Portrait of Takami Senseki* is regarded as one of his best works. His leading disciples were Tsubaki Chinzan (1801-1854) and Okamoto Shūki (1785-1862).

During the Edo Era, the *nan-ga* absorbed a motley of techniques and lost much of its original flavor. In the previous era, the genre paintings were produced mainly by the painters of the *yamato-e* school who excelled in historical paintings.

As the *kan-ga* took over from the *yamato-e* the position as the national painting of Japan at the dawn of the modern era, the genre paintings also became the speciality of the *kan-ga* painters. The Kanō School of painters in Kyoto, in particular, produced many elaborate genre pictures.

The painted *Hikone Screen*, believed to have been drawn by a leading artist of the Kanō School, is one of the representative masterpieces of this period.

Morikage and Itchō of the Kanō School were famous genre painters and so was Kazan, a *bunjin-ga* painter.

The genre paintings depicted the lives and customs of the masses, but they were drawn mainly to fill the demands of the middle and upper classes. The need for drawing genre pictures of the masses for the masses gave rise to the eventual appearance of the *ukiyo-e*. (See Wood block print). Many art works of the western nations were brought into Japan ever since it opened up trade with Europe in the previous period. Religious paintings were also brought into Japan with the introduction of Christianity, and stimulated Japanese painters to adopt the techniques of the West.

These painters succeeded in producing the effects of Western painting with material used for Japanese painting. The most famous among the pioneers in this field was Yamada Emosaku (17th century) and an-

other painter who used the seal "Nobukata".

The growth of the embryonic Western painting in Japan was halted shortly afterwards when Christianity was banned and trade with foreign nations suspended.

The ban was relaxed under the reign of the eighth *Tokugawa Shogun* Yoshimune, and the so-called *ransho* or Dutch books were imported into Japan. A renaissance of Western painting followed under stimulus of the illustrated pictures in the *ransho*.

Hiraga Gennai (-1779), a celebrated Western painter of the times, studied the theories of Western painting and gained many followers in this field.

Satake Shozan (1748-1785) and Odano Naotake (1749-1780), both of Akita in Tōhoku District, studied under Gennai.

Shiba Kōkan (1738-1818) drew Western paintings of the distemper type and also produced copperplate prints. Another exponent of the copperplate prints was Aōdo Denzen (1748-1822) who specialized mainly in landscape pictures.

In Nagasaki, Kita Genki (latter half of 17th century) used Western techniques in his portraits of monks.

Thus Western style painting was taken up by a number of painters, but it was only after the Meiji Restoration that the Western style of painting was truly transplanted into Japan.

Meiji and Taishō periods (1868-1926)

Painting went into a slump in the sweeping changes and confusion that followed the Meiji Restoration.

The Kanō School of painters, the central clique of painting circles, went into eclipse with the downfall of the warrior class that supported them. The independent *nan-ga* painters alone continued to wield vigorous and unrestricted strokes. But because they lacked introspection, they, too, eventually passed away into obscurity.

The credit for finding true value in ancient Japanese arts at this time and laying the foundation for modern Japanese painting goes to Okakura Tenshin (1862-1913)

and Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1903), a philosophy instructor at Tokyo University.

These two men started a drive to preserve the classical arts of Japan and also founded the Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts (present the Tokyo University of Arts) in 1888. They also encouraged Kanō Hōgai (1828-1888) and Hashimoto Gahō to launch a campaign for revamping Japanese paintings.

Hōgai and Gahō were originally from the Kanō School but adopted the spirit of the ancient paintings and the techniques of Western painting and created a new form of Japanese painting that blazed the trail for young painters to follow.

The ideals of Fenollosa and Okakura were carried on by the *Nippon Bijutsuin* founded by them in 1893. Their leading young disciples included Yokoyama Taikan (1868-1958), Shimomura Kanzan (1873-1930), Hishida Shunsō (1874-1911) and Saigō Kōgetsu (1873-1912). These men strove to devise new techniques and to express the Oriental spirit in their works.

A new life movement was also launched in Kyoto around this time by a group of painters who carried on the tradition of the Maruyama-Shijō School. Takeuchi Seihō (1864-1941) and Yamamoto Shunkyo (1871-1933) developed a refined naturalist style that was based on the traditions of the Maruyama-Shijō School.

The Education Ministry's Art Exhibition (*Bunten*) held in 1907 provided tremendous stimuli to these new group of painters.

In addition to the above mentioned painters, the artists who took an active part in the *Bunten* of the early days were Imamura Shikō (1880-1916) and Yasuda Yukihiko (1884-) from the Japan Art Academy (*Bijutsuin*); and Miss Uemura Shōen (1875-1949), Hashimoto Kansetsu (1883-1945), Kikuchi Keigetsu (1879-1955), and Kijima Ōkoku (1877-1938) from the Kyoto School of painters.

The Tokyo painters not affiliated with the *Bijutsuin* included Terazaki Kōgyō (1866-1919), Kawai Gyokudō (1873-1957), Hirafuku Hyakusui (1877-1933), Yūki Somei (1875-1957), Matsuoka Eikyū (1881-1938) and Kaburagi Kiyokata (1878-).

In 1914, the *Bijutsuin* declared independence from the *Bunten* and held the first non-governmental art exhibit. It has sponsored exhibits every autumn since then until today.

Kobayashi Kokei (1883-1957), Maeda Seison (1885-), Tomita Keisen (1879-1936), Ogawa Usen (1868-1938), Hayami Gyoshū (1894-1935) and Kawabata Ryūshi (1885-) were also prominent painters of this era.

The works of Taikan, Shunsō, Shikō and Gyoshū may be considered the vanguard of contemporary Japanese painting.

Tsuchida Bakusen (1887-1936) and Murakami Kagaku (1888-1939) are remembered for organizing the *Kokuga Sōsaku Kyōkai* (National Painting Creative Society) in 1914.

In 1928, Kawabata Ryūshi seceded from the *Bijutsuin* Exhibition (*Inten*), and in 1929 he formed the *Seiryūsha*, a small but powerful groups of artists that still survives today.

The Education Ministry Exhibit (*Bunten*) was taken over in 1919 by the *Teikoku Bijutsuin* (*Teiten*). The painters who took leading parts in this exhibition were Kikawa Reika (1875-1929), Dōmoto Inshō (1891-), Uda Tekison (1896-), Yamaguchi Hōshun (1893-) and Fukuda Heihachirō (1892-).

Mention should also be made here of Tomioka Tessai (1836-1924) who shone as a lone nan-ga painter outside the glittering groups of celebrated painters.

The realistic techniques of Western painting were adopted in Japan far before the Meiji Era, but the beginning of contemporary Western painting is considered to have been found in the books on Western painting by Kawakami Tōgai (1827-1881) and Takahashi Yuichi (1828-1894). Takahashi Yuichi's crude, realistic works are considered representative masterpieces of early Western style painting in Japan. Takahashi studied the techniques of Western style painting from Charles Wirgman (1834-1891), an Illustrated London News correspondent in Yokohama. His most famous work is the *Salmon*.

In 1876, the Government founded the Art Academy and invited Antonio Fontanesi (1818-1882) to teach oil painting at the academy. Fontanesi's was an old style, but he is credited with transmitting to young Japanese artists the basic techniques of the orthodox oil paintings. The celebrated painter Asai Tadashi (1856-1907) studied under Fontanesi.

Later, Western painting was overshadowed by the renaissance of classical Japanese painting spearheaded by Fenolosa and Okakura Tenshin. However, after the middle of the Meiji Era, a group of painters studied in Europe and came back to add fresh stimuli to Western painting in Japan.

Matsuoka Hisashi (1862-1943) and Kawamura Kiyoo (1852-1934) studied in Italy; Yamamoto Hōsui (1950-1906) and Goseda Yoshimatsu (1855-1915) in France; and Harada Naojirō (1863-1899) in Germany.

In 1889, the first organization of Western style painters was formed and called the *Meiji Bijutsu Kai*. This group of painters were nicknamed the *Yani-ha* or Resin School because a gloomy, brownish tone pervaded their works. Each painter followed his own unique style, but they shared in common an academic naturalistic attitude towards painting.

Around this time, Kuroda Kiyoteru (1866-1924) studied in Paris under Raphael Collin (1850-1917), an academic painter who adopted the Impressionism that was then beginning to raise its head in Paris.

Kuroda's return in 1893 turned a new leaf in the history of Western style painting in Japan. His bright, naturalistic style was called the *Gaikō-ha* and gradually pervaded Western painting circles of Japan.

The *Hakuba Kai*, formed by Kuroda and his followers in 1896, became a powerful group in painting circles. A representative artist of this group who also reflected the romantic trends of the times was Fujishima Takeji (1867-1943). The young

artist Aoki Shigeru who died prematurely (1882-1911) carried the romantic trend still further and left behind captivating works.

When a Western style painting department was set up in the Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts in 1896, Kuroda became a leading staff member along with Kume Keiichirō (1866-1934), another disciple of Collin, and Iwamura Tōru, an art critic.

The establishment of the Education Ministry Art Exhibition (*Bunten*) in 1906 gradually merged the members of the *Hakuba Kai* and *Taiheiyō Gakai*, two powerful rival clans of the day, and established a unique academic form that could be described as the *Bunten* style. Graduates of the Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts formed the nucleus of this group.

Judges of the first *Bunten* exhibition were Kuroda, Asai, Kume, Matsuoka Hisashi (1862-1943), Okada Saburōsuke (1869-1939), Wada Eisaku (1874-), Nakamura Fusetsu (1866-1943), Koyama Shōtarō (1857-1916), and Mitsutani Kunishirō (1874-1936).

The exhibits included works by Wada Sanzō (1883-), Aoyama Kumaji (1886-1932), Nakagawa Hachirō (1877-1922), Yamamoto Morinosuke (1877-1928), Nakazawa Hiromitsu (1874-), Yoshida Hiroshi (1876-1950), Kosugi Misei (1881-), and Minami Kunzō (1883-1950).

The *Hakuba Kai* was disbanded in 1911, and in the following year, its members formed the *Kōfū Kai*. This was a gathering of painters who formed the center of Government Sponsored Exhibition (*Kanten*), and its current still survives today.

The *Fusin Kai* was formed by young independent painters as a challenge to the academism of the *Kanten* School of painters. The works of the Late Impressionist School introduced in the magazine *Shirakaba* and the import of Fauvism by Saitō Yori (1885-), spurred Yoroze Tetsugorō (1885-1927), Kimura Sōhachi (1893-) and Kishida Ryūsei (1891-1929)

to form the new school.

The *Fusin Kai* was eventually disbanded, and the *Sōdōsha* formed in 1915 by Kimura and Kishida. This group sought to revive Scandinavian classicism in intricate, realistic style.

The *Nika Kai* was also formed around this time by a progressive group of Bunten painters. The leaders of this group were Arishima Ikuma (1882-), Ishii Hakutei (1882-), Yamashita Shintarō (1881-) and Sakamoto Shigejirō (1882-).

The *Nika Kai* made vast contributions to Western painting in Japan and produced many foremost artists in the Taishō and Shōwa eras.

Sekine Shōji, Koide Narashige (1887-1931), Saeki Yūzō (1898-1928), Koga Shunkō (1895-1938) and Hasegawa Toshiyuki belonged to this group, and many of the leading painters of today were nurtured by the *Nika Kai*. Fujita Tsuguji, world famous painter of the Ecole de Paris, was a former member of the *Nika Kai*.

In 1926, Western style painters like Umehara Ryūzaburō and Kawashima Rii-chirō joined the *Kokuga Sōsaku Kyōkai*. After the society's Japanese painting department was disbanded, the organization was renamed *Kokuga Kai* under the leadership of Umehara.

The 1930 *Kyōkai* was also formed in 1926 by a group of young painters influenced by the post-Fauve painters of France. This group disbanded after the death of one of its leaders Maeda Kanji.

Later in 1930, Kojima Zenzaburō and Satomi Katsuzō, both former *Nika Kai* men, formed the *Dokuritsu Bijutsu Kyōkai*.

Art Galleries and Museums in Japan

Homma Art Gallery. 12, Hamabata-chō, Sakata, Yamagata Pref.

Chidō Museum. Tsuruoka, Yamagata Pref.

Saitō Hōonkai Museum. 3, Uramon dōri,

Taiseiji, Sendai, Miyagi Pref.

Tokyo National Museum. Ueno Park, Tokyo.

National Museum of Modern Arts. 11-3, Kyōbashi, Tokyo.

Tokyo Metropolitan Art Gallery. Ueno Park, Tokyo.

Ōkura Shūkokan. 3, Aoi-chō, Akasaka, Tokyo.

Nippon Folk Craft Gallery. 861, Komaba, Meguro-ku, Tokyo.

Nezu Art Gallery. 115-6, Aoyama Minami-chō, Tokyo.

Bridgestone Art Gallery. Kyōbashi, Tokyo.
Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Modern Arts. Yukinoshita, Kamakura, Kanagawa Pref.

Kamakura National Treasure Gallery. Yukinoshita, Kamakura, Kanagawa Pref.

Nagao Art Gallery. Fukazawa-chō, Kamakura, Kanagawa Pref.

Hakone Art Gallery. Gōra, Hakone, Kanagawa Pref.

Ibaraki Prefectural Art Gallery. Isohama, Ibaraki Pref.

Mishima Shrine Museum. 1, Demma-chō, Mishima, Shizuoka Pref.

Suwa Municipal Art Gallery. Kami-Suwa, Suwa, Nagano Pref.

Matsumoto Municipal Museum. Jizōshimizu, Matsumoto, Nagano Pref.

Northern Culture Museum. Yokogoshimura, Niigata Pref.

Tokugawa Museum. Tokugawa-chō, Higashi-ku, Nagoya, Aichi Pref.

Kyoto National Museum. Yamato Ōji-dōri, Higashiyama-ku, Kyoto.

Kyoto Municipal Art Gallery. Okazaki Park, Sakyō-ku, Kyoto.

Nara National Museum. Kasugano-chō, Nara, Nara Pref.

Osaka Municipal Art Gallery. Chausu-chō, Tennōji-ku, Osaka.

Nippon Kōgeikan. Dōjima, Kita-ku, Osaka.

Kobe Municipal Art Gallery. Kumauchi-chō, Fukiai-ku, Kobe, Hyōgo Pref.

Hakutsuru Art Gallery. Sumiyoshi-chō, Higashi Nada-ku, Kobe, Hyōgo Pref.

Ōhara Art Gallery. Shinkawa-chō, Kurashiki, Okayama Pref.

Kurashiki Folk Craft Museum. Kurashiki, Okayama Pref.

Takamatsu Art Gallery. Kuribayashi Park, Takamatsu, Kagawa Pref.

Nagasaki Municipal Museum. Uma-chō, Nagasaki, Nagasaki Pref.

Contemporary Painting

Shōwa Period

In Japan, since 1868, two different schools of painting—the traditional Japanese painting and the newly imported so-called Western painting—stood side by side. In spite of the fact that there has been a certain amount of intermingling, these two schools owe their difference to the disparity in the view of world and the way of looking at things of the artists themselves, rather than the external difference of material.

Though Western painting is an imported form of art, the fact that it is the culmination of thought, sense and technique of modern Western society facilitated its assimilation to modern civilization in Japan and it is only natural that it gradually flourished. Thus, the position of Western painting in Japan increasingly stabilized in the post-war years. On the other hand, it naturally follows that Japanese painting shows signs of decline since it faced fewer hardships and milder resistance. Yet, we must admit that Japanese painting has a unique and strongly pronounced traditional beauty which must have exercised an active influence on Western painting. In future, the present two schools of painting in Japan will blend their characteristics and solve their contradictions. It is then, that Japanese painting will flower as a world art. In fact, we already observe active movements in that direction.

The following is a bird's-eye-view of contemporary painting circles in Japan between the years 1926–1956.

Japanese Painting

It was during the early years of the *Bunten* (a government sponsored exhibition which began in 1907) that the outline of Japanese painting as a newly reformed art, in harmony with the new historical era, emerged from the confusion of the early Meiji Era. In the ensuing years (1912–

1925), efforts were made in developing and refining the newly established form of art while the basic problems were temporarily put to a standstill. In the mid-twenties, the tendency of the painting circles was concentrated on the perfection of individuality of each artist.

The *Nihon Bijutsuin*, since its restoration in 1914, acted as a mainstay of Japanese painting. When the avant-garde movement aroused the painting circles of the late twenties, the *Nihon Bijutsuin* maintained orientalism, the philosophy of Okakura Tenshin, its organizer, and adopted what we might call neo-classicism which consisted in a new interpretation of Oriental classicism. The fresh touches of Chinese ink in the *Eight Scenes of Shōshō* and the *Waterfall*, the colorful beauty of the *Evening Cherries* by Yokoyama Taikan represent neo-classicism of the *Inten* of the early Shōwa Period while the *Green Moss and Green Lawn* and the *Camelia Tree*, masterpieces by Hayami Gyoshū, amaze us with their bold composition and decorative perfection in which we find a modern interpretation of the Orient. Kobayashi Kokei adopted the good points of the classic schools of Kōrin and *yamato-e* in his *the Stork and the Turkey* while *Princess Kiyo, the Hair* and other works represent his keen spirit and clear-cut lines within an atmosphere of solemnity, the *God, Yamato Takeru Lying Exhausted by the Miraculous Fountain* and the *God of Wind and the God of Thunder* by Yasuda Yukihiko and the unparalleled brilliance of style of Maeda Seison's *the Picture-Scroll of Saiyūki, Yoritomo in the Cave* and others are specimens of purity and genuineness of neo-classicism. On the other hand, the *Cherries of Mimuro, the Carrier Pigeon* by Tomita Keisen and the works of Ogawa Usen reveal individualistic freedom, which succeeded in giving a certain amount of fluidity to neo-classicism. With the death of Keisen and Usen between the years 1935–1944, the rising militarism

acted as a spur in accelerating the pace of neo-classicism. As a result, at times, the quality of paintings increasingly deteriorated.

Although it is a fact that we find memorable masterpieces created within the atmosphere of *Inten* neo-classicism, we cannot deny the existence of the art-for-art principle which in a sense is escapism. This defect has been tacitly pointed by the founding of the *Seiryū-sha*. Until 1928, a year before he resigned from the *Inten* and organized the *Seiryū-sha* together with his disciples, Kawabata Ryūshi was yearly contributing his fine works to the *Inten* Exhibitions. But he gradually felt discontented with *Inten's* philosophy of art-for-art's sake as well as the general tendency of extreme delicacy of style, and organized the *Seiryū-sha* under the banner of fortitude and vigor. His two objectives consisted in the creation of vigorous style and the self-awakening that art should appeal to the masses through public showings. With his gigantic series of paintings of the Pacific Ocean and the Chinese Continent, which reflect the social situation of the time, and his *the Straits of Naruto, a Whirlpool of Carps* and *the Symphony of Young Trees* in which his vigorous style achieves both the romantic and the heroic, Kawabata Ryūshi succeeded in fulfilling his goal. Thus, the rising *Seiryū-sha* established its unique position in Japanese painting circles. Though in a way, Kawabata Ryūshi was the one and only figure of the *Seiryū-sha*, we find such masters as Ochiai Rofū, Fukuda Toyoshirō, Sakaguchi Issō, Fukuoka Seiran and others. Later, Fukuda Toyoshirō and Ochiai Rofū disconnected themselves from the *Seiryū-sha* and went their own way.

Casting our eyes on the *Teiten*, the biggest group in the painting circles which comprises almost every possible school of painting, we find works of a great variety. Toward the late twenties, the *Teiten* markedly deteriorated in its quality of works, as cheap works merely competing in size or aiming at sensational effects began to dominate its exhibitions. Yet, the situation was not hopeless. Besides the fact that the masters of Kyoto painting circles were

clustered around the *Teiten*, Tsuchida Bakusen and Ono Chikkyō, whose activities attracted considerable attention, joined the *Teiten* after the dissolution of the *Kokuga Sōsaku Kyōkai* in 1928. Kawai Gyokudō, who in his *Cormorant Fishing* and the *Snow Scene* shows us his genteel style in which he succeeded to combine the traditional Shijō and Kanō schools; Kaburagi Kiyokata in his *Tsukiji Akashi-chō* and *San-yūtei Enchō* and Matsuoka Eikyū in his *Shigemori and the Heiji Rising* and *Sanetomo, the Minister of the Right* show us a modernized version of Yamato painting; among others are Hirafuku Hyakusui, Shimada Bokusen, Yūki Somei, Komuro Suion, Ishii Rinkyō, Yamaguchi Hōshun, Itō Shinsui who are considered as representative masters of the *Teiten* of Tokyo. In Kyoto, Takeuchi Seihō with his *the Frog and the Dragon Fly* introduced Western flavor to the Maruyama and Shijō schools. Nishimura Goun with his *Autumn Egg Plant*, Hashimoto Kansetsu with his *Old Mokey* and *Cow Dealer*, Tsuchida Bakusen who left the *Kokuten* and rejoined the *Teiten* with his *Dancing Girl, Korean Beauties, Irises*, Uemura Shōen, Fukuda Heihachirō, Dōmoto Inshō and Nakamura Daizaburō followed Seihō's footsteps and contributed works of merit.

The above is a synopsis of representative works of the *Teiten* of the early Shōwa Period. For some time, the apathy of the *Teiten* has been a matter of concern, until in 1935, it was decided to reorganize it. This caused great turmoil in the painting circles, which resulted in active movements. Finally, in 1937, the Imperial Art Academy was established. Members from such private groups as the *Inten* and others joined it. Thus, the so-called *Shin Bunten* made a new start.

The *Shin Bunten* was a galaxy of the masterpieces of artists who started their career during the latter part of the Meiji and Taishō eras. It was the culmination of technical perfection of new Japanese painting. *The Kodai Shrine* and *Japan, the Land of the Rising Sun* by Yokoyama Taikan, *Autumn Rain* by Kawai Gyokudō, *the Young Duck* and *the Male Phoenix* by Kabu-

ragi Kiyokata, *General Sun-tzu Training Lady Soldiers and the Arrival of Yoshitsune* by Yasuda Yukihiro, *the Fudō* by Kobayashi Kokei, *the Ashura* by Maeda Seison, *the Twilight* by Uemura Shōen and others contributed their brilliant works, followed by the powerful works of painters of medium standing. Yet, with the advocacy of national culture of the early forties as its peak, public support of Japanese painting began to show signs of decline. The *Shin Buntan*, so to speak, was the last bright ray of light of brightly burning candle.

The above is a general survey of the main art groups of Japanese painting. There were a few more changes, such as the dissolution of Japan *Nanga-in* in 1935, the establishment of the *Dainichi-Bijutsuin* and *Shinkō-Bijutsuin* in 1937, the establishment of the *Nihonga-in* and *Shin-Bijutsujin Kyōkai* 1938. Among them, the *Shin-Bijutsujin Kyōkai* which was a study group of new Japanese painting had Fukuda Toyoshirō and Yoshioka Kenji as its central figures. It is a fact worthy of note that a considerable number of painters belonging to this group are in close relation with the *Sōzō-Bijutsu*, which represents the new post-war tendency.

Such was the situation of Japanese painting circles, when World War II interrupted all activities.

The post-war apathy of Japanese painting circles which fell a victim to two impacts, namely, temporary loss of national confidence and feverish adoption of Western culture, is still fresh in our memory. In 1946, the *Nitten* made a new start under the democratized name of Japan Art Exhibition. The *Inten*, the *Seiryū-sha* and other groups followed the lead. Besides a small number of works of merit by mature masters of the pre-war days, the general atmosphere was that of lost direction.

This does not mean that no one did anything about the situation. There were earnest attempts to get out of this plight, which in 1948 materialized into the organization of the *Sōzō-Bijutsu*. This attempt acted as an initiative to the prevailing spirit of reform and won great acclaim. With the general principle "to make universality the

basis of creation", this new group consisted of thirteen progressive painters of medium standing—six painters from Tokyo including Yamamoto Kyūjin, Fukuda Toyoshirō and Yoshioka Kenji and seven painters from Kyoto including Uemura Shōkō and Okumura Kōichi. Their freshness of style and high spirits played an important part in the development of post-war Japanese painting. The *Sōzō-Bijutsu* which held three yearly exhibitions since 1948, amalgamated with the *Shinseisaku-ha Kyōkai* in 1951. The two groups started under the new name *Shinseisaku Kyōkai*, with the *Sōzō-Bijutsu* as its Japanese Painting Section. A great number of new painters such as Hori Fumiko, Iwasaki Taku, Hieda Kazuho, Shida Kinshō, Asakura Setsu created a new style not to mention such representative works by members of the organizing committee, as *the Autumn on the Grass* by Yamamoto Kyūjin, *the Marsh* by Yoshioka Kenji and *the Dancing Girls* by Fukuda Toyoshirō. In other words, the spirit of adventure and exaltation with which they adopted the composition and sensuous characteristics of modern painting of the West, while winning acclaim on one hand, was subject to severe criticism because of their unabashed way of imitating.

In spite of such criticism, this attitude of the painters of the Japanese Painting Section of the *Shinseisaku Kyōkai* the former *Sōzō Bijutsu*, stimulated other painters. Especially, an increasingly great number of young painters adopted this attitude. It is a fact worthy of special mention that the *Sōzō-Bijutsu* was the driving force in wakening the apathy of Japanese painting circles.

Though the pre-war masters of the *Inten* please our eyes with the perfection of their conservative style, the *Inten* could not escape the footsteps of the new age and it gradually losing its former consistency. Members of medium standing, especially those who are on the way to fame are becoming increasingly wetsernized and are in favor of colorism. Okumura Dogyū, Gōkura Senjin, Ōta Chōu, Nakamura Tei, Iwashashi Eien attract our attention while the recent progress of paintress Ogura Yuki is exceptionally brilliant.

← "Kojiki" (Records of Ancient Matters)
(Photo—Mr. Hase)

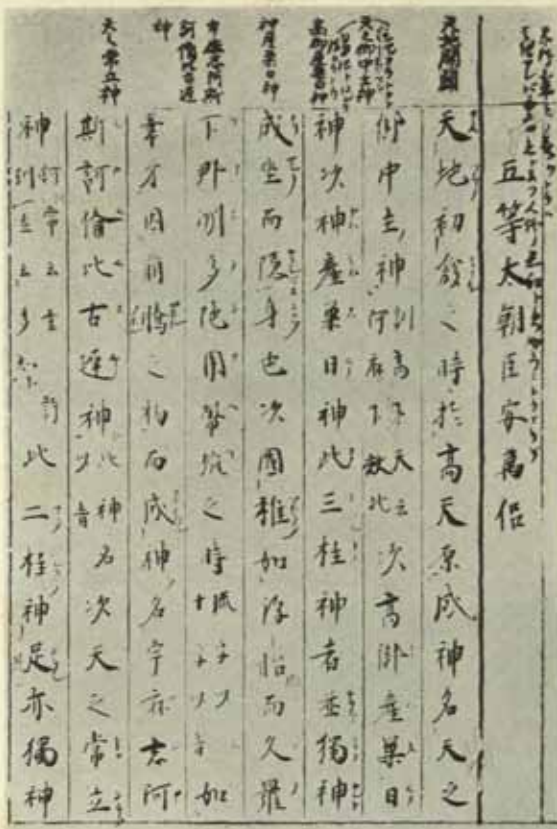


↑ "Manyōshū" (Katsura Text)

Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro (Photo—Mr. Hase) ↓



↑ Fujiwara-no-Teika (or Sadaie) (Photo—Mr. Hase)



↓ Murasaki Shikibu (Photo—Mr. Hase)





← Ihara Saikaku
(Photo—Mr. Hase)



↑ Chikamatsu Monzaemon (Photo—Mr. Hase)

→
"Kōshoku Ichidai
Otoko" (Life of a
Voluptuous Man) by
Saikaku



↓
The content of "Kōshoku
Ichidai Otoko"



← "Sarumino shū" selected by Matsuo Bashō
(Photo—Mr. Hase)

猿蓑集卷之一

冬

初〜猿蓑を小蓑にほい地
あまのけをゆめ見る夜は猿の
時ふやあひ〜の動ふ
幾人〜のぬくぬくの檜
幾人のねね〜の〜の
史邦

Matsuo Bashō drawn by Yona Buson →
(Photo—Mr. Hase)

"Satomi Hakkenden" (The Biographies of Eight Dogs)
by Takizawa Bakin (Photo—Mr. Hase)

Self-portrait by Yona Buson (Photo—Mr. Hase)





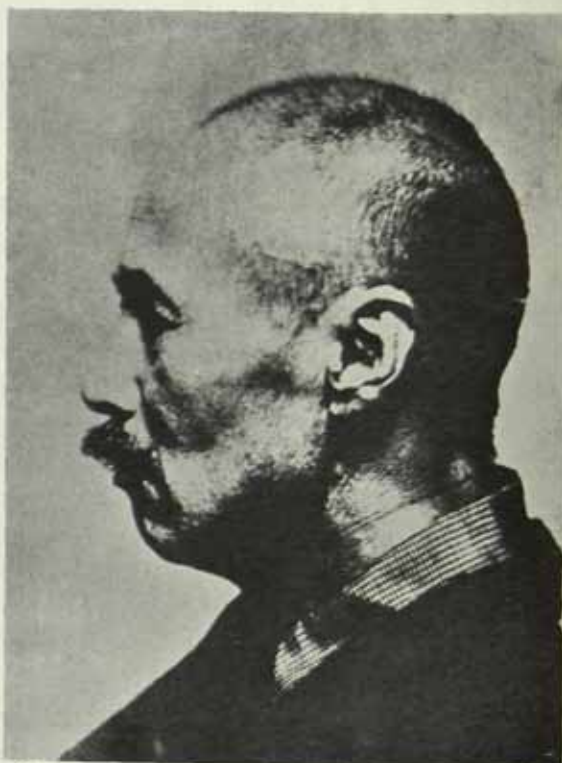
↑
Taubouchi Shōyō



↑
Kōda Rohan



↑
Ozaki Kōyō



↑
Mori Ōgai



↑ "Wagahai wa Neko de aru" (I am a Cat) by Natsume Sōseki

↑ Natsume Sōseki



← "Heibon" (Mediocrity) by Futabatei Shimpei, translated by Glenn Shaw



→ Shimazaki Tōson

↓ Akutagawa Ryūnosuke





↑ Illustrated Buddhist Sutra entitled "Kako-Genzai-Inga-Kyō" (Sutra of Cause and Effect in the Past and Present). Owner: Jōbon-Rendaiji Temple. 8th century. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)

施香散華鳴鐘梵唄
作諸伎樂以七寶器
咸四海水諸仙人衆
各各頂戴投華散門
如是及至遍及諸臣
悉已頂戴傳授與王
時王即以太子頂以
七寶車而用付之文
學大猷高僧國言今



← Painting on the panel of the "Tamamushi-zushi" chest. Hōryū-ji Temple, Nara, 7th century. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



Yellow Fudō (Acalanatha). Owned by Manju-in Temple, Kyoto. 12th century. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)

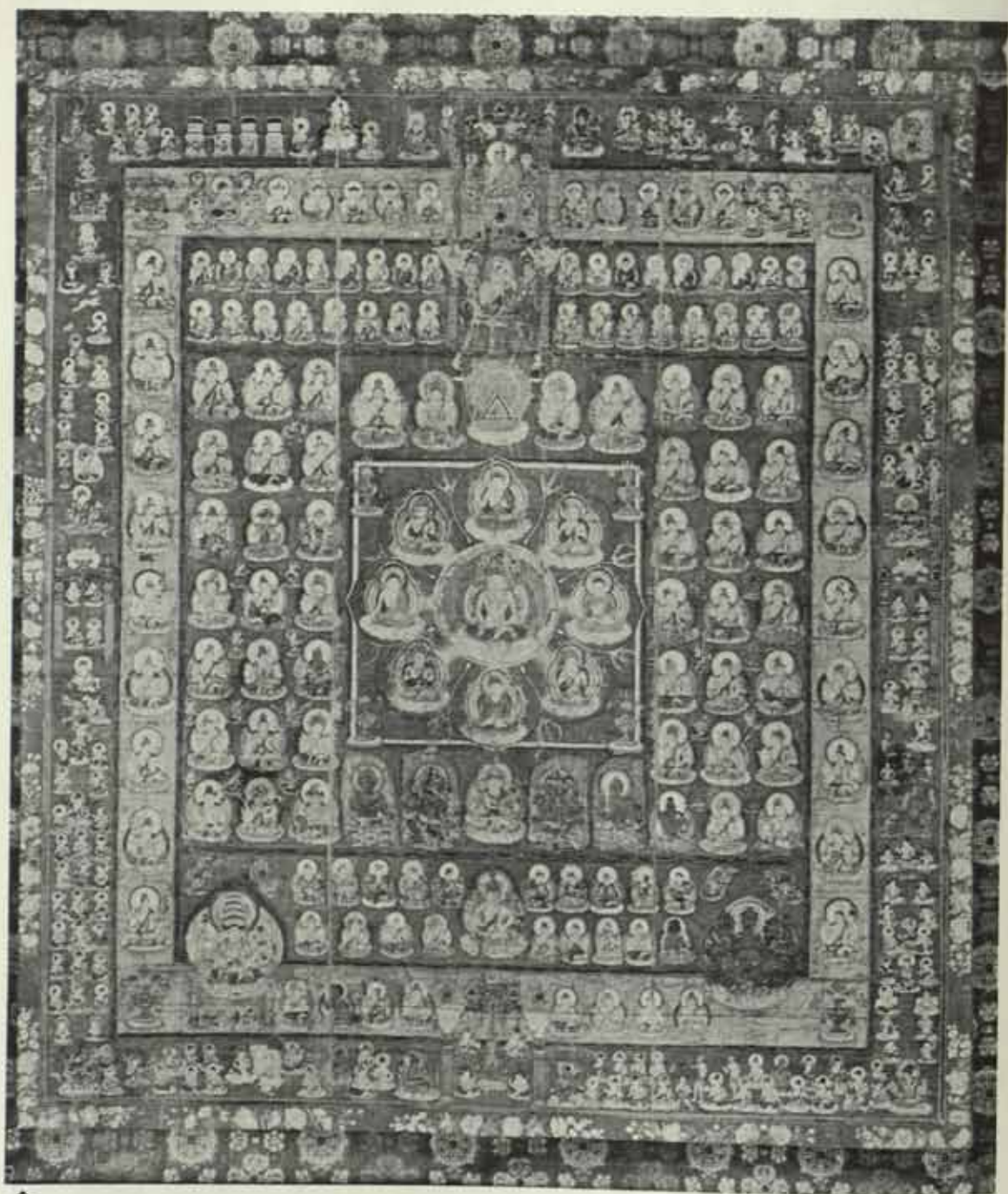




← Bodhisattvas Kannon (Avalokitesvara) from wall painting in the Main Sanctuary (Kondō) of the Hōryū-ji Temple, Nara (detail from Panel Number Six), 8th century. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)

→ Kichijō-ten (Mahasri), Yakushi-ji Temple, Nara, 8th century. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)





↑ "Matrix Mandala". Owner: Kyōō Gokoku-ji Temple, Kyoto. 899 A.D. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



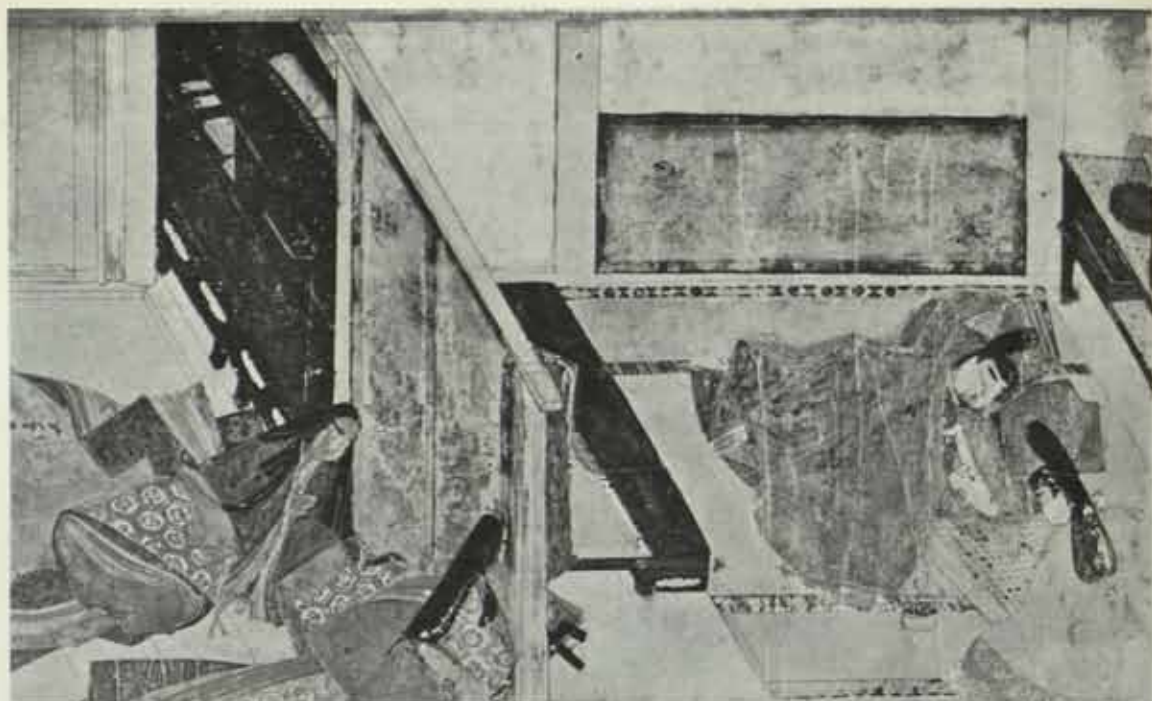
←
"Buddha Attaining Nirvana".
Kongōbu-ji Temple, Mt. Kōya,
Wakayama Prefecture. 11th century.
(Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)

"Raigō" (coming to welcome) of Amitabha and his Hosts
(detail). Owner: Daizen-in Temple, Mt. Kōya, Wakayama
Prefecture. 12th century. (Photo—K.B.S.)



↑
"Yamaguchi Raigō" (Amitabha and Attendants rising
from behind the mountains on their way to the death
bed of the believer). Owned by Konkō Kōmyō-ji
Temple, Kyoto. Late 13th century.
(Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)





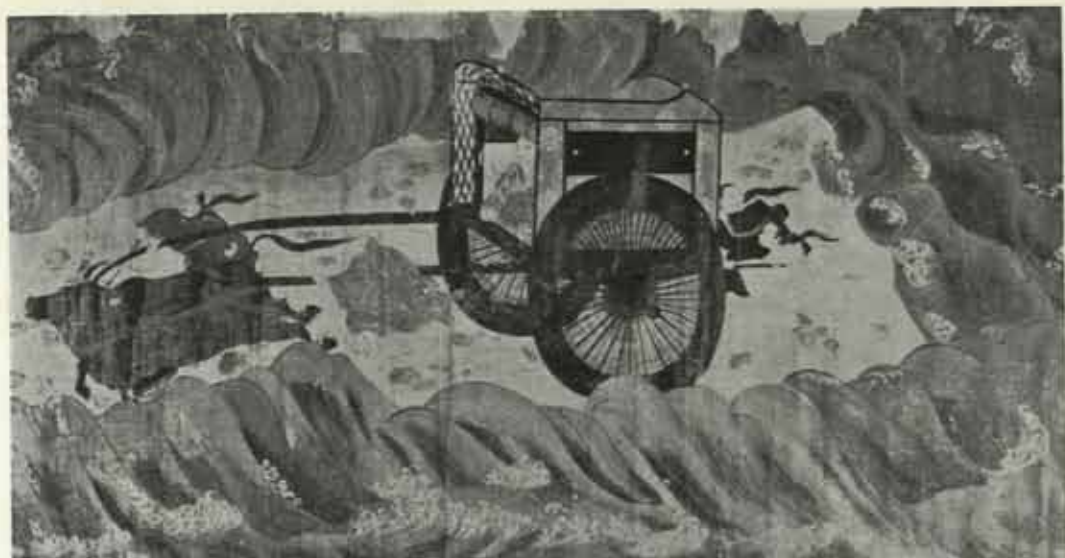
↑ Scroll-painting of the "Tale of Genji" (detail). Owned by Reimei-kai, Tokyo. 12th century. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)

→
 Scroll of "Shigi-san Engi" (detail:
 "the Story of the Priest Myōren"),
 Chōgosonshi-ji Temple, Nara Prefec-
 ture. 12th century.
 (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



↘
 "Scroll of Birds and Animals in Caricature". Kōzan-ji Temple, Kyoto. 12th century.
 (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)





↑ "Kitano-Tenjin Engi" (the story of Sugawara-no-Michizane, statesman and man of letters). Picture-scroll (detail). Artist: traditionally ascribed to Fujiwara-no-Nobuzane. Owned by Kitano Tenman-gū Shrine, Kyoto. 13th century. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)

→ Hoke-kyō sutra, dedicated to the Itsukushima Shrine by Taira family. Owner: Itsukushima Shrine, Hiroshima Prefecture. 12th century. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)

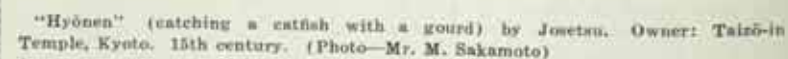


↓ "Handbook on Hungry Ghosts" (detail). One paper scroll in colour. Owner: The National Commission for the Protection of Cultural Properties. 12th century. (Photo—K.B.S.)

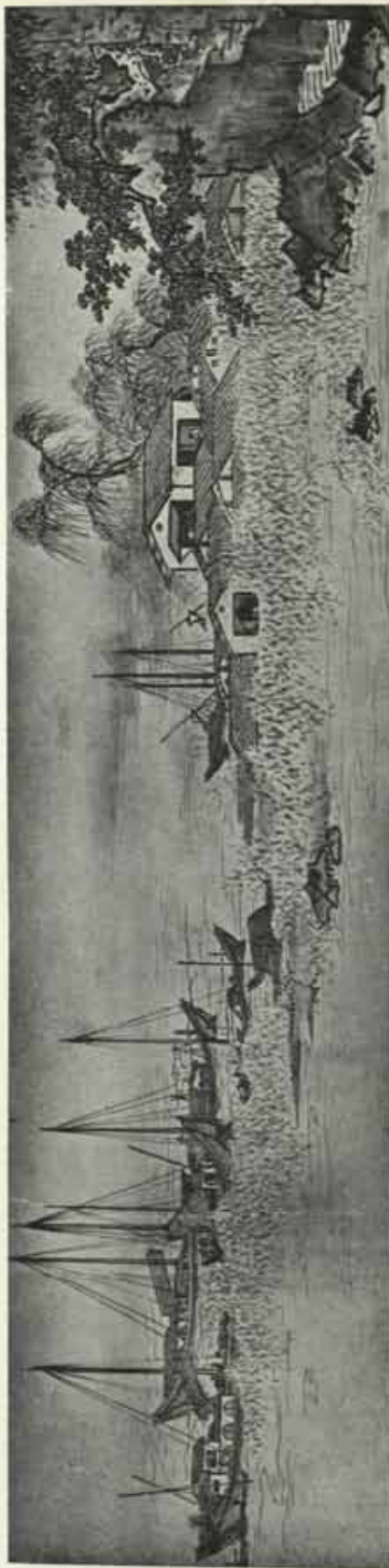




"Landscape" attributed to Shinsō (—1525), Daitoku-ji Daisen-in Temple, Kyoto. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



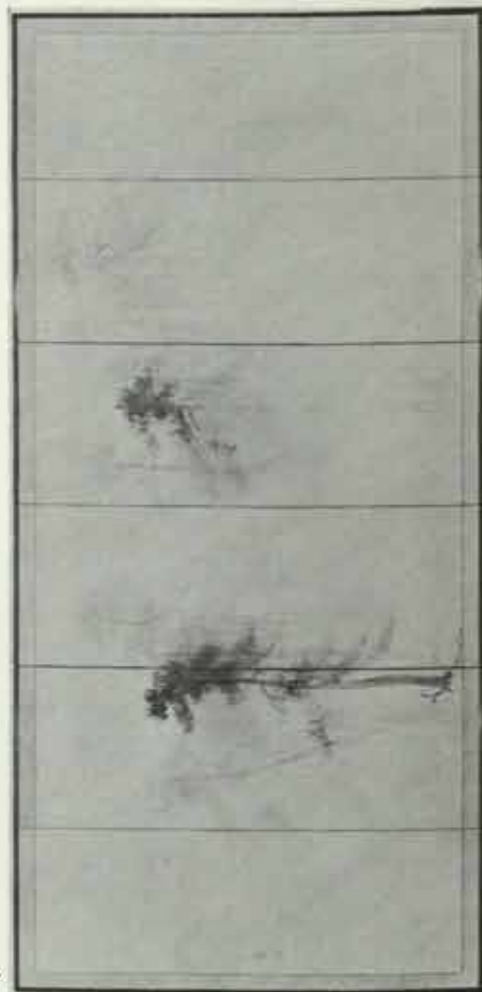
"Chikusai Tokusho" (A Study in a Bamboo Grove). Ascribed to Shūbun. Owned by Tokyo National Museum. 15th century.
(Photo—K.B.S.)



↑ "Landscape Scroll" by Seshū, Owner: Mr. Mōri in Yamaguchi, 15th century. (Photo—K.B.S.)



→ "Pine Trees" by Hasegawa Tōhaku (1529-1610). Owner: Tokyo National Museum. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)

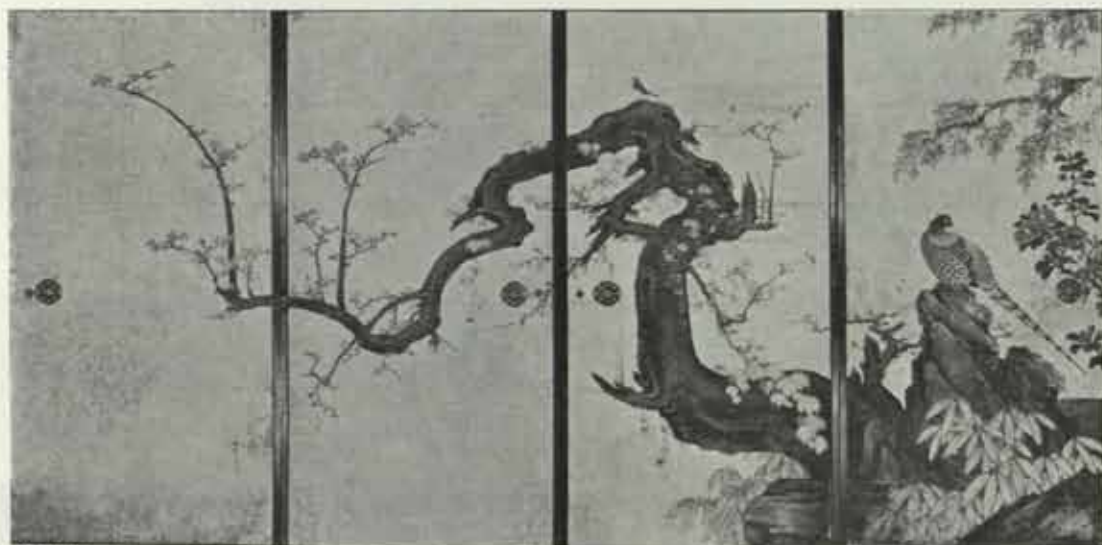


← "Pine Trees and Flowering Grasses". Painter unknown. Owner: Chishaku-in Temple, Kyoto, 16th century. (Photo—K.B.S.)

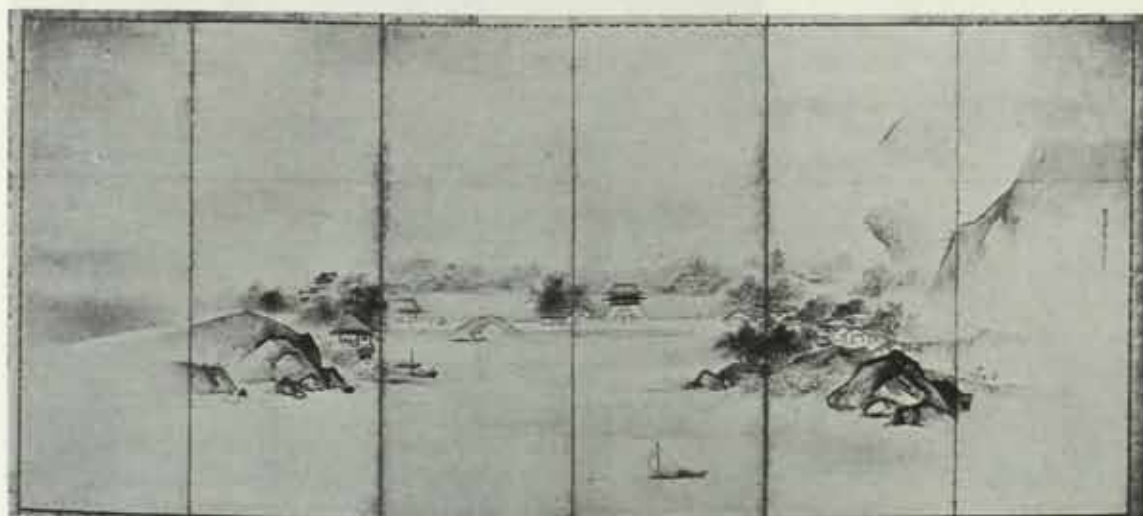
→ "Priest Myōe", the Kōzan-ji Temple, Kyoto, 13th century. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



↑ "Kera-jishi" by Kanō Eitoku. Owned by Imperial Household Agency. 16th century. (Photo—Tokyo National Museum)



↑ "Plum Tree and Birds" by Kanō Sanraku (1559—1635). Owned by Tenkyū-in Temple, Kyoto. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



↑ "Landscape Screen" by Kanō Tanyū (1602—1674). Owned by K. Nishiwaki. (Photo—K.B.S.)



←
 "Rose and Quail" by
 Toan Mitsuoki (1617—
 1691). Owned by T.
 Makita.
 (Photo—K.H.S.)



←
 Fan-shaped Picture on
 Screen (detail) by Nomu-
 ra (or Tawaraya) Sōta-
 tsu (early 17th century).
 Owner: Sambō-in Daigo-
 ji Temple, Kyoto.
 (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamo-
 to)

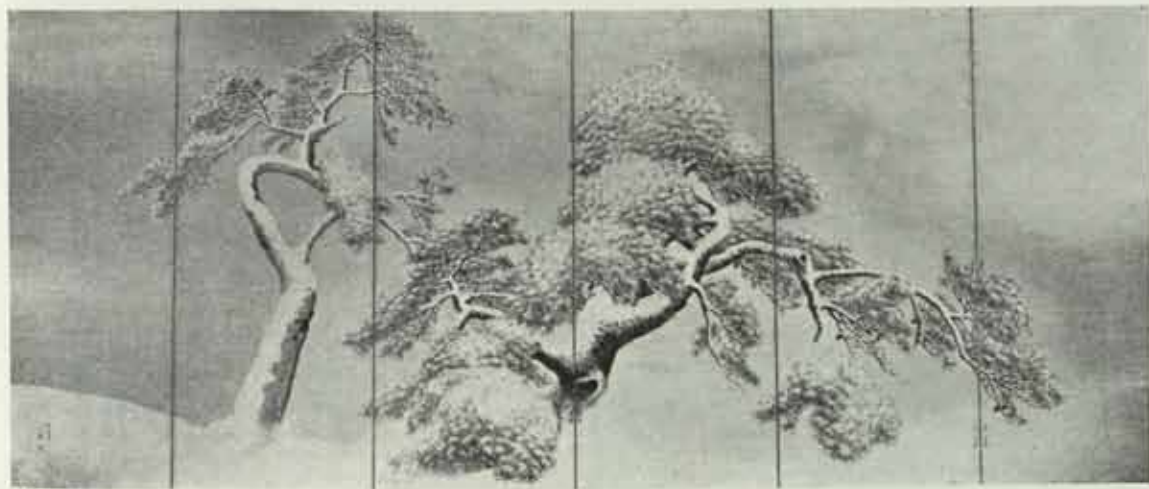
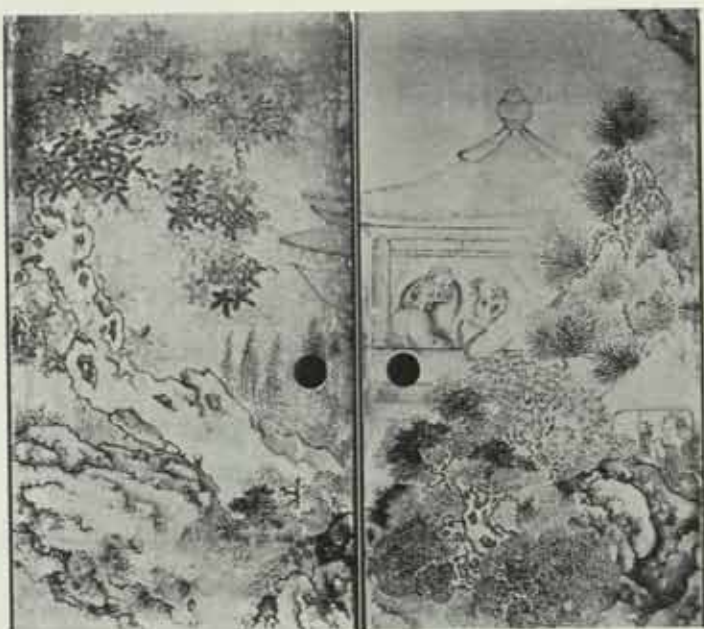
→
 "Plum-blossoms" by Ogata
 Kōrin (1658—1716). Owner:
 Mr. Taugaru Yoshitaka, Tokyo.
 (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)





← "Wild Horses" by Yosa Buson (1716-1783). Owner: Tokyo National Museum.

→ "Landscape with Figures" by Ike-no-Taiga (1723-1776). Owner: Henjōkō-in Temple, Wakayama Prefecture. (Photo-K.R.S.)



↑ "Pine Trees in Snow" by Maruyama Ōkyo (1733-1795). Owned by Mr. Mitsui Takakimi. (Photo-Mr. M. Sakamoto)

→
 "Tō-un Shisetsu" (snow falling from eastern cloud) by
 Uragami Gyokudō (1754-1820). Owned by Kawabata
 Yasunari (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



←
 "Portrait of Takami Senseki" by Watanabe Kazan
 (1793-1841). Owned by Tokyo National Museum.
 (Photo—K.B.S.)

↓ "Tea-stall" by Suzuki Harunobu (1725-1770)



← "Beauty" by Hishikawa Moronobu (1618-1694)

↓ "Beauties", from the series "Twelve Months at Gay Quarters of Shinagawa (Minami Jūnikō)" by Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815)



↑ "Woman blows Poppin toy", from the series "Ten Physiognomies of Women" (Fujin Ninsō Jūppin) by Kitagawa Utamarō (1753-1806) (Photo-K.B.S.)

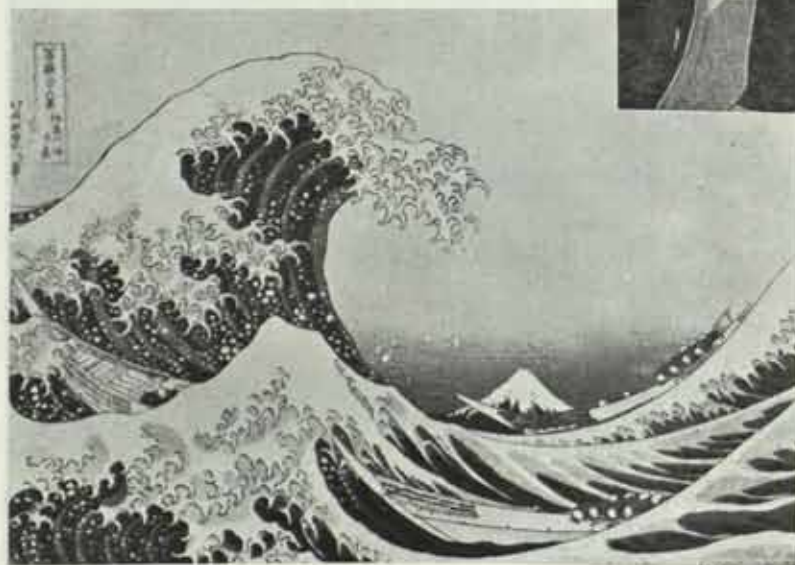


↑
 "Shōno in a Shower", from the series "Fifty-three Stages on Tōkaidō Highway" (Tōkaidō Gojūsan-tsugi) by Andō Hiroshige (1797—1868). (Photo—K.B.S.)

→
 "Onoe Matsunosuke" (a kabuki actor) by Tōshusai Sharaku (active 1794—1795). (Photo—K.B.S.)



↓
 "Mt. Fuji viewed through Waves at Kanagawa", from the series "Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji" by Katsushika Hokusai (1760—1849). (Photo—K.B.S.)





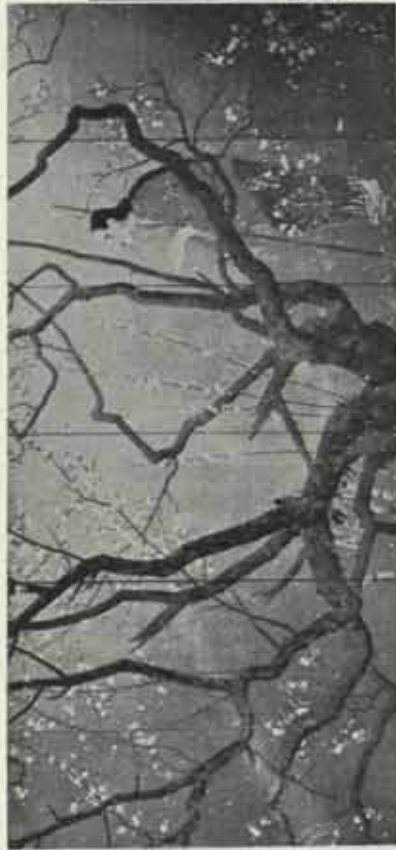
↑ "Autumn Landscape" by Hashimoto Gahō (1835—1908). (Photo—K.B.S.)



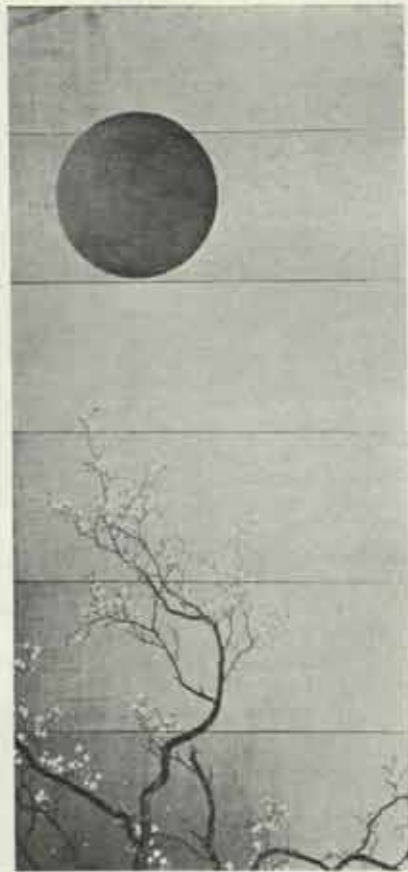
↑ "God of Mercy" by Kanō Hōgai (1829—1888). (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)

"Fairy-land" by Tomioka Tessai (1835—1924). (Photo—K.B.S.)





↓ "Mackerel" by Takeuchi Seihō (1864—1942). (Photo—K.B.S.)



↙ "Yorobōshi" (The Blind Weaving) by Shimomura Kanzan (1873—1930). (Photo—K.B.S.)

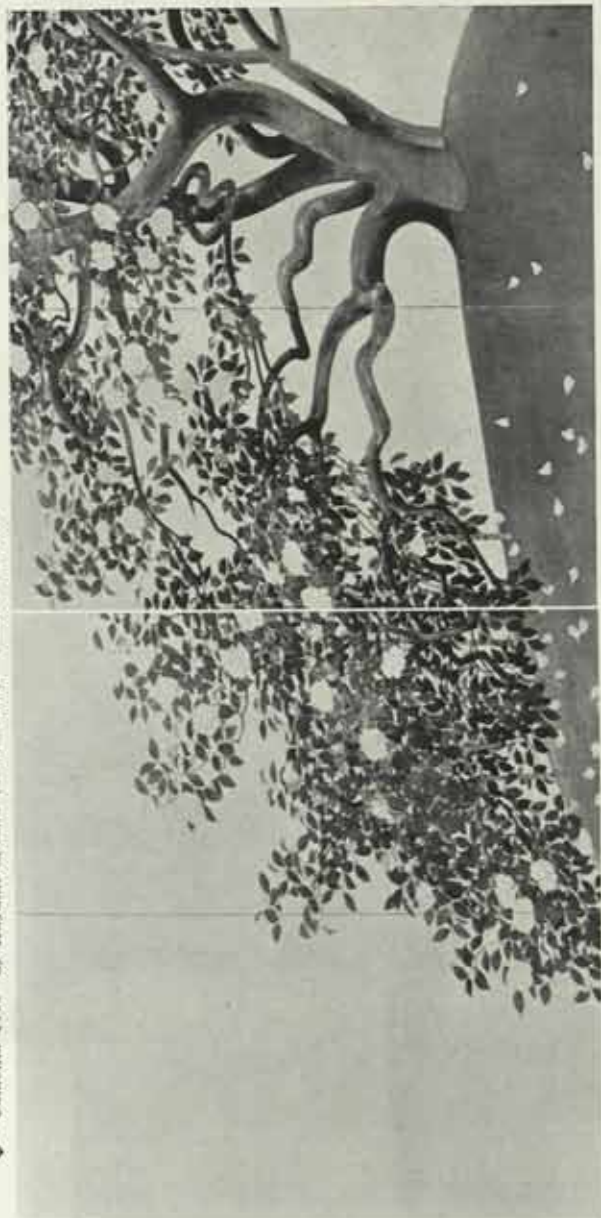


→ "Life Revolves" (part of picture-scroll) by Yokoyama Taikan (1868—1958). (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



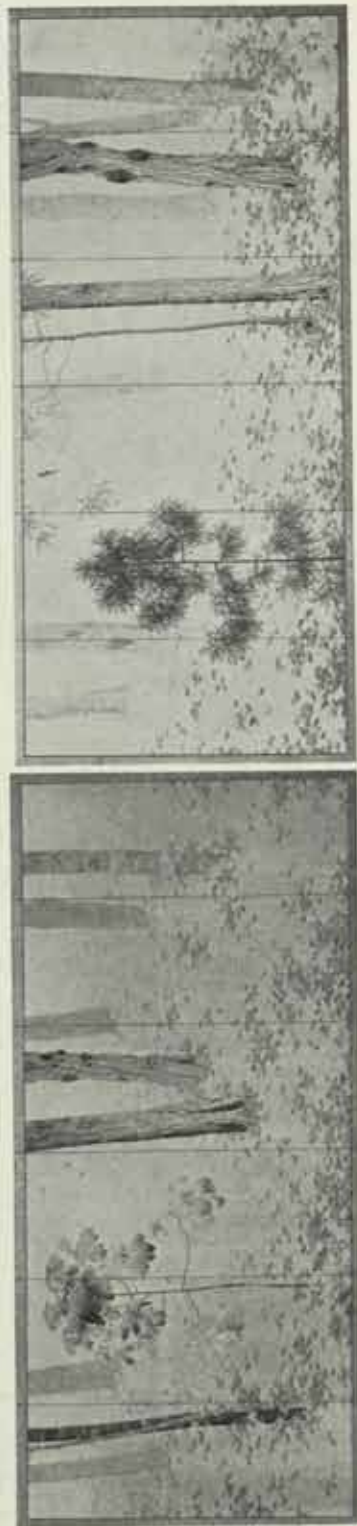


↓ "Camellia Tree" by Hayami Genshō (1894—1955). (Photo—K.B.S.)

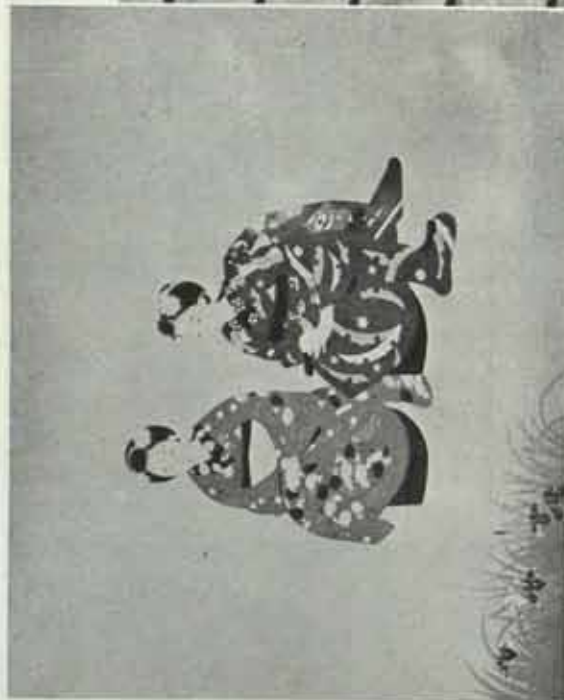


← "The Remain Snow of Mt. Hira", from the series "Eight Views of Ōmi" by Imamura Shikō (1889—1916). (Photo—K.B.S.)

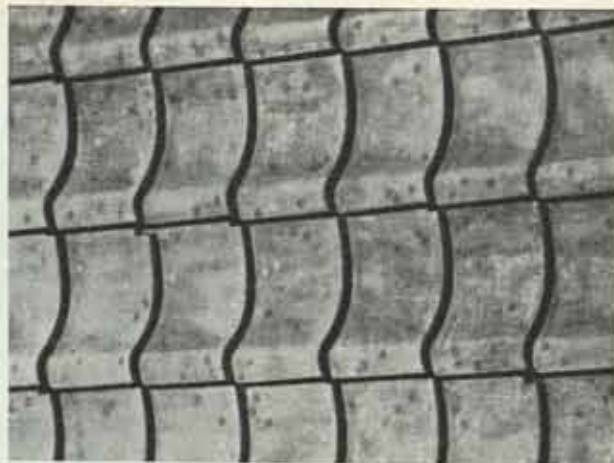
↓ "Falling Leaves" by Hashida Shunzō (1874—1911). (Photo—K.B.S.)



→ "Iris" by Tsuchida Bakusen (1887—1936). (Photo—K.B.S.)



↓ "Bush" by Yoshioka Kenji (1906—). (Photo—K.B.S.)



↑ "Pain" by Fukuda Heihachirō (1892—). (Photo—National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo)

← "Wave from the North" by Yamamoto Kyōjin (1900—). (Photo—National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo)





↑
"Salmon" by Takahashi
Yuichi (1828-1894). (Photo—
K.B.S.)

↓
"Lakeside" by Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924). (Photo—K.B.S.)



↓
"Harvest" by Asai Chū (1856-1907). (Photo—K.B.S.)



→
 "A Girl's Portrait"
 by Kishida Ryūsei
 (1891—1929).
 (Photo—K.B.S.)



↓
 "Daiō Promontory" by Fujishima Takeji (1867—1943).
 (Photo—K.B.S.)



↓
 "Sea Breeze" by Aoki Shigeru
 (1866—1924). (Photo—K.B.S.)





← "Mt. Fuji" by Umehara Ryūzaburō (1888—). (Photo—National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo)

→ "Portrait of a Woman" by
Yasui Sōtarō (1888—1956).
(Photo—K.B.S.)



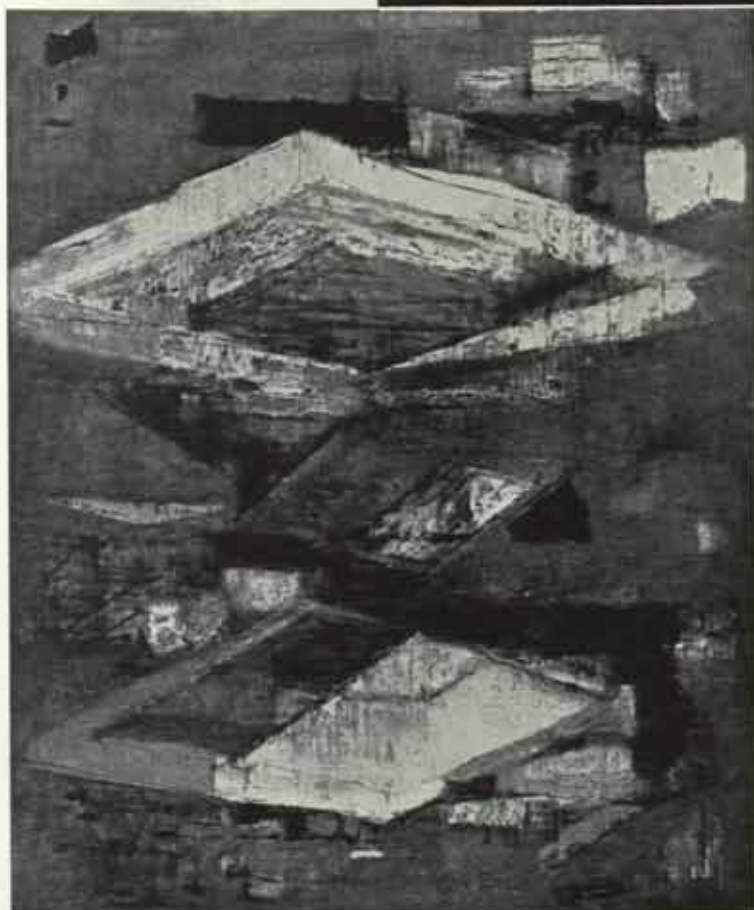


↑
 "A Horse Going Ashore" by
 Sakamoto Shigejirō (1882—).
 (Photo—National Museum of
 Modern Art, Tokyo)



←
 "Struggle" by Wakita Kazu
 (1908—). (Photo—K.B.S.)

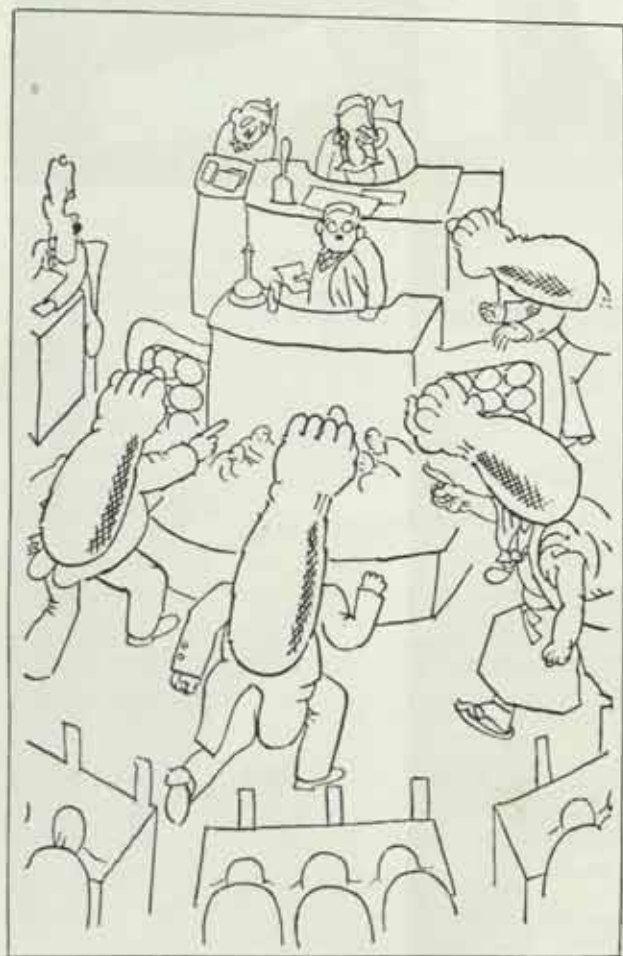
→
 "Form" by Yamaguchi Takeo
 (1902—). (Photo—K.B.S.)



←
 "Cultivating the Rice-field" by
 Yamaguchi Kaoru (1907—).
 (Photo—National Museum of Modern
 Art, Tokyo)



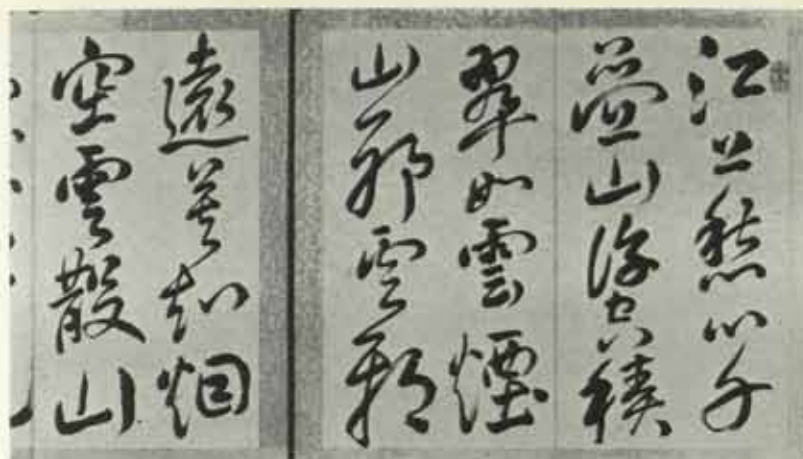
← Scroll of Birds and Animals in Caricature (detail), 12th century. Owned by Kōnan-ji Temple, Kyoto. (Photo—K.B.S.)



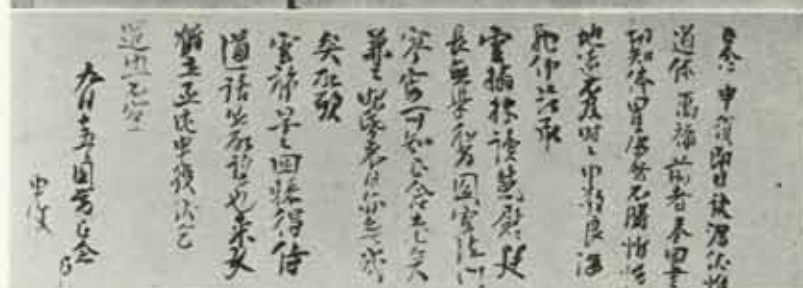
↑ Fist-fighting Diet in 1926 by Okamoto Ippai.



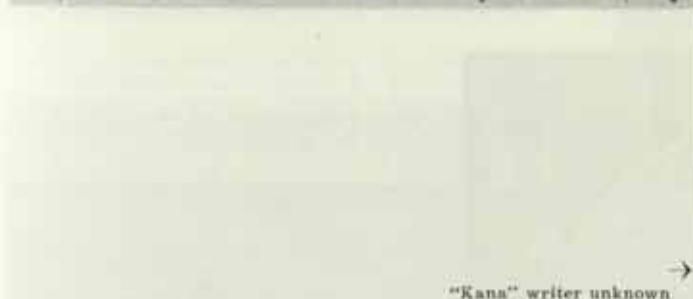
↑ Invention of rickshaw in 1869 and its decline by the vogue of cheap taxi in the 20th century by Kitazawa Rakuten.



← "Kara-yō" by Rai Sanyō
(1780–1832)



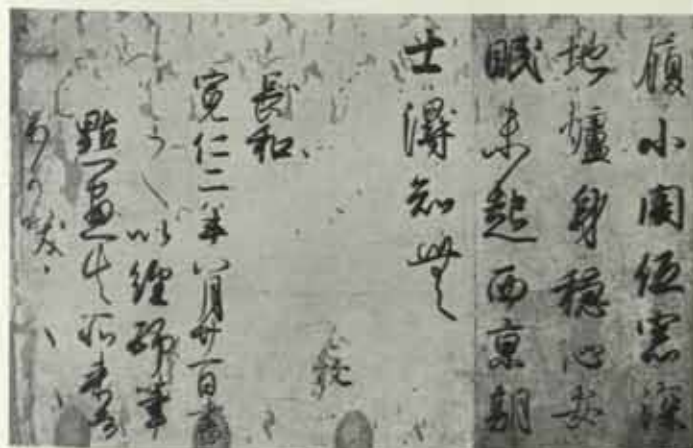
← Written by Daikyū Shōnen
(1215–1289), naturalized Zen-monk



→ "Kana" writer unknown



← "Jōdai-yō" by Fujiwara-no-Gyōzei





↑ Clay figure of the Stone Age.
(Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



↑ Haniwa (clay image) of pre-historic age.
(Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)

↓ Shaka (Sakyamuni) Triad by Tori, 7th century. Kondō (main hall) of the Hōryūji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



↓ Haniwa (clay image).
(Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)





← Head of Buddha, dated 685 A.D. Kōfukuji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



↑ Kannon (Avalokitesvara), known as "Kudara Kannon", 7th century. Hōryūji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)

Kannon (Avalokitesvara) or Miroku (Maitreya), 7th century.
↓ Chūgūji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)





← Amida Triad (Amitabha and two attendants), known as the tutelary icons of Lady Tachibana, 7th century. Hōryūji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)

↓ Komokuten (Virpaksa), from Shitennō (Four Deva Kings), 8th century. The Kaidanin (the Hall of Ordination) of the Tōdaiji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



↑ Shō-Kannon (Avalokitesvara) early 8th century. Tōindō of the Yakushiji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)

← Gakkō Bosatsu (Candra-prabha), 8th century. The Hokkedō of the Tōdaiji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



↑ Fukū Kenjaku Kannon (Amoghavajra), 8th century. The Hokkedō (Sangatsudō) of the Tōdaiji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



← Shubodai (Subhuti), from the Ten Great Disciples of Sakyamuni, dated 734. Kōfukuji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



↑ Mekira Taishō (Mikira), one of the twelve escorts of Yakushi, 8th century. Shinyakushiji Temple, Nara.



↑ Gigaku Mask, wood, painted with color, 7th century. Owned by the Tokyo National Museum, formally owned by Hōryūji Temple, (Photo—K.B.S.)



← Ashura (Asura) from Hachibushū or Eight Demigods, dated 734. Kōfukuji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



↑
Shaka Nyorai (Sakyamuni), 9th century. Mirokudō of
the Murōji Temple, Nara. (Photo—K.B.S.)



↑
Torso of Nyorai (Buddha), 8th century.
Tōdaiji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M.
Sakamoto)



←
Nyoirin Kannon (Cintamanicakra), 9th
century. Kanshinji Temple, Osaka. (Photo—
K.B.S.)



←
Amida Nyorai (Amitabha), by Jōchō, dated 1053. Hōō-dō (Phoenix Hall) of the Byōdōin Temple, Kyoto. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)

Kichijōten (Mahāśī), dated 1212. Jūruriji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



Dainichi Nyorai (Vairocana), by Unkei, dated 1176. Enjōji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)





↑ Seshin (Kashubandhu), from the couple figures, Muchaku (Asanga) and Seshin, by Unkei, dated 1208. Hokuendō (the North Octagonal Hall) of Kōfukuji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



↑ Kongōrikishi (Vira), by Unkei, Kaikei and others, dated 1203. Nandaimon (South Main Gate) of Tōdaiji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



→ Yuima-koji (Vimalakirti), by Jokei, dated 1196. Tōkondō of Kōfukuji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



←
Amida Nyorai (Amitabha),
known as Great Buddha of
Kamakura, 13th century. Kōtokuin
Temple, Kamakura. (Photo—Mr.
M. Sakamoto)

Ryūtōki (Dragon Light Goblin),
from a pair of lantern-bearing
goblins, Tentōki and Ryūtōki, by
Kōben, dated 1215. Kōfokujī
Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M.
Sakamoto)



←
Ko-omote, Noh Mask,
attributed to Ishikawa
Tatsueemon. Wood painted
with color; owned by Mitsui
family. (Photo—K.B.S.)



← Tembōrin-in (the hand symbol of preaching sermons).



↑ Semui-in (symbol assumed by Buddha in salving all the human beings so as to make them feel free from worldly cares and pains).

↓ Hōkai-jō-in (symbolizes the state of entry into profound meditation).



← Haloes →





↑ Portrait of Uesugi Shigefusa, 13th century. Meigetsuin Temple, Kamakura.



↑ Main Shintō Deity, wood, painted in color, later 9th century. Matsuo Shrine, Kyoto. (Photo—K.B.S.)

Priest Ganjin, 8th century. The Kaizandō (Foundation's Hall) of Tōshōdaiji Temple, Nara. (Photo—Mr. M. Sakamoto)



Jingū Kōgō (Empress Jingū deified), 9th century. Yakushiji Temple, Nara.





←
 "Deer" by Takamura Kōun (1852—1934).
 (Photo—K.B.S.)

↓
 "A Pool of River" by Fujii Kōyū (1882—).
 (Photo—K.B.S.)



↑
 "Portrait of Ōmura Masujirō" by Ōkuma Ujihiro
 (1856—1939). (Photo—K.B.S.)

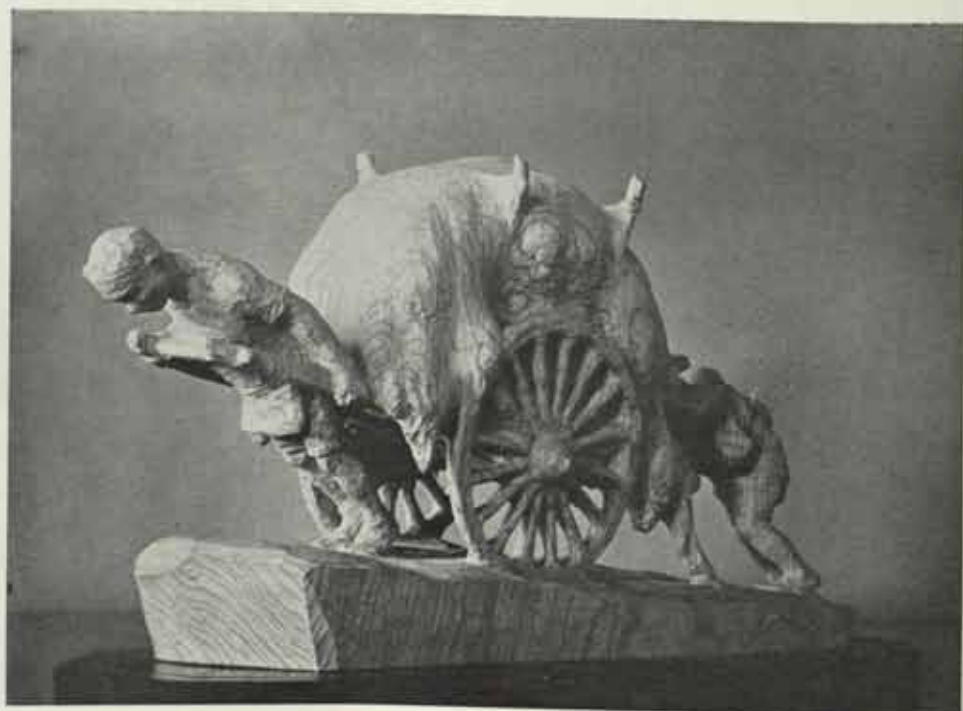


↑
 "My father" by Asakura Fumio (1883—). (Photo—K.B.S.)



↑
 "Woman" by Ogiwara Morie (1879—1919).
 (Photo—K.B.S.)

↓
 "Accord" by Shinkai Taketarō (1868—1920). (Photo—K.B.S.)





↑ "Etude", dry lacquer by Yamamoto Toyochi
(1899—). (Photo—K.B.S.)



↑ Work by Ueki Shigeru (1913—).
(Photo—K.B.S.)

↓ "Ragged Chinese sages" by Tsuji Shindô (1910—).
(Photo—National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo)



↓ "Woman" by Kineuchi Yoshi (1892—). (Photo—
National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo)





↑
Ise Shrine



↑
Izumo Shrine



↑
Toro Ruins, restored primitive house, Shizuoka Prefecture.



↑
Yumedono Hall, Hōryū-ji Temple.



↑
South Gate of Tōdai-ji Temple, Nara.



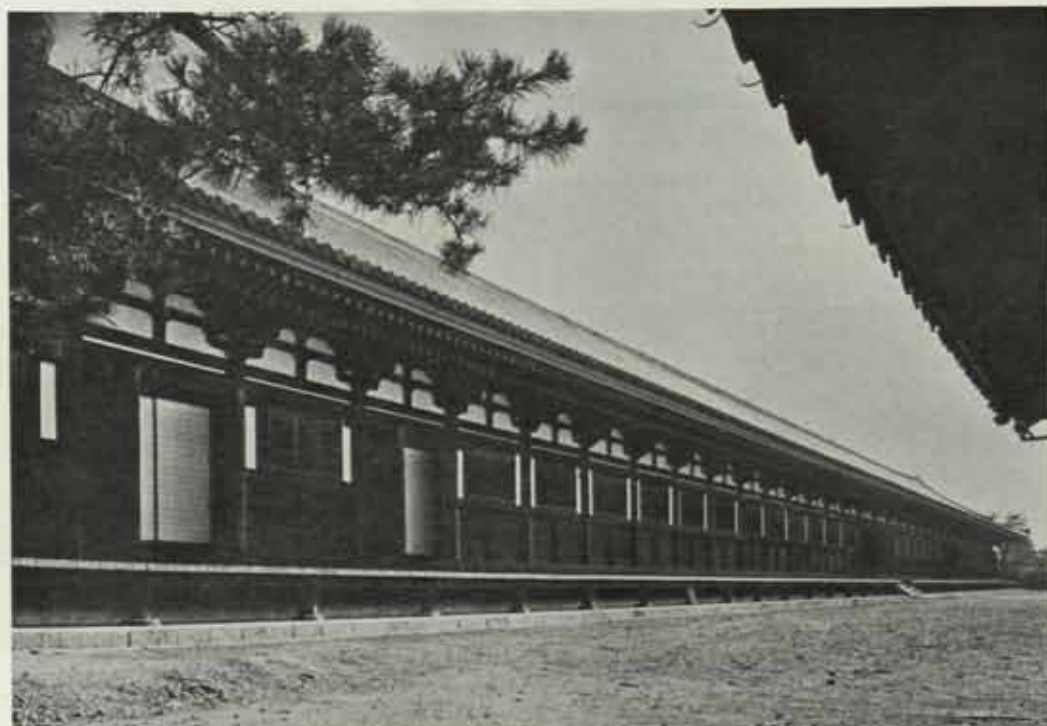
↑ Pagoda of Yakushi-ji Temple, Nara.



↑ Kyoto Imperial Palace



↑ Katsura Detached Palace, Kyoto.



↑ Sanjū-sangen-dō Hall, Kyoto.



↑
Itakushima Shrine, Hiroshima Prefecture.



↑
Phoenix Hall of Byōdō-in Temple, Kyoto. (Photo—K.B.S.)



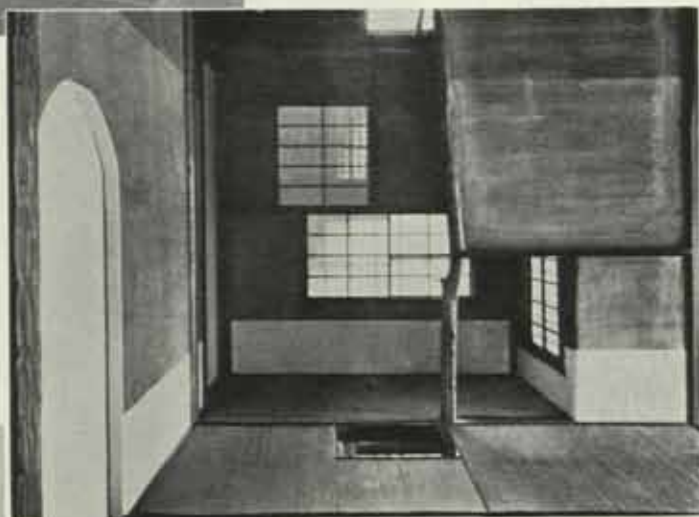
↑
Silver Pavilion of Rokuon-ji Temple, Kyoto.



↑
Himeji Castle



↑
Interior of Nishihongan-ji Temple, Kyoto.



↑
Interior of a tea-room, Katsura Detached Palace, Kyoto.



↑
Sogō Department Store, Tokyo.



↑
Tokyo Metropolitan Government Office.



↑ Stroll-pond garden, Katsura Detached Palace, Kyoto.



↑ Garden with borrowed scenery, Shūgaku-in Detached Palace, Kyoto.

Gate of the garden of tea room, Kankyū-an, Kyoto.



↑ Dry-water garden, Daitokuji-Daisen-in, Kyoto.

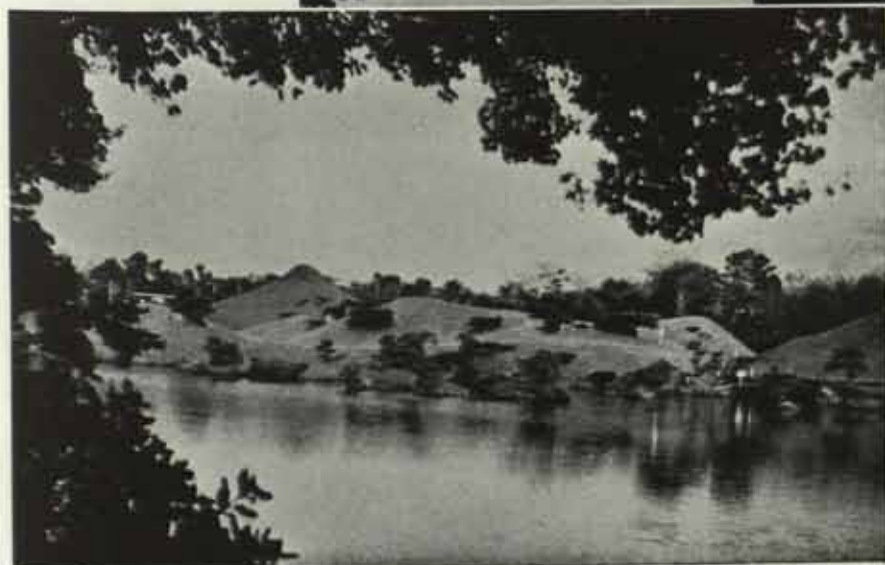


↑ Garden of Zen taste, Shisen-dō, Kyoto.



← Bridges, Sambō-in, Kyoto.

→ Stepping stones, Heian Shrine, Kyoto.



← Condensed scenery garden, Suizen-ji, Kumamoto Prefecture.



↑ Modern garden, Kiyozumi Park, Tokyo.



↑ Stone lantern and water basin



← Flat garden, Ryōanji Temple, Kyoto.



→
Fence



↑
Bit cheek-plate, bronze (gilt).
Owned by Tokyo National Museum.
(Photo—K.B.S.)



↑
Bronze mirror (Photo—K.B.S.)

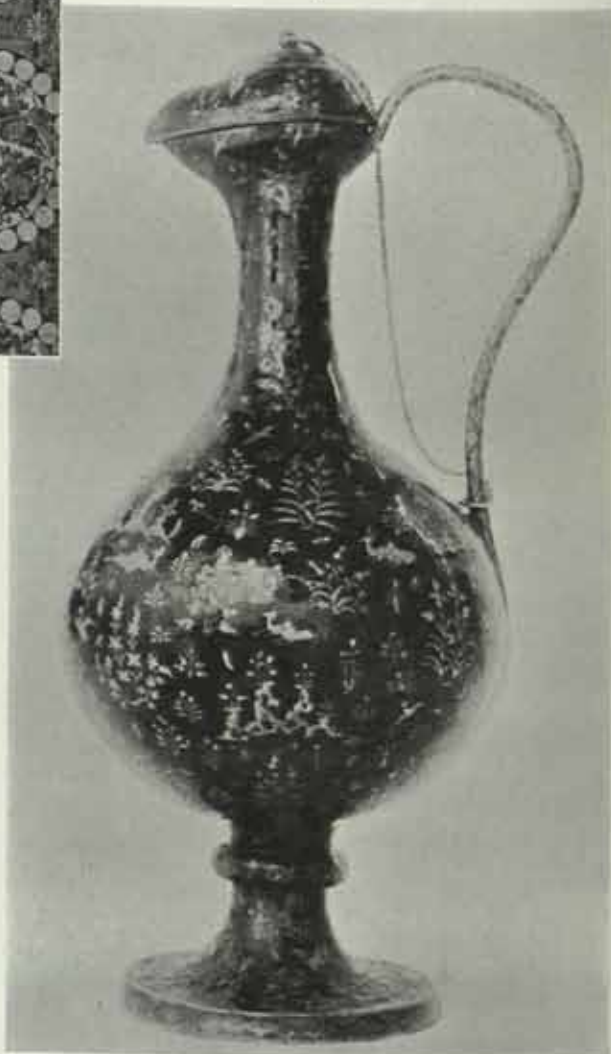


→
Embroidered picture in the Chūgū-ji
Temple in Nara which illustrates
the Buddhist paradise called Tenju-
koku (Land of Heavenly Longevity)
C. 622 A.D.



← Brocade with the design of lion hunters. Owned by the Hōryū-ji Temple, Nara. The 7th century (Photo—K. B. S.)

Water-jar owned by Shōsō-in, Nara. The 8th century. Bamboo-basket, lacquered. Inlaid with patterns, cut from silver lamina. (Photo—K. B. S.)

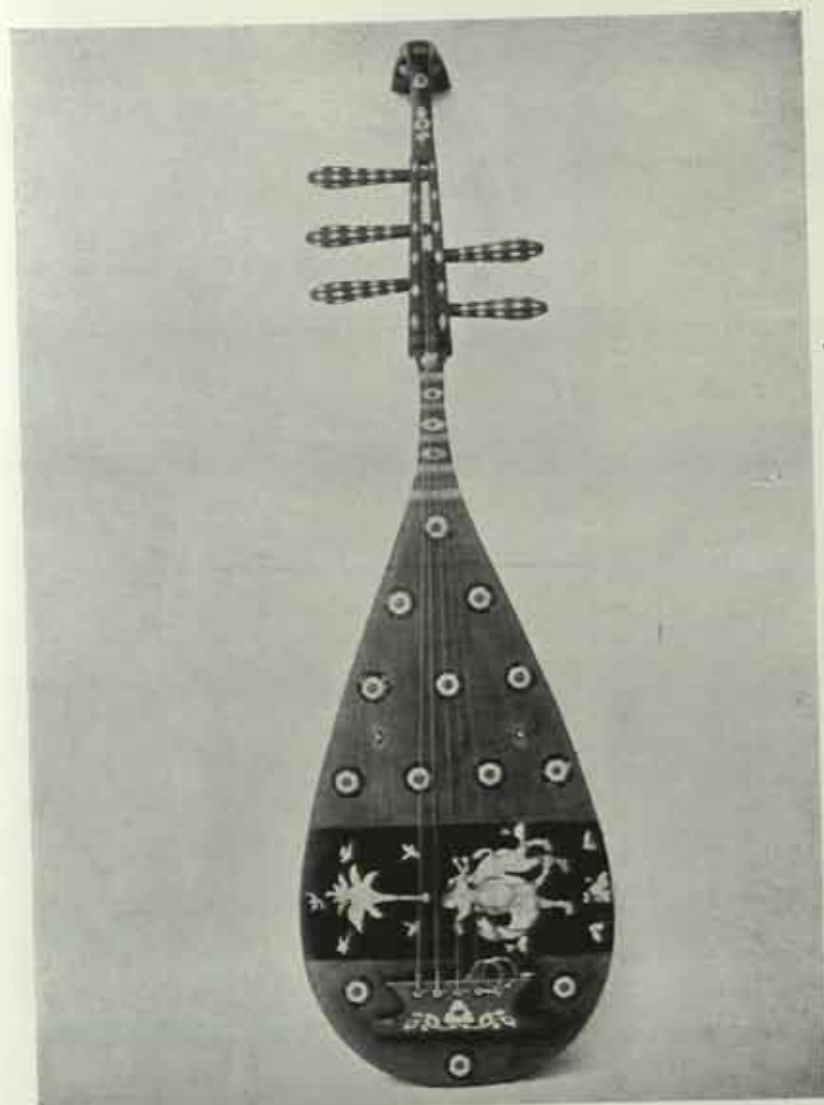


Ban, a pendent ornament used in Buddhist ceremonies. Originally belonged to the Hōryū-ji Temple in Nara and is now kept by Tokyo National Museum. The 7th century (Photo—K. B. S.)





↑ Chess-board, rose-wood with mosaic. Owned by Shōsō-in, Nara. The 8th century (Photo—K.B.S.)



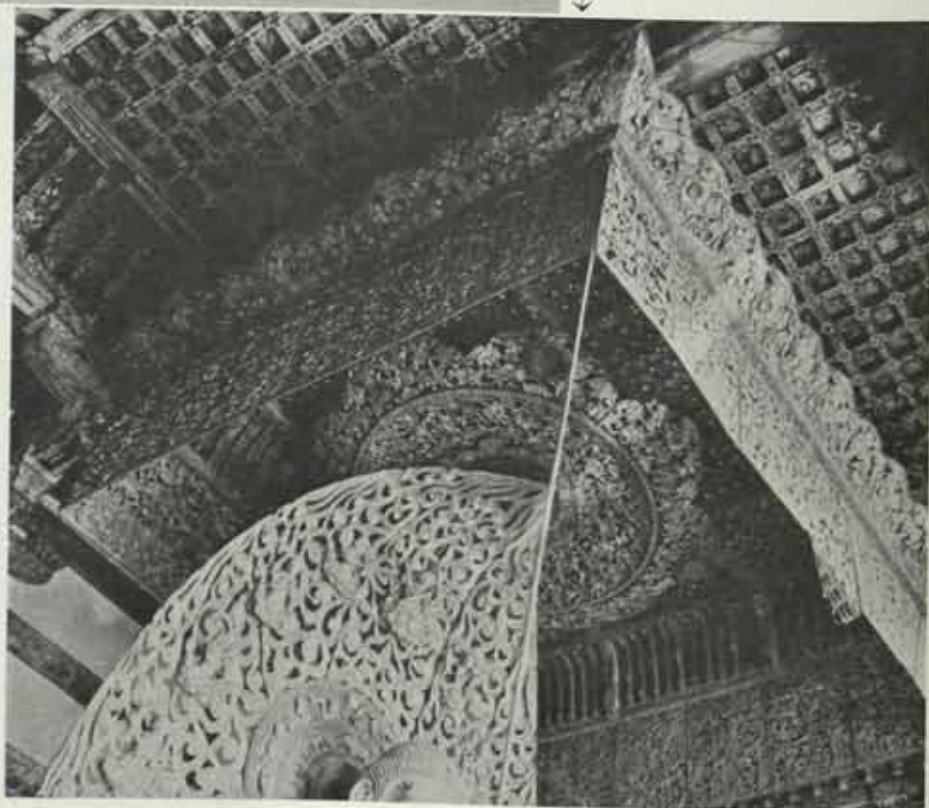
← Biwa, a musical instrument. Owned by Shōsō-in, Nara. The 8th century (Photo—K.B.S.)

→
Box for thirty volumes of Buddhist manuscripts. Lacquered with
maki-e. (Photo—K.B.S.)

Kara-bitsu (box on legs) with a design of a marsh and plovers. Lacquered
with maki-e. Owned by the Kongōbu-ji Temple on Mt. Kōya in Wakayama
Prefecture. The 12th century (Photo—K.B.S.)
↓



Interior of Phoenix Hall (Hōō-dō)
of Byōdō-in Temple, Kyoto. Middle
of the 11th century (Photo—K.B.S.)
↓





↑ Bronze mirror designed with flowering Japanese apricot tree owned by Honnō-ji Temple, Kyoto. The 13th century (Photo—K.B.S.)

Incense container carved in the "Kamakura-bori" style. Owned by Nanzen-ji Temple, Kyoto. The 13th century (Photo—K.B.S.)



↑ Pagoda-shaped reliquaries in the Saidai-ji Temple in Nara. Bronze, gilded. The 13th century (Photo—K.B.S.)



↑ Armour with red lacing owned by Kasuga Shrine, Nara. The 13th-14th century (Photo—K.B.S.)

Cosmetic box with a design of Japanese apricot trees. Lacquered with maki-e. Owned by the Mishima Shrine in Shizuoka Prefecture. Early 13th century. (Photo—K.B.S.)





← Robe for noh play owned by Mr. Mitsui. The 15th century (Photo—K.B.S.)

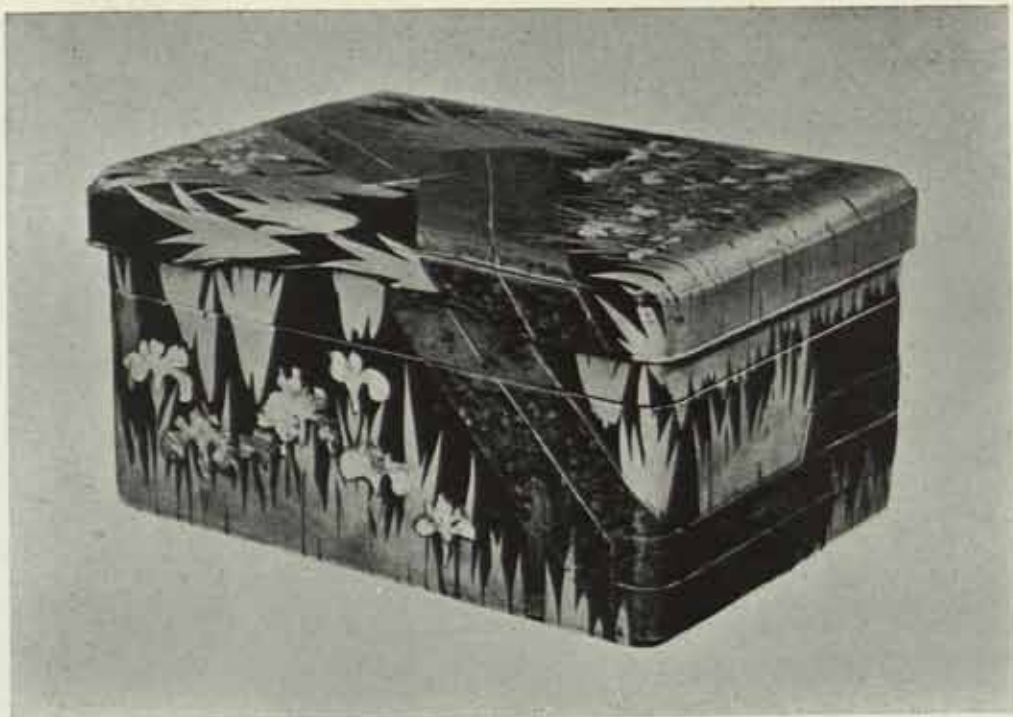


↑ Tea ceremony kettle of Ashiya type, iron. Owned by Tokyo National Museum. The 15th century (Photo—K.B.S.)

↓ Cabinet for poems and letters, maki-e of autumn plants. Owned by Kōdai-ji Temple. The 17th century (Photo—K.B.S.)

↓ Sword-guard, shakudō (an alloy of copper and gold), by Umetada Myōju (1558—1631). Private Collection (Photo—K.B.S.)

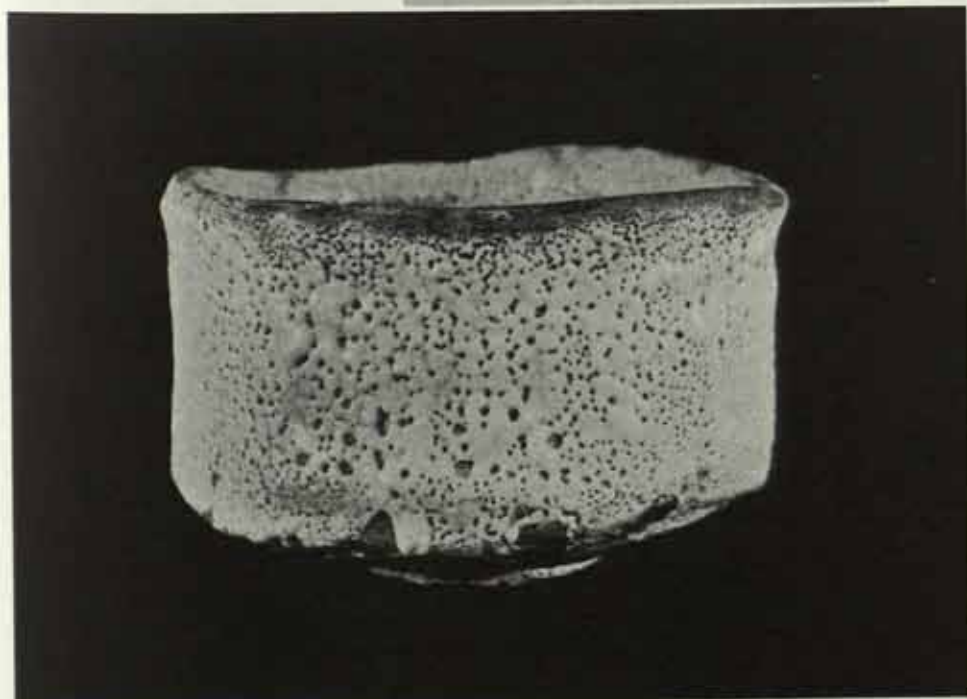




→ Ink-stone box with a design of a pontoon-bridge and a poem contained in the Gosenwaka-Shû anthology. Lacquered with maki-e. Artist: attributed to Honami Kōetsu (1558?—1637). Owned by Tokyo National Museum. (Photo—K.B.S.)



↑ Ink-stone box with a design of irises and a bridge, representing "Yatsuhashi" of Mikawanokuni in the Ise Monogatari (Tale of Ise). Lacquered with maki-e. Attributed to Ogata Kōrin (1658—1716). Owner: Tokyo National Museum



← Shino pottery



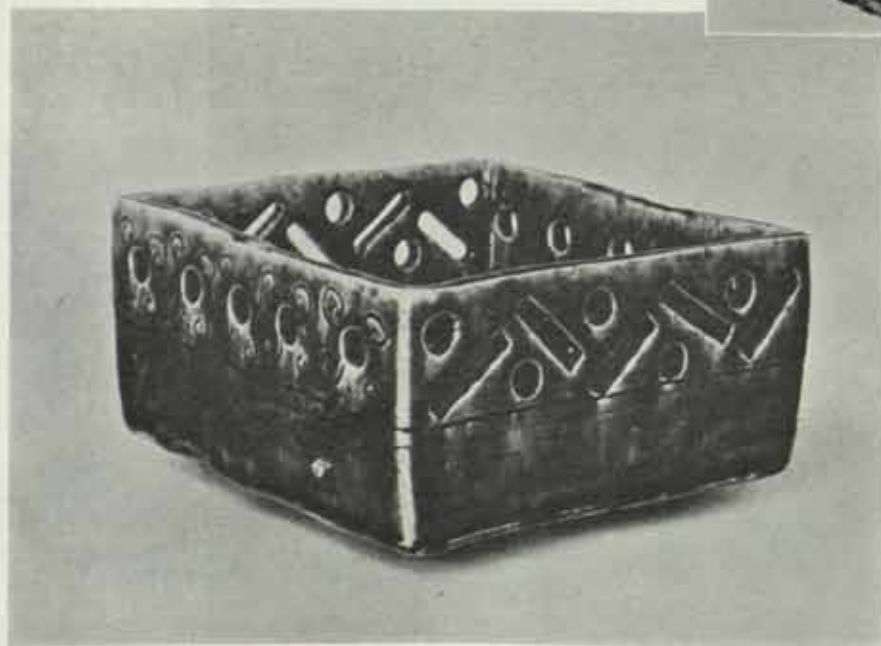
↑
Kosode (kimono with short hanging-sleeves). Material: crepe. Yūzen-zome (starch-resist dyework). The 18th century (Photo—K.B.S.)



↑
Water-jar with a design of whistaria by Nonomura Ninsei (1596—1666). Pottery with over-glaze enamels. Private Collection



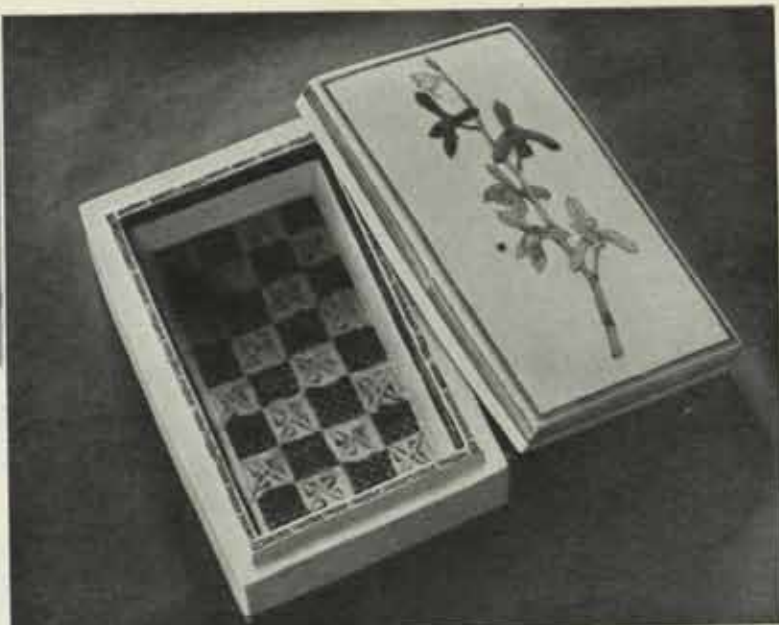
→
Plate "Iri Nabeshima porcelain". c. 1725 A.D. Owned by Mr. Shiohara. (Photo—K.B.S.)



←
Oribe pottery



↑ Incense-burner. Cast bronze.
By Katori Hozuma (1874-1954).
Owned by the Imperial Household
Agency. (Photo-K.B.S.)



↑ Porcelain box by Tomimoto
Kenichi (1886-). Owned
by the Mingeikan (Museum of
Folk Crafts), Tokyo. (Photo-
K.B.S.)



↓ Bowl by Hamada Shōji (1894-). Earthenware. Owned by the
Museum of Folk Crafts, Tokyo. (Photo-K.B.S.)



↑ Flower-vase by Kawai
Kanjirō (1890-). Earth-
enware. Owned by the
Museum of Folk Crafts,
Tokyo. (Photo-K.B.S.)



←
Gesho Ningyō (Court doll). A combination of carved wood and "papier mâché".



Fushimi Ningyō (Fushimi doll).
Made of clay.

→



← Bugaku (an ancient Court music and dance) performed by the members of the musical department in the Imperial Household Agency.

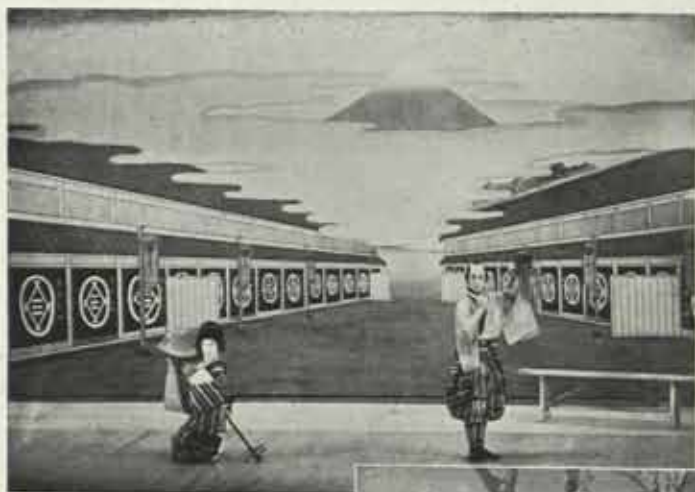


↑ Sambasō, a congratulatory dance which has a remote origin.



↗ Dance of two lions which has an origin in noh play, first staged in 1861.





← Stage scene
A perspective designed
in the old style.

→ A distant view designed
in the new style.



← A travelling scene of lovers.
One type of Japanese kabuki
dance. (Photo—Engeki-Shu-
ppansha)

↓ A comical dance of a blind man and a dog, first staged in 1826.



→ A traditional dance originated in Kyoto-Osaka district.
A dance at slow tempo in the room.



↑ The dance of a maiden with a wisteria branch, first staged in 1826.



← "Swan Lake" by Komaki Ballet Troupe.
(Photo—Mr. Ohara)

→ A scene of "Sukeroku", a play of a famous dandy of Edo Period in the gay quarters, first staged in 1832.



↑ Passageway (hana-michi). A boat is going down the river.
(Photo—the Hōchi)



← A typical scene of a classical kabuki "Soga Brothers", a revenge story, first staged in 1676.



An actor who plays female
 parts, with a wig for woman.
 (Photo—the Hōchi)





A dramatic scene of "Kanjinchō", a repertoire comprising 18 classical pieces, first staged in 1846. (Photo—Engeki-Shuppansha)

←



A superman in exaggerated make-up and in fantastic costume in "Yanone", first staged in 1729.

→



→
Fighting scenes on the roof.
(Photo—Engeki-Shuppansha)



Bunraku puppet and three manipulators.
(Photo—the Hôchi)



Marionette (Photo—Yûki)

Tea-house scene of "Chûshingura", a famous revenge play of 47 rônin,
first staged in 1748. (Photo—Engeki-Shuppansha)





← A noh theater built in Kanzeikaikan hall

→
Musicians of noh play. From the right: fue (flute), kotsuzumi (a small drum), ôtsuzumi (a slightly larger drum) and taiko (a big drum).



↑
A scene of "Dôjô-ji Temple". From the left: the spirit of a serpent (main actor) and priests (subsidiary actors). They are driving away the evil spirit.

Kyôgen (noh comedy).
The child of Thunder and a countryman.





← Noh actor wearing a kind of masks called "Waka Onna" (a young woman).



← A dancing scene of the ghost of a feudal lord, Yoshitsune.



→ Setting of a carriage. A lady riding in the carriage.

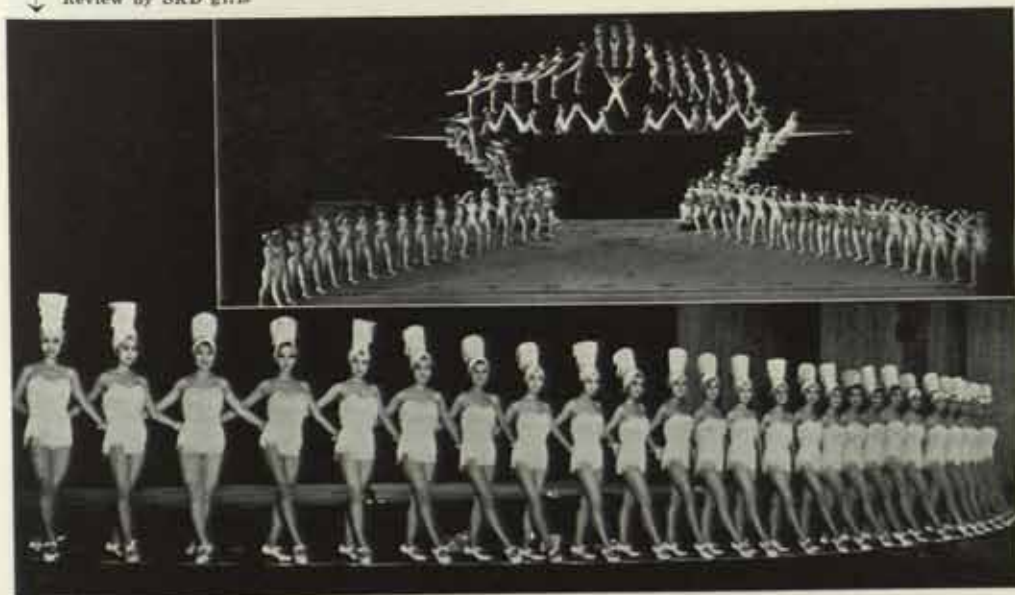
Review by Shōchiku →
Shōjo Kageki Dan (SKD) girls



↓ Modern Dance by Nichigeki Dancing Team (NDT)



↓ Review by SKD girls





Finger puppet and one scene of Andersen's fairy tales.





← Mishima Yukio's "Rokumeikan", a comedy of manners of early Meiji Period, performed by the Bungakusa in 1957.



→ Arthur Miller's "The Death of a Salesman" performed by the Mingei in 1954.



← Marcel Pagnol's "Marius" performed by the dramatic group of Tokyo University of Foreign Languages.

N. Richard Nash's "Rain Maker" performed by the dramatic group of Tokyo College of Economics.





Anton Chekhov's "The Garden of Cherry Trees", performed by the Haiyû-za in 1951.

The stage of the Haiyû-za Theatre.
"Lysistrati" by Aristophanes.



The Haiyû-za Theatre (The Actors' Theatre), an experimental theatre built in 1954 by the actors' own fund.



← One scene of the "Suetsumuhana", one of heroins in "Tales of Genji". A world famous roman, after the war, its dramatization was à la mode in various fields. (Photo—the Hōchi)

→ Theatre for Children. An adaptation of Mark Twain's "A Prince and a Pauper" performed by the Nakama.



↓ The Koma Theatre. One of the semi-circular theatres newly built in Tokyo and Osaka. (Photo—the Hōchi)





↑ Ancient Court music. Musicians in special costume.

A solo of "koto", "shamisen" and "shakuhachi".





↑ Concert of "koto" and "shakuhachi" with chorus.

"Nagauta". Five singers and five shamisen players, accompanists on the lower ground.





Subscription Concert and Beethoven's
9th Symphony by NHK Symphony
Orchestra.



Chorus and brass band by the students of Music Faculty of
Tokyo University of Arts. (Photo—Ohara)





"Madame Butterfly" by Fujiwara Opera Troupe.
(Photo—Ohara)



Jazz music which is popular in younger generation.



Kawabata Ryūshi of the *Seiryū-sha* still stands without rival. The entire group is under his spell. With his superior talent, Ryūshi himself is in danger of becoming prosaic. Excepting Kanō Sanjō, Yamazaki Yutaka and Anzai Keimei of the older generation, we find no one worth mentioning among the younger generation.

Having obtained freedom from government control, the *Nitten*, since 1949, is under the joint sponsorship of the Japan Art Academy and the Nitten Managing Committee. Members of private art groups headed by Dōmoto Inshō, Yano Kyōson, Nakamura Gakuryō the *Jitsugetsu-sha* of Itō Shinsui and Kodama Kibō and the *Nihonga-in* as its central force, the *Nitten* has among its members such painters as Kaburagi Kiyokata, Fukuda Heihachirō, Tokuo Shinsen, Sugiyama Yasushi and Yamaguchi Hōshun. Though there is evidence that the *Nitten* exerts an evil influence and there is even talk of dissolving it, the Japanese Painting Section is not as old-fashioned as the other sections. The Japanese Painting Section of the *Nitten*, with its considerable number of paintings of good calibre is considered as the main feature of the *Nitten*. Fukuda Heihachirō and Tokuo Shinsen who represent the Kyoto art circles, yearly contribute masterpieces that win great acclaim. The intelligent style of Fukuda Heihachirō cleverly combines realism with ornamentation, the abstract with the concrete. Within his traditional style, Tokuo Shinsen succeeds in combining extreme freshness with lyricism. The fact that the younger generation is striving to create a new style with Western colorism is the general tendency of contemporary art circles of Japanese painting. Hashimoto Meiji, Higashiyama Kaii and Takayama Tatsuo are the main figures among the younger generation.

Western Painting

It is during the early Meiji Period that Western painting in Japan began to flourish. Since 1876, the Art School of the College of Technology started a regular course in Western painting. Fontanesi, an Italian, was invited as the first professor in Western

painting. As Fontanesi belonged to the Barbizon School of art, his was a style dark in its coloring. Later, Kuroda Kiyoteru introduced colorful paintings of warm Impressionism. Within a short period of time since 1912, a galaxy of painting styles was imported from Europe. Impressionism, Fauvism, Futurism, Expressionism, Constructionism, Cubism, Surrealism, Abstractionism and other styles acclimatized themselves in Japan.

The following is an analysis of Western painting in Japan. For convenience's sake, the classification has been made according to the external stimulation which changed the style of Japanese Western painting.

The realistic tendency. Realism in a broad sense ranges from explanatory description to Impressionistic Realism. To make a clear-cut definition of the word is almost impossible. Besides, the recent tendency is toward Realism with a social theme. As mentioned above, Western painting in Japan made its start from simple Realism and developed into government sponsored academism. Hence, the realistic tendency is most prevalent in the *Nitten*. The *Nitten* Western paintings are for the most part old-fashioned in their descriptive style. Though such fellow groups of *Nitten* as the *Kōfū-kai* (established in 1912) and the *Issui-kai* (established in 1936) advocate Realism, we find a great number of the leading masters of Western painting circles who had brilliant careers as representatives of this tendency. Nakazawa Hiromitsu, the oldest member of the *Kōfū-kai*, with his warm impressionist tendency, maintains his Japanese style romanticism. With their steady technique, Tsuji Hisashi, Terauchi Manjirō, Koito Gentarō, Nakamura Kenichi are rich in expressive power. On the other hand, the *Issui-kai* with the Impressionistic Realism of Yamashita Shintarō, Arishima Ikuma and the deeply sincere pursuit of form of Yasui Sōtarō has a great number of realists who depict elegant colors with Japanese flavor. Needless to say that there was a great number of realists among non-*Nitten* art groups such as Nabei Katsuyuki, Kurihara Susumu, Miyamoto Saburō of the *Niki-kai*.

Suzuki Shintarō of the *Nika-kai* is also a realist.

Realism dealing with social themes consists in the artist's efforts to reveal with descriptive Realism the cruel realities of modern society. *The Atomic Bomb*, a joint-work of Maruki Iri and Akamatsu Toshiko, is one of this kind while Nakatani Tai and Yoshii Chū are endeavoring to devise a new approach.

The Fauvist tendency. Toward the end of the Meiji Era, Saitō Yori was instrumental in introducing Fauvism to Japan. Though in the ensuing years Nakagawa Kigen and others sporadically adopted Fauvism, it was not until the early Shōwa Period that Fauvism was introduced en masse by the 1930 Society (1926-1930) and its counterpart, the *Dokuritsu Bijutsu Kyōkai* (organized in 1930). Fauvism denies formal realism. It is an artistic presentation with an emphasis on subjective form and color. Satomi Katsuzō is the most typical advocator of Fauvism in Japan. Suda Kunitarō, Kojima Zenzaburō, Hayashi Takeshi, Noguchi Yatarō, Kobayashi Wasaku, Sugano Keisuke, Ebihara Kinoshige though each in his own style are Fauvist in their tendency. There is also a great number of painters, who without realizing it are Fauvists. Among them we find such artists as Umebara Ryūzaburō, Nakagawa Kazumasa, Somiya Ichinen. *Bunjin-ga* with its freedom of description had long been practiced in Japan. Its resemblance to Fauvist technique facilitated the adoption of Fauvism. Hence, Fauvism in Japan is not necessarily synonymous with its European counterpart. It is used in a much broader sense. The *Dokuritsu Bijutsu* is not the only advocator of Fauvism. A considerable number of painters who do not belong to the *Dokuritsu Bijutsu* have Fauvist tendency. Among them, Sano Shigejirō and Migishi Setsuko are outstanding.

The cubist tendency. Though Japan was under a strong influence of Fauvism, Cubism made little impression. Making a bold leap, Japan went straight ahead and adopted Abstractionism. Yet, a considerable number of painters, especially those be-

longing to the younger generation, are in the pursuit of rational elements in obtaining cubic effect. Inoue Chōzaburō, Mikumo Shōnosuke, Ogawa Mariko are Cubists. Among those who adopted formative rationalism, the transition between Cézanne and Cubism, are Ogi Tarō, Fujii Reitarō, Kazuki Yasuo, Itō Ren as well as Kayama Shirō, Ushijima Noriyuki, Oka Shikanosuke and others. There are also those who use cubist methods in expressing their sensual modern tendency.

The surrealist tendency. In post-war Western painting circles, we observe a marked development of both Abstractionism and Surrealism. This was partly caused by a feeling of emancipation from war-time oppression of avant-garde art and partly by frequent exchanges with modern art of the West. Since the influence of avant-garde philosophy was inevitable, especially among young artists, we see an increasingly great number of new figures representing the development of Abstractionism and Surrealism. It goes without saying that Surrealism was practiced since before the War. Though Fukuzawa Ichirō of the *Bijutsu Bunka Kyōkai* (established in 1939) and others were advocators of Surrealism despite wartime oppression, they were a small minority as compared to the post-war prosperity. Though not as prevalent as Abstractionism, Surrealism made long strides. Not only the *Bijutsu Bunka* and *Nika-kai* but many other art groups are under its influence. Yet, it is a fact that the post-war generation of young painters have a tendency to possess both surrealist and abstract elements within themselves. Hence, it is difficult to distinguish whether their paintings are abstract or surrealist.

Fukuzawa Ichirō, Furusawa Iwami, Okamoto Tarō, Tsuchiya Yukio, Abe Nobuya are long-time advocators of Surrealism and reveal the optimistic style of pre-war surrealists. Komaki Gentarō and Imai Taishō are characterized by their profound pursuit of psychological effect. As opposed to the old hands, the post-war group is pessimistic in its way of thinking. We find this tendency in Tsuruoka Masao, Asakura Jirō, Terada Masaaki and others. While on the

other hand, Katsura Yukiko, Nakagawa Tamao, Kamiya Nobuko are optimistic in their expression.

Though collage and decalcomanic come under the range of this tendency, we find hardly any results worth noticing.

The abstract tendency. Among the prevailing artistic presentations, Abstractionism has the strongest influence. Though Abstractionism made its start with Hasegawa Saburō of the *Jiyū Bijutsu Kyōkai* (established in 1937), at present, not only the *Jiyū Bijutsu, Nika-kai, Modern Art Kyōkai* (established in 1950) but every private art group is under its influence. By using colour and shape as its language, abstract painting strives to build up a genuine tableau. There are many different ways to accomplish this effect. For example, Yamaguchi Osao, Yamamoto Keisuke, Yamaguchi Seijō are striving to build up their tableau with purely abstract forms while Kawaguchi Kigai, Naniwada Tatsuki, Kawabata Minoru, Minamiōji Hajime, Ujiyama Tep-

pei and Inoue Teruko are in the pursuit of bringing abstraction of their objects to the level of their image. Murai Masanari, Ogawa Takako, Suematsu Masaki and Komatsu Yoshio are endeavoring to express their subjective images with abstract forms. Among others, we find Yoshihara Jirō and Tsudaka Waichi who are calligraphic in their pursuit of Abstractionism.

Infigurative painting is at present a new form of art derived from abstraction. On the other hand, avant-garde painting using Chinese ink is another mode of painting which developed from calligraphy. Besides the above mentioned, we find a great number of realistic painting with abstract flavor. In short, modern eclecticism is the main current of Western painting circles of Japan. Some artists are trying to blend their art with the traditional attitude of Japanese painting which consists in eclecticism of Abstractionism and Realism. This movement is gradually gaining strength in the entire art circles of Japan.

Characteristics of Japanese Painting

Practically every Japanese house has a *tokonoma*, or alcove, where paintings are hung for the purpose of interior decoration.

The isolated geographical position of our country and the uncommonly long period of seclusion made Japan into a treasurehouse of Oriental art. Especially, the conditions for the perfection of pictorial art were most favourable and all schools of painting were adapted and included in Japanese painting. However, the inclusion of foreign elements did not change the inherent qualities of Japanese painting.

The paintings of Japan, Korea and China resemble closely because Japanese painting is a composite of many different schools of painting. With a little experience, however, the peculiarities of each can be distinguished. The inclusion of foreign elements is the reason for the existence of many schools of painting in Japan. In order to fully appreciate Japanese painting,

it is necessary to know the history of the country which nourished and developed it. A full understanding of Japanese painting will provide a richer understanding of the culture of other Far Eastern nations.

A special understanding is required for the full appreciation of Japanese painting. To those familiar with European art, Japanese painting may appear flat due to the absence of light and shade. This is not because Japanese painting is primitive, rather it is the result of tradition and ideals and the special mode of expression.

In painting a natural scene, the Japanese painter will place more emphasis on the life or spirit and mood embodied in the scene rather than the outward form as it appears to the physical eye. Japanese artists have been warned against the evil of reproducing only the external form. To place emphasis on the physical and to forget the spiritual is regarded as heterodoxy. The

major peculiarity of Japanese painting is based on the particular view of nature and the long-established ideals which have been cherished by Oriental painters.

All Oriental peoples believe that everything in nature has life and spirit. Even the most trivial thing, as long as it is a part of the universe, has life and spirit. The artists are thrilled when he comes in contact with this vital spirit and endeavors to express on his canvas the joy and thrill he feels. Thus, it is natural that there should be abbreviation, distortion and exaggeration. The important point is to appreciate the spiritual essence of the painting rather than the physical form. This was pointed out by Hsieh Ho, the eminent Chinese art critic. He emphasized spiritual rhythm and life movement as being the most important of the Six Canons of Painting. This is an Oriental ideal upheld from ancient times to the present.

This ideal and racial characteristic has made Japanese paintings daringly idealized with the result that they frequently appear immature and crude to the inexperienced or to those who are scientifically inclined.

Such misunderstanding can be easily solved by looking the sketch books of Ogata Kōrin, the great 17th century painter. He is famous for his extremely abbreviated paintings. His sketch book reveals that he made minute observations of nature; however, the close observation was for the material on which he based his unique and decorative paintings which were the product of his spiritual eye.

Sketch books left behind by other famous artists contain detailed sketches of animals, birds, insects and flowers but these sketches were not reproduced in the completed paintings. Herein lies the peculiar form of expression used in Japanese painting. No attempt was made to reproduce an exact likeness of an object for emphasis on physical form was believed to mar the expression of the spiritual qualities.

The lines, coloring and composition peculiar to Japanese painting were inspired by this ideal. The painters were not restricted by external form; thus, they were able to freely express their impression in bold flowing lines.

The aforementioned art critic, Hsieh Ho, lists "brush work in rendering anatomical structure" second in importance. In Oriental painting, brush work is very important. To use a daring generalization, Western painting is a conglomeration of colours while Oriental painting is an aggregation of lines. Even in the paintings using rich coloring, the brush work is still the most important factor. The greatest thought is given to a single line or small dot. The mind and body of the artist is transferred to the paper or silk through his brush strokes.

The unusual concern in this matter of brushwork extends to the materials used in painting. Hence, silk or paper with a smooth surface is preferred. A variety of brushes and special Indian ink have been developed. The brush strokes leave a clear trace that cannot be altered; hence, the artist uses the greatest care in rendering the correct brush stroke.

Brushes have been developed to a remarkable degree of perfection. The types of hair used include deer, rabbit, sheep, skunk, weasel, horse, etc. To draw vigorous strokes on a large canvas, *wara-fude*, a brush made of rich straw is used.

There are at least 18 basic strokes used in Japanese painting. The basic strokes are further divided according to the different ways of beginning and ending the line and according to the degree of strength desired in the brush stroke.

In some instances, the brush strokes may have no visible connection but they must be so rendered as to give the feeling of rhythmic motion. A thorough knowledge of the qualities of brush strokes is essential if one is to fully appreciate the spiritual significance of a painting.

Each painter uses strokes peculiarly his own. They may be serene and weighty, light and buoyant, abrupt and precipitous or still and quiet.

The line is very vital in Japanese painting; thus, there is a strong tendency to limit the number of brush strokes. Japanese artists leave a considerable part of the silk blank and prefer black monochrome to various colours because of their passionate

admiration for the pure undefiled expression of brush strokes.

As previously explained, more importance is attached to brush strokes than to colour. In many paintings, colour is minimized to the extreme in order to emphasize the lines. The colours, too, are peculiarly Japanese.

Colours are of 2 kinds—inorganic mineral colour and organic water colour. Some of the principal mineral colours are *gunjō* (ultramarine), *rokushō* (verdigris from malachite), *shu* (sulphurized quicksilver), *tan* (oxidized lead), *ōdo* (yellow ochre), *shudo* (red ochre) and *taisha* (hematite). These colours are not soluble in water and are mixed with glue.

Variation in intensity of colour is obtained by the fineness or coarseness of the powder; the finer the powder, the lighter the shade. *Gofun*, Chinese whitewash, is added to fine powder.

The principal organic water colours are *shiō* (gamboge), *enji* (carmine) and *ai* (indigo). These are soluble in water.

The mineral colours are lasting and it is these colours that form the peculiar characteristics of Japanese painting. When applied thickly on silk or paper, they give a sense of weight and thickness. In recent years, foreign materials or chemical colours have come to be used with the result of greater variety.

Since idealism is emphasized more than faithful reproduction, the colouring in Japanese painting need not match the natural colour of the subject.

It is noted that a great amount of gold and silver leaf and gold powder are used in Japanese painting. For example, gold is used for the background and the stamens and pistils of flowers. This method is the product of the aforementioned idealism and is used by artists for the reason that it heightens the colour value of the painting. In turn, this method has left a number of masterpieces of great decorative value, surpassing beauty and unmatched skill.

Another marked peculiarity of Japanese painting is the scarcity or total absence of light and shade. This does not mean that Japanese painters are blind to the effect of light and shade. There are a great number

of works in which light and shade are used to give rotundity to the portrayals of flesh. Light and shade is minimized to the extreme in order to preserve the clarity of the painting, the purity of the colour. Japanese artists use more light than shade. In some paintings, only the high lights are shown by using a method called *kaeri-guma* in which high lights are added instead of darkening the shade.

The Japanese are passionately fond of *sumi-e*, black monochrome painting. This taste appears contradictory to their love of colour; however, it is not necessarily contradictory. This may be the result of Buddhist influence which regards all colours as unreal and void and all form expressed in colour as vanity. Black enables one to appreciate an endless variety of colours. Viewed from this standpoint, the *sumi-e* can be said to be the most colourful of all paintings.

In some Japanese paintings, the composition may appear to be unusual or crude. This peculiarity is an indication of the strong idealistic tendency in Japanese painting. For instance, in landscape painting or a street scene, the figures or buildings in the far distance are often depicted on a larger scale than those in the foreground. This apparent violation of the laws of perspective is used when the artist wants to emphasize the importance of the figures in the background.

Japanese artists are fond of composing a picture that gives the effect of a bird's-eye view. Since the Japanese artist is allowed the utmost freedom to express idealism, he is able to put on his canvas only that which he feels is important. Hence, if he wishes to depict what is going on in a house, he feels free to remove the roof. This method is known as the *fukinuki-yatai* which means a roofless house. It is interesting to note that a similar method is used in the studio sets of the moving picture industry.

A common and clever method is used to show the lapse of time. 2 methods are used: 1) in dealing with the life of a person, different scenes and episodes that have taken place at different times are

painted in different parts of the same picture. 2) The lapse of time is conveyed by painting different scenes and episodes in proper sequence on a long scroll and only one section of the scroll is unrolled at a time.

It is frequently noted that scenes, flowers and birds of different seasons are depicted in the same painting. This seeming inconsistency is permissible because the idea is not to represent the objects or natural phenomena. This means is used to suggest the beauty of nature throughout the year by showing the progress of time on the same painting.

From the point of view of composition, it must be noted that Japanese painting does not reflect objects merely as they would appear to the physical eye. The picture conceived in the artist's mind is depicted on the canvas. The sheet of silk or paper upon which the painting is ex-

ecuted is considered a universe in itself where the artist's own ideals may be realized.

In other words, the idea of positive and negative and of heaven, earth and man dominates the artist's world and becomes one of his ideals. It is believed that the universe is composed of 2 opposing elements and it is for this reason that they are used in Japanese painting. The Buddhist philosophy that the universe is composed of 2 opposing elements and that a third is introduced to achieve harmony must underlie every good composition. In modern works there is a tendency to break away from this traditional principle; however, the deep-rooted influence of these traditional principles still remains intact. By obtaining an understanding of the basic ideas, it will not be difficult to understand the theme of the painting.

Cartoons

The history of Japanese cartoons is long and interesting. The picture scrolls of the Heian and subsequent periods show animated cartoons and the *Chōjū Giga*, a cartoon of birds and beasts, is an unrivalled masterpiece.

This *Chōjū Jimbutsu Giga* is a set of sketch drawings devoid of titles. It was painted in the early Kamakura Period and is the most famous of Japanese cartoons. Studies concerning the motif and subject have not been completed but the subjects of the pictures given in the popularly accepted order are: Scroll 1, a typical caricature of monkeys, frogs, rabbits, foxes and other animals in a playful imitation of human beings. Scroll 2 shows horses, cows, goats, dogs, tigers and lions, giraffes, eagles and other birds fighting the grim battle for survival. The first half of Scroll 3 shows priests and civilians enjoying various games. The latter half is a repetition of the frolicking animals shown in Scroll 1. The date AD 1253 is impressed on the end of the scroll. Scroll 4 is a collection of 11

scenes of various functions and ceremonies.

These 4 scrolls do not comprise the completed work; there are some missing parts. The author is believed to be High Priest Toba Kakuyū; however, there is no positive proof of the authorship. Scrolls 1 and 2 are by the same artist and Scrolls 3 and 4 are by another artist. Thus, it seems that the work is the joint accomplishment of two or more artists. Or, it may be a collection of pictures painted by a number of artists.

A recent and interesting theory is that Scrolls 1 and 2 are the work of Jōchi and Scrolls 3 and 4 are by Kakuyū and that the entire work depicts the human society as it appeared in the period between the late Heian Period and early Kamakura Period. Moreover, the cartoons are said to show the human beings as animals and not vice versa. Whichever may be the case, the paintings are rich in satire and moral. The technique of the painting closely resembles the Buddhist paintings of the Fujiwara Period (middle of the 12th century). It is

certain that the scrolls are the works of a Buddhist painter. In other words, these scrolls are the finished product of extremely formalized Buddhist painting.

The artistic and historical value of these scrolls are inestimable. The *Genji Monogatari Emaki* and *Shigi-san Engi Emaki* of an earlier period, the *Tomo-no-Dainagon Emaki*, *Heiji Monogatari Emaki* and *Kitano Tenjin Engi Emaki* of the Kamakura Period together with the aforementioned scrolls can be regarded as the 6 representative picture scrolls of Japan.

From the standpoint of continuous portrayal which is the essence of scroll painting and free development of the motif, the *Chōjū Giga*, *Shigi-san Engi Emaki* and *Tomo-no-Dainagon Emaki* are regarded as the greatest of scroll paintings. The *Chōjū Giga* is the most prominent of sketch paintings.

Later, in the Edo Period when the popular arts flourished, a great number of cartoons depicting the life of the tradesmen were published. Among these are the Bohemian works, the *Water and Sky* by Matsuya Jichōsai and the paintings by Hokusai and Hiroshige.

In the early years of the Meiji Era, an Englishman, Wagman, published a cartoon magazine called the Japan Punch. This is the forerunner of modern Japanese cartoons which are called *ponchi* pictures, a corruption of punch. Further impetus to the popularity of cartoons was provided by a Frenchman, Georges Beget who depicted the times with scathingly sarcastic sketches.

Cartoons became the popular medium of journalism after the publication of Tokyo Pak in 1905 by Kitazawa Rakuten. The refined paintings and political cartoons from the late Meiji Period to the Shōwa Period elevated the cartoons from mere vulgar and funny pictures into artistic works of great interest. It was then that the modern cartoon became firmly established in Japan.

Okamoto Ippei, the most famous of Japanese cartoonists was born in Hokkaidō in 1886. He became a member of the *Asahi*

Shimbun staff after his graduation from the Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts.

In 1929, he and his wife, Kanoko, took a trip around the world and the collection of his sketches made during the trip served to instruct the Japanese cartoonists. *Trip Around the World*, *Hebo Kyūri* (crooked cucumber) and *Dojō Jigoku* (loach hell) are some of his well-known works.

The cartoons from World War I to the present are generally purely comic paintings. The cartoons before this period used a grotesque method of expression as a means to convey morals. The modern comic pictures are devoid of sarcasm, logic and explanation. They are popular because they are wholesomely funny.

Kondō Hidezō, Yokoyama Ryūichi, Shimizu Kon, Sugiura Yukio and other pupils of Okamoto Ippei have succeeded in this field by adopting Japanese unconventionality and the good points of European comics in their cartoons.

Yokoyama Taizō is a cartoonist who has established himself firmly by his somewhat abstract sketches which show a fine understanding of the times. His political cartoons are especially refreshing.

Cartoons are universally popular and their influence on society is great. Cartoons are read everyday by everybody since they appear in the daily papers and magazines. They have become indispensable to modern living.

Cartoons can be classified into political cartoons, social cartoons, home life cartoons, children's cartoons and serial cartoons. Besides these, there are comic pictures. The cartoonists are classified according to their speciality.

Motion pictures is a field in which comic pictures have made great progress. By adding motion to cartoons, the essential aim of the comic picture is made more clear.

Popeye and Betty Boop are among the popular foreign funnies. Since cartoons are enjoyed by the young and old of all classes, the future of comic motion pictures is very promising.

Photographic Art

During the first and second years after the end of the World War II, photographic activities were at a very low ebb in Germany, England, France and all other countries as well as in Japan. It was not until 1948 that general interest in photography was revived.

From this time on there was a gradual increase in the traffic of photographers. In 1951, a well-known Swiss photographer arrived from the Magnum Photo Agency. Also, Lang Ching-shan of Formosa arrived in the same year.

Among the Japanese photographers that won awards in foreign photo contests are Kubota Suirei who won first prize in the 1951 contest sponsored by the American Photography, Takashima Kōji who won fifth prize in the 1951 contest held by the Popular Photography and Kō Yoneji who won second prize in the 1952 contest by the same magazine. Japanese photographers won more prizes in these contests than the photographers of Italy, Yugoslavia and Germany.

The international photo salons have increased in number all over the world. The International Photo Salon established in 1927 by the All Japan Photographers Federation and the *Asahi Shimbun* was the only international organization in Japan until 1952 when the Tokyo International Photo Salon was established by the Ars Co.

American influence was strongly felt in Japanese photography for several years after the end of the War with the result that many of the photographs appeared to be mere imitations of fashion plates and glamour models. However, originality and uniqueness began to be seen from 1951.

Photographic journalism progressed yearly and on 6 August 1952, the pictures of the atomic blast which had been banned during the occupation were shown to the public. These pictures proved the documentary and informational effectiveness of photographs and heightened the public's interest towards photography. Consequent-

ly, leading publishing houses brought out pictorial issues or increased their photo-gravure pages.

Real progress in Japan's photographic journalism began to become evident in late 1952. Photographers engaged in journalistic work organized the Japan Photographers Association in 1950.

Japanese photographers well known from before the War include Fukuda Katsuji, Kimura Ihei, Watanabe Yoshio, Domon Ken, Tamura Shigeru and Hamatani Hiroshi. Hayashi Tadahiko, Miki Jun, Akiyama Shōtarō, Ōtake Shōji and Inamura Takamasa are some of the well known post-war photographers. Domon Ken's photographic series published in 1952 under the title of Japanese Sculpture are masterpieces of photographic art.

After the War, the general trend in photography is toward realism and the extensive use of pictures by the press. The excessive use of flashbulbs is avoided and pictures are taken by using available light to obtain a natural effect.

In the United States and Japan, amateur photographers are active in information photography. The Japan Press Photographers Federation was organized on 19 October 1955 with the aid of the *Mainichi Shimbun* and is engaged in the training of press photographers.

The progress achieved in the field of color photography is worldwide. However, the popularization of color photography through printing requires great amounts of funds. At present, the United States is the only country that uses color pictures in their publications. The Conde Naste Publications and Life magazine have achieved amazing results by using color pictures in their publications.

The Art and Technique of Color Photography issued by Conde Naste Publications in 1951 is a collection of outstanding color photographs taken by their photographers.

The picture of the Korean refugees crossing the bombed Tatung River bridge taken

by an AP photographer on 4 December, 1950 near the Korean front produced a profound shock among the Japanese photographers when it was first shown in Tokyo.

The Eastman Kodak Co. is conducting researches for a method to cut the cost of

printing color pictures but no practical method was found as of 1952.

The technical level of color photography in Japan is not as advanced as in the USA; however, Fuji and other firms are conducting researches and progress in being made.

Wood Block Prints

Origin

Printing is the usual means by which paintings can be admired simultaneously by many people. The demand for printed copies of artistic works increases as culture advances. In Japan, the reproduction of paintings by printing flourished from the middle of the 17th century and this developed into the world famous wood block prints which are unsurpassed for their artistic beauty.

Wood cut printing did not become suddenly popular in the middle of the 17th century, its origin can be traced back to an earlier period.

There are many varieties of prints today but most of the prints up to the middle of the 19th century were wood cut prints or copper plate prints.

Although remarkable developments were made in the art of wood cut printing, not much progress was seen in the field of copper plate printing.

Japanese wood cut prints are called grain wood cut prints and use the grain of the wood. Foreign wood cut prints use the cut end of the wood and differ greatly from Japanese prints. When cross section blocks are used, the quality of the wood is hard and the lines of the engraving are fine but harsh. Compared to this, engravings made on the grain of the wood have a peculiar softness. The western system of using the cross section of the wood was introduced into Japan in 1880 and until that time only the grain of the wood was used in Japan.

The block used for the printing of the *ban-e* which is preserved at the *Shōsōin* is believed to be the oldest wood block in

existence. This wood print is not a painting but a design used to dye patterns on cloth.

About the year 764 AD, Emperor Kōken used wood block and copper plate to print Buddhist prayers or Buddhist images and offered these prints to 10 temples in Nara. These prints are believed to be the oldest woodcut prints remaining today.

The aristocrats of the Heian Period (late 11th century to early 12th century) used wood blocks to reproduce Buddhist images on paper and to print Buddhist scriptures on fan-shaped pieces of paper. In the last years of the 16th century, woodcut printing had developed to such a stage that it was possible to print 100 scrolls of the history of a sect called the Yūzū Nembutsu Sect.

Up to this period, wood cut printing was used chiefly for the propagation of religion and beliefs and was not yet used for the reproduction of paintings. There was as yet no demand for the mass reproduction of the fine arts.

Development of the ukiyo-e and woodblock prints

Contact between Japan and Europe was made for the first time in 1543. Trade with Portugal brought about considerable changes in Japan's culture. Especially, remarkable development was seen in the cities with the result that the economic conditions of the lower classes of the people improved suddenly and their standard of living rose accordingly. The common people were freed from economic pressures of living and were able to enjoy the finer things of life. This joyous condition was taken up as the subject of paintings for the first time; thus was born the genre painting of the

common people.

Up to the middle of the 16th century, art was enjoyed chiefly by the aristocrats and *sammurai* and the subjects of art were scenery, flowers and birds or religion. The morals or living of the common populace were hardly, if ever, taken up as the subject of a painting.

The favorable development of the economy and culture of the common people gradually awakened their artistic interest and eventually resulted in the birth of painting depicting the living and customs of the common class. These paintings were painted on screens and sliding panels, the size of the pictures were large and they were gaudily colored. The pictures were not simple works of art that could be painted by anyone. Moreover, the subjects of the paintings were taken from flower viewing parties, horse racing or the kabuki stage. In other words, the paintings were explanatory or objective sketches of the gay living of that time.

Then in 1650, a heretofore unknown artist appeared in Edo and introduced an altogether novel system of painting. This painter was Hishikawa Moronobu (1618-1694). He used the art of wood block printing which was hitherto used only for religious paintings to present in bold pictures the conditions of *Yoshiwara*, the gay quarters of Edo. He also painted the popular kabuki actors. He had a strong liking to paint scenes of the well-known "Yoshiwara geisha girls" as they played with their customers. The pictures he presented to the public were not hand painted but were wood block prints.

Hishikawa was strongly opposed to the Chinese school of painting that was followed by the traditional artists who were in the employ of the aristocrats and *samurai*. He did not think kindly of the landscapes and portraits done after the manner of the Chinese paintings and was intent on reviving the Yamato school of painting. So strong was his enthusiasm that he invariably signed his paintings with the inscription, Yamato Painter.

The citizens of Edo called this school of painting the *ukiyo-e*. In those days the public referred to the gay quarters such as

the *kabuki* and *Yoshiwara* as *ukiyo*. Since Hishikawa had a special inclination to use these quarters as the subjects of his paintings, the public naturally referred to his Yamato paintings as *ukiyo-e* paintings.

The name *ukiyo-e* is believed to have been used from an earlier date; however, it appeared in printing for the first time in 1682.

The subjects of these paintings were later taken from the scenery in and around Edo. The *ukiyo-e* was also used for the wood block prints which usually used birds and flowers for subjects. In short, the name *ukiyo-e* was used for all paintings and wood block prints which were appreciated by the common people.

The first wood block print announced by Moronobu was an India ink drawing. It was an extremely simple sketch painting. The paintings appeared in book form or in single sheets measuring 1 foot 2 inches by 1 foot 7.5 inches. The size of the wood block prints varied as the art gained popularity; however, the sizes were usually 1 foot 7.5 inches by 1 foot 2.5 inches and 1 foot 5 inches by 1 foot 1 inch which were the standard measurements of thick Japanese paper. The various sizes were obtained by cutting the paper in 2 or 4.

In Moronobu's time, the paper was mostly used in their original sizes. Japanese wood block prints differ from Western wood block prints in that the artist does not do the engraving or printing. The painter, engraver and printer are different persons; therefore, a wood block print required the work of the artist, engraver and a printer. This is the outstanding peculiarity of Japanese wood block prints.

Most of the *ukiyo-e* artists left no descendants or followers of their school of art but the Torii faction is an exception. This faction and school of painting exists to this day. It is believed that their deep and close connection with the *kabuki* and the economic aid obtained through this connection enabled this school to remain alive through the years. The early painters of the Torii School painted beautiful women as well as kabuki actors and this was because there was no distinction between the two classes

of painters. A clear distinction between the two was made at a later period.

By 1720, great progress was achieved in the field and there was a need to use more complicated colors other than red lead. Crimson was used instead of red lead. Also, special colors including yellow, purple and green were used. The prints using these colors were called *beni-e*. The art of adding glue to the Indian ink to give gloss and body to the black colored section was originated at about this time. Prints using this method were called *urushi-e*. Okumura Masanobu (1686-1764) is the originator of this method. He was a publisher as well as one of the foremost painters of his time. Consequently, he concentrated his efforts towards the improvement of the wood block prints. He studied Moronobu's paintings and imitated the works of the Torii School. Generally, ukiyo-e artists were sorely lacking in conscience; they were more of the craftsman type artist and even the most famous artist as Masanobu thought nothing of imitating another's style. Imitating another artist's style was second nature to the wood block artists of those days. This explains the close resemblance of the paintings of Nishimura Shigenaga, Kiyonobu and Torii Kiyomasu and Masanobu who were active during the same period. In many cases it is difficult to distinguish the particular style of each painter.

The *beni-e* and *urushi-e* were more complex and beautiful than the *tan-e*; however, much work and time was consumed to complete these in large numbers. In 1743, a method adopted from the Chinese method of color printing wood block prints was originated. The prints completed by this method were called *beni zuri-e* since the method used crimson and green.

Color was brushed on the wood block prints in order to make the simple and unimposing prints approach the beauty of the hand painted pictures. The discovery of the *beni zuri-e* method transformed the wood block print into an art altogether different in character from the hand painted pictures.

The *beni zuri-e* method was popular for approximately 20 years. Ishikawa Toyonobu (1711-1785) and the third descend-

ant of the Torii family Kiyomitsu (1735-1785) were most active during this period. In early 1765, the *beni zuri-e* method was developed so that many beautiful colors could be used. The result was a print as beautiful and richly colorful as brocade; the public fittingly named the prints *nishiki-e* which means brocade prints.

Suzuki Harunobu (1725-1770), the painter of beautiful women portraits was the first to adopt this style. Harunobu was able to complete this revolutionary method through the aid of a group of *haiku* (17 syllable poems) poets who were his friends.

The *nishiki-e* method used more than ten colors; moreover, as neutral shade was obtained by using one color on top of another color. The discovery of this multiple color printing method developed Japanese wood block prints into an art of unparalleled beauty. Harunobu made changes in the style of painting and founded a unique style. For instance, he painted beautiful women as lovely lifeless dolls. He also made a clear distinction between the artists who painted beautiful women and those who painted kabuki actors. He, himself, specialized in painting beautiful women.

Katsukawa Shinshō (1726-1792) and Ipitsusai Bunchō (18th cen.) used Harunobu's multi-color printing method and specialized in painting kabuki actors.

Painting kabuki actors were the specialty of the Torii School of artists and they have always been regarded as the leaders in this field. Their style of painting, however, was extremely formal with the result that the expression and pose of the actors were not realistic. Shunshō and Bunchō worked together and originated a realistic style of painting the kabuki actors. The result was the *nigaoe* (portrait). These painters did not succeed in breaking down the influence of the Torii School which had special connections with the theatrical world; however, they did succeed in drastically changing the style of kabuki actor paintings and established the groundwork for the subsequent prosperity of their style of painting.

Harunobu passed away in 1770 and Torii Kiyonaga, the fourth descendant, became the leader of the artistic circle. He did not follow in the footsteps of his predecessors but specialized in painting beautiful women. He was the undisputed leader during the period between 1770 and the 1780. He discarded the style of painting phantasmal pictures and founded the style of painting women in a realistic and healthy manner.

Kitao Shigemasa (1739-1820) and Isoda Koryūsai at first followed Harunobu's style but they eventually came to imitate Kiyonaga's style. The famous Kitagawa Utamaro (1753-1806) imitated the popular Kiyonaga when he was young but he founded a unique style in 1791 and from then on he remained the foremost painter of his time.

Unlike the sketch paintings of Kiyonaga, Utamaro's paintings were an entirely new style of painting rich in color and full of body. Utamaro discarded the full length picture and preferred the half length portrait. He concentrated on showing the perfection of feminine beauty in the face of the painting. The head paintings announced in 1791-93 are regarded as Utamaro's masterpieces. The Kansei Period (1788-1800) in which Utamaro was active was the golden age of the *ukiyo-e*. Such masters of the art as Chōbunsai Eishi (1756-1829), Kubo Shunman (1757-1820), Katsukawa Shunkō (1743-1812), pupil of Shunshō, Tōshūsai Sharaku, Utagawa Toyokuni (1769-1825) and others were active during this period. Of these artist, nothing is known of Sharaku other than the fact that during the short period of 10 months from May 1794 to February 1795, he produced approximately 140 paintings of remarkable beauty and skill. His paintings revealed the peculiar characteristics of the individual actors and were unparalleled in their artistic value. Utamaro and Sharaku completed the art in their individual fields and the *ukiyo-e* was perfected during their age.

After 1800, the masters of the Kansei Period passed away or went into retirement. Utagawa Toyokuni who appeared at

this time had a large number of pupils. His works that have been discovered to date reach a massive number but they are not regarded very highly. His political ability which enabled him to secure the influence of the Utagawa school during the period of social unrest, rather than his artistic merits must be highly evaluated. His pupils numbered over 20 and the strength of the Utagawa School during the late Tokugawa Era is said to have been well over 100. Usually a certain school dies out with the passing of its leaders but the Utagawa School was an exception. Even after Toyokuni passed away, the Utagawa School maintained its popularity. Of his many pupils, Utagawa Kunisada (1786-1864) who later succeeded to the name of Toyokuni III, and Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797-1861) were the most influential. Although these 2 artists enjoyed great popularity, their paintings were extremely decadent and were no comparison to the masterpieces of Utamaro and Sharaku. During this period, however, the mission of wood block prints in the field of printing increased and the number of paintings increased accordingly. They became an important means of reporting current events. This is an important fact in studying the history of the development of wood block prints.

Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) and Andō Hiroshige (1797-1858), the 2 outstanding landscape artists brought refreshing life into the decadent art of that period.

Hokusai was a pupil of Katsukawa Shunshō but turned to landscape painting in 1798 after he saw a copper plate landscape done by a Dutch artist. Up to Hokusai's time, the wood block prints were used only to paint human figures. Hokusai was the first wood block artist to paint landscapes and he achieved the purely Japanese wood block landscape after 70 years of untiring effort. His *36 Scenes of Mt. Fuji* composed of 46 paintings is his masterpiece.

Hiroshige followed in the footsteps of Hokusai and in 1833 his masterpiece, the *53 Stations of Tōkaidō* was published. His paintings are not as intense as Hokusai's. He used a unique method to express the

various natural phenomena such as rain, mist and snow. These 2 artists are the representative and outstanding wood block print artists of the late Tokugawa Era.

The major political revolution of 1868 marked the end of the feudal system. The *ukiyo-e* which grew with this social system gradually gave way to the various printed arts imported from abroad and eventually faded away in the early years of the Meiji Era.

The artistic value of the *ukiyo-e* can be considered from the standpoint of style and from the point of the beauty of the wood block print itself. The *ukiyo-e* was born from among the people and is a truly human art. Each painting tells an intimate story of the common people of that period. The *ukiyo-e* is an art directly connected with the people's living and it cannot be compared with any other Japanese art in this regard. It is the art of the people.

Japanese wood block prints are painted in powerful flowing lines and the coloring originated by Harunobu is of unparalleled beauty. The combination of color and line gives the Japanese *ukiyo-e* a strange and unique beauty not seen in any other art. The mosaic beauty formed by the flowing lines and subdued colors are a source of great interest and enlightenment to the students of the Modern Impressionist School of art.

Methods of Colour Printing

Sumi-e or Sumizuri-e

Woodcut print in black monochrome

Tan-e

Contours black-printed, with vermilion colour in brushwork

Beni-e

Contours black-printed, with a few colours in brushwork

Urushi-e

Contours woodcut printed in black, with vermilion colour and glossy black in brushwork

Size of Ukiyoe Prints

Ō-ban	15 inches by 10 inches
Chū-ban	11 inches by 8 inches
Ko-ban	10 inches by 7 inches
Hoso-e	12 inches by 6 inches
Hashira-e	27 inches by 5 inches

Yoko-e	A large horizontal print, about 10 inches by 15 inches
Ō-nagaban	19.5 inches by 8.6 inches
Ō-tanzaku	14.3 inches by 6.4 inches
Chū-tanzaku	14.5 inches by 4.9 inches

Copperplate prints

Copperplate prints originated during the Nara Period and enjoyed only a very short period of popularity. There are no copperplate prints of the Heian, Kamakura and Muromachi periods remaining today. The introduction of Christianity into Japan by Xavier in 1548 was followed by the import of a large number of copperplate prints related to this religion. The demand for these copperplate prints increased in proportion to the successful propagation of Christianity and the resultant sudden increase in the number of devotees. Eventually, imports were not enough to supply the demand and imitations of imported copperplate prints had to be produced. A Western printing machine was imported in 1590 and the first copperplate prints were machine-produced in 1590 at Kazusa, Kyūshū. At first, these copperplate prints were used for the cover pictures of books but in 1597, the first single sheet copperplate painting entitled, Mother Mary and Christ was published. This art of copperplate printing is believed to have been taught by the missionaries at the churches established in the Kyūshū District. The technique used in those days was the direct carving method and the subjects were limited to religious paintings.

Copperplate printing died down when Christianity was banned and it remained forgotten until the middle of the Edo Period when interest in Western art was re-awakened. Shiba Kōkan (1738-1818), a progressive painter, who associated with Dutch scholars made imitations of foreign copperplate prints. He also translated an encyclopedia and gained knowledge concerning the etching method of copperplate printing. He was the first to successfully produce a copperplate print using the etching method. The Western style copperplate prints became increasingly popular with

the advancement of the Dutch language and translations and publication of Dutch literature.

Aōdō Denzen, Yasuda Raishū, Maki Bokusen, Chū Isaburō and Gengen-dō are famous copper print artists of Kōkan's time. These artists did not learn the tech-

nique from the Dutch; they studied it and became masters in their field. Most of their works were used as cover sheets of the translated books. It must be noted that Hokusai's style of painting exerted a strong influence on the copperplate printings of this period.

Sculpture

History of sculpture

Archaic Period

The Japanese sculpture, while definitely a branch of the great Oriental school of sculpturing, has made its own unique development well reflecting the singular racial characteristics of this island Empire.

The main stream of flow can be traced in the history of Buddhist images. In other words the Japanese sculpture has grown together with Buddhism. However, there had been to a certain degree sculpturing done in the period what is now known as the Archaic Period, before the advent of Buddhism into this country in 538 A.D. from the Asian Continent. These are seen in the indications of intricate decorations in plastic art discovered in the earthenware characteristic of the Jōmon Era as early as in the Stone Age, which is said to be the dawn of Japanese civilization.

There are also found among the relics of this ancient period flat, thin, disk-like earthenware, known as earthen masks, which are believed to have been the reproductions of religious deities of the time. Some of them are earthen images, while others are simply flat facial plaque. These were made simply as talismans or charms against evil spirits, with practically no artistic qualities in them.

But in the clay images of terracotta, known as *haniwa*, which were discovered in the ancient graves of these primitive people in the 3rd and 4th centuries in the form of people and animals, there appear considerable sensibility in the art of sculpturing. Although these *haniwa* figures, which

are believed to have been the imitations of the similar figures of stone found in the ancient tombs of the Asian continental people, their simplicity in expression and geometric composition of the figuring represent the singular characteristics of the Japanese people. Though admittedly primitive in motif and technique, these terracotta figures have a special place in the world history of primitive arts. In the 6th century the making of these *haniwa* images were officially prohibited, but this primitive art had already foretold the gorgeous development in this field by the rich artistic inheritance of the Japanese in the ensuing years.

Asuka Period (552-646 A. D.)

With the introduction of Buddhism into Japan from the Asian Continent, the Japanese sculpture had gradually been diverted from the traditional primitive plastic art into the more enriched artistic tendency. This is the so-called Asuka Period, which actually begins the history of Japanese sculpture. It was in this age that Prince Shōtoku (573-621 A.D.) had been converted to Buddhism, and through his powerful influence Buddhism had become the state religion of this country. In this way the worship of Buddhist images had become so popular throughout the country that the making of such images also flourished among the sculptors. Although the Japanese had previously possessed the simple art of making *haniwa*, it was definitely of a primitive motif, and that there was a decided difference in the Buddhist images imported from the Asian Continent. For the most part these imported images were those flourished in China under the North-

ern Wei Dynasty (also known as Later Wei), although there was a considerable number influenced by the nimble buoyancy of the Southern Wei. But the majority of them were of the stern conceptional appearances typical of the Northern Wei. In what are remaining to this day of the sculptures of this period traces purely of the Japanese racial characteristics are perceptible.

Among the most representative of these Northern Wei influences are the three bronze images of Buddha and his 2 attendants in *Kondō* or the Golden Hall of Hōryūji Temple by the famous Buddhist sculptor Tori. The new idealism of the time can be clearly noticed in the solemn impressiveness embodied in the geometric cubism of these works. The main object of worship at the *Yume-dono* of Hōryūji Temple, the wooden sculpture of the statue of *Kannon Bosatsu*, is considered to be the most representative masterpiece of the Tori style, named after the sculptor Tori. This is laid over with gold leaf which is still bright, and possesses that awe-inspiring features suggesting sublimity at the same time something spiritual and mystic of the superhumanism, which can not be seen elsewhere.

In contrast to the above there are other works of this period, which were influenced by the Chinese school from the Southern and Northern Dynasties to Sui Dynasty of China. Among the most representatives of these is the *Kudara Kannon* (Avalokitesvara) of Hōryūji Temple. Although it is of the Tori style, it is more geometric, its body more solid and cylindrical with more natural features, hence diminishing its symbolic effects at the same time the sublimity and mysticism. But the mildness of impression appeared more noticeable. Other examples of this school are the wooden statue of *Kannon* (sometimes *Miroku*) at the Chūgūji Temple and another of the same deities at the Kōryūji Temple.

These images are of half ruminating posture, which is said to have been in vogue in the Korean Peninsula, where its prototypes are still remaining. As far as the surviving sculptures of the Asuka Period

are concerned the metallic casts were all made of gilt bronze. Almost all of the wooden images were made of camphor.

Hakuhō Period (Nara Period, first half 646-710)

Although this is a brief period of time, and in a sense the transitional period between the foregoing and following periods, there are some notable developments of its own time. Within the country there was the Taika Reformation, which renovated the stalemate of the existing government into a strong centralized state and in the field of literature such immortalized work like *Manyōshū* had been produced to enrich the esthetic life of the country. In the field of sculpture sculptors no longer relied on Korean influences. China was directly contacted, as well as India in the form of Gupta sculpture. The influence of the T'ang Empire of China was especially strong, and as a whole realism in sculpture became more noticeable than the previous Asuka Period. Hence soft sensibility in the figures has become remarkably outstanding as in actuality. In other words, the features have become more fertile, the nose and mouth have become more realistic, and the garments worn to harmonize with the natural contours of the flesh underneath, as seen in Greek sculptures, rather than the symmetrical mannerisms of the patent designs of the Asuka Period.

The representative works of this period now remaining are the *Syō Kannon* (Avalokitesvara) statue of *Tōindō*, Yakushiji Temple, whose feature has become more voluminous, the nose and mouth more rationally realistic, the apparel receding from the mannerism of symmetry exhibiting copiousness of the flesh beneath the upper garments; the Buddha (*Sakyamuni*) of Kanimanji Temple; the *Yakushi Nyorai* (Bhaisajya-Guru) image (lost today) of the Shin Yakushiji Temple; the triad statues of Lady Tachibana or *Tachibana-no-Fujin Nenji-butsu* of Hōryūji Temple; and the bronze statue of *Kōdō* (lecture hall), Yamadadera Temple (this statue was later

transferred to Kōfukuji Temple in Kamakura, but later the body was burnt by fire and only the head remains today). While these masterpieces has grasped the intuitive human forms they are considered to have attained artistic appraisal in that they are accomplished works of art.

Tempyō Period (Nara Period,— latter half 710–794)

Since the advent of Buddhism into this country, it had been patronized by the emperors and the court in no small degree. It was also in this period that Buddhism became the state religion, and government temples known as Kokubunji temples were erected throughout the country. And the Great Buddha at Nara was also built in this period.

The most remarkable development of this period was accomplished under the Emperor Shōmu, during whose reign the matured civilization of the T'ang Empire of China was imported indiscriminately and transplanted into Japan, which resulted in the resplendent Tempyō culture.

The sculpture of this period still further advanced in its technical artistry than in the previous era, and the Indian Gupta tendency faded, in its place the more realistic accuracy of the T'ang became more prominent. The flesh became more elastic and supple with human warmth, and the garment more luxuriant. As a whole it possesses the spirit of grandeur, at the same time expressing sublime loftiness. This is no other than the profound expression of the high idealistic tendency of this period.

It was also in this period that the sculptors began to employ richer materials ever so lavishly and freely than in any other period in the sculptural history of this country. Some of the more popular of these were bronze, driedlacquer, clay, wood and stone. But for the most part sculptors preferred dried-lacquer and clay, because they appealed to them more ideal in reproducing their works more realistically than other materials. Therefore, they did not take the trouble to transfer their

technic on wood. As to stone, since the Japanese stone is not adaptable to sculpturing as compared with that on the Asian Continent, very few objects of any importance had been modelled, although there are a few relics of this period still preserved to this day.

Remarkable as it may seem after more than 1,200 years to this day, many of the works of this period had been preserved. Most of these are of excellent workmanship. This is also one main reason why this period is known as the golden age in Japanese sculpture. Some of the outstanding works of this period, that is the early part of Tempyō Period, are the group of dried-lacquer statues of *Nishi-Kondō* of Kōfukuji Temple. The first group consists of the Ten Disciples of Buddha. The former is the most representative of realism, and the latter the most variegated of the exotic T'ang influence of China.

The 14 sculptures today installed in the Sangatsudō Hall of Tōdaiji Temple, Nara, which are believed to have been the works of the Tempyō Period at its height and also believed to have been produced several years before the Great Buddha of the same temple (752 A.D.) are of special importance. These can be classified into 2 categories. The main image of worship, that is *Fukū Kenjaku Kannon* (Among-hapasa), its attendants Bonten (Brahma), *Taishakuten* (Indra), *Shi Tennō* (Four Maharajas), and *Niō* (Deva Kings) are all more than ten *shaku* (Japanese feet) high and made of dried-lacquer material. They are also believed to have been made at the time of the erection of this temple. The main image of worship, that is the *Fukū Kenjaku Kannon*, is today said to be the most distinguished piece of sculpture of this period with its majestic grandeur of the features, harmonious opulence of the body, and the extreme intricacies employed in various purposes.

The second group consists of the *Shitsukongō* (Vajrapāni), *Nikkō Bosatsu* and *Gakkō Bosatsu* (Surya-prabha and Candraprabha), *Kichijōten* and *Benzaiten* (Mahasri and Sarasvati). These are made of clay (or plaster) and are believed to

have been transported from other places to the Sangatsudō Hall. But the *Shi Tennō* (Four Maharajas) of the *Kaidan-in*, Tōdai-ji Temple, are believed to belong to the second group in some respect. The second group of sculptures in clay are, however, acclaimed as the most representative of this period in that they express the serenity which is one of the most characteristic of this era in the hand-clasping praying posture, as seen in the Nikkō and Gakkō images. And on the other hand the tempestuous fury seen in the Four Maharajas of the *Kaidan-in* marks the other characteristic of this period, which together with the former are the most conspicuous tendencies of the clay sculpture. These 2 traits are skillfully employed in the above works.

The works on the 12 Warrior Gods guarding Buddha (Bhaisajya-guru), the main image of worship at the Shin Yakushiji Temple, Nara, are somewhat different from those of the Four Maharajas of *Kaidan-in*, but nevertheless traces of exceptional skill and technique can be discerned from them, which are characteristic of this era.

The various Buddhist images at the Tōshōdaiji Temple are believed to be the works of the later half of the Tempyo Period. The Tōshōdaiji Temple was built (757-764 A.D.) by Priest Ganjin, who came from China during the T'ang Dynasty in 755 A.D. In the Golden Hall of this temple are enshrined the three images of *Rushana* (Vairocana), *Yakushi Nyorai* (Bhaisajya-guru), and *Senju Kannon* (Sahasrabhujasahasrametra). The main image of worship, *Rushana Butsu*, is made of hollow dried-lacquer and is specially noteworthy in the sprightly expression of the hands and the airy manner in which the robe is carved at the neck. The other two images are made of wooden-framed dried-lacquer, and judging from the bodily build-up, hands and robes these 2 works are believed to have been produced some years after the main image.

Although in the above three images there are traces of the "Sangatsudō style", in the wooden statues within the Lecture Hall, which the temple officials today call *Shūhō-*

ō, *Shishiku* and *Daijizai-Bosatsu*, the characteristics hitherto not seen in the works of the Tempyo Period can be perceived. In other words these unfamiliar tendencies departed from the traditional Nara schools, and are believed to have been introduced by the Chinese sculptors brought by Priest Ganjin.

In this way a new flow had been introduced during the Tempyo years, but it does not mean that the *Rushana Butsu* of the *Sangatsudō* is the last of the former school.

The dried-lacquer method of sculpturing, which was first developed during the Hakuho Period (646-794 A.D.) was greatly improved in the ensuing years, and it was in the Tempyo Period that it attained considerable perfection. Among the representative works now remaining of this period are the main image of Buddha and the attending figures of the *Dempōdō* of Hōryūji Temple. The Eleven-faced *Kannon* (Ekādasa-mukha) of Shōrinji Temple, although no authentic record can be traced, but judging from its structure and workmanship, is believed to be another typical example of the Tempyo Period.

It is not strange to note that the high skill attained in realism during the Nara Period in Buddhist statues could produce masterpieces in portrait images of the time. For example, the sedentary statue of Priest Gyōshin at the Hōryūji Temple and the Priest Ganjin of Tōshōdaiji Temple are both made of dried-lacquer, which eloquently prove the adaptability it has for portrait making. Since both of these eminent Buddhist priests died during the Tempyo Era, and assuming that such portraits would have been made during their lifetime or soon after their death, these remaining works can be authoritatively classed as among the works of this period. The lifelike images of these priests strongly vouch for the admirable high quality of the sculptors of this period.

In generalizing the above, in the Tempyo Period the Japanese art had made a momentous attainment in the classical sculpture of Buddhist images. This was largely due to the T'ang Dynasty of China, which

had conquered most of the Far East and at the same time assimilated the advanced cultural civilization of the neighboring countries, which in turn freely flowed into Japan to crystalize its formative arts to the golden age.

Early Heian Period (794-897)

As in the previous era Japanese ambassadors continued to go to China, whose party greatly contributed to the advancement of new civilization of this country. However, the influence on sculpture was more from the early T'ang school, which was perfected in the Nara Period than the newly imported techniques of the latter T'ang. About the same time the Esoteric Buddhism was imported into Japan, known as *Mikkyō*, which later considerably influenced the Japanese sculpture. *Mikkyō* was the most prominent of Buddhist religious sects which patronized arts. In other words *Mikkyō* considered everything on earth as the incarnation of the *Dainichi Nyorai*, the most revered of the Buddhas, that its fundamental doctrine calls for something spiritually sublime in any existing forms. *Mikkyō* also exalted active strength. It was the religion of power and might. In this respect the Buddhas and other deities of *Mikkyō* far excelled in power and might than those of other Buddhist sects, which had previously come into Japan. This led *Mikkyō* on a close relationship with sculpture, which further added breadth and depth in Buddhist arts.

As it may be expected that with the advent of *Mikkyō* the realistic tendencies of the previous Nara Period began to subside in this era and as a whole the Buddhist images began to wear more mystic sublimity, and their bodies became more powerful with vigor. Another characteristic of this period was the simplicity centered around the so-called *ippon-zukuri*, or carving from one trunk, which invariably confined the sculptors to wooden materials. Since the majority of the sculptures was done in wood the dexterity of the Japanese sculptors of this period led them to the perfection of the so-called *homba* style, that

undulating ripple-like carvings chiselled to realize artistic charms in wood sculpture.

The representative works of this period still remaining to this day are *Nyoirin Kannon*, of Kanshinji Temple, Osaka and the 5 large statues of *Kokuzō* of Jingoji Temple. The fundamental technique of these sculptures can all be traced to the main current of the Japanese sculpture of the Nara Period, strongly accentuated by the mystic touches and beauty of the powerful *Mikkyō* Buddhism. These without question represent the most typical of this period.

In short the sculpture of this period is the accomplishment of the fundamental technique of the Nara Period blended with the imported technique of the T'ang school and further augmented by the racial characteristics of the Japanese, as seen in the development of the chiselled traces resembling mild undulated ripples and swelling curves with rhythmic impressions. The latter tendency achieved during this period has the short-comings of deviating from the more realistic to the idealistic.

It was also toward the end of this period that the making of Shintō idols of worship had come into vogue, through the strong influence of the then powerful Buddhism, in which the Shintoists believed in the ideology known as *Honchisuijaku* that Buddhist deities had transformed themselves into Shintō deities for the salvation of the mass. For example, the Shintō deities of Matsuo Shrine and Yakushi-ji temple.

Fujiwara Period (897-1185)

This period covers a long span of some 300 years. Politically these years can be divided into several periods, but as far as the art history is concerned, there is but one long stretch of years without any divergent changes. The general trend of civilization of this period was the national assimilation of Chinese culture, which had been imported during the previous periods. And the aristocrats, in whose hands the culture of the time was nurtured, were greatly responsible for the further development. Generally speaking, the masculine

splendor of the previous period had receded and the feminine elegance had taken its place during this period, as the main characteristic tendency. This is no other than the exhibition of the more decorative harmony as its main objective, while excluding the extreme expressions upon the formative arts.

Buddhism had become more active than in the previous eras, and the entire aristocrats began to vie each other in the various forms of worship. The focal point of their worship was the Tendai Sect of Mt. Hiei in Kyoto, which was strongly influenced by *Mikkyō*. But as far as the aristocrats were concerned in their faith, they were far from the original power and might characteristic of *Mikkyō*. Hence the accented vigor in the objects of worship weakened considerably.

Since this was the period of aristocratic civilization, the Court and aristocrats competed with one another in building temples, resulting in the production of Buddhist images and other decorations for the temples. Therefore it was natural for this period to see aristocratic tendencies in various field of arts. The aristocrats were mostly idle and led a life of extreme indolence. However slothful they might have been their taste and cult were refined and well-bred, which in turn reflected powerfully on Buddhist arts they had contributed to temples.

The most influential of the religious faith of this period was the Jōdo Sect of the Buddhism. Since this sect expounded that through the invocation of sutras one could attain Nirvana or the heavenly paradise, this caught the fancy of the aristocrats of the time and spread like wildfire among the upper strata of the country. The *Amidadō*, where the Buddha was enshrined, was also regarded as the Nirvana on this earth by the Jōdo Sect. This idea added by the desire to see it before death, prompted and urged the sculptors to spare neither time nor money to produce such lavish edifices. The *Hōdō* of the Byōdō-in Temple, Uji, Kyoto, is one of the most noteworthy examples of this kind. Consequently sculptures of this period were of a highly refined

taste accentuating elegance and beauty. As in the preceding period wood sculpturing flourished to a very great extent. And it was also during this period that a new process of sculpturing appeared. Instead of carving from one large stock, small pieces of wood were formed together to make up an image. This tendency lost that powerfulness of the preceding period, but it was compensated by the refined cultural elements of the technique.

This new process similar to parquetry work, was invented by Jōchō (died A.D. 1057), who was the sculptor of the main image of worship of the Byōdō-in Temple, *Amida Nyorai* (Amitabha). This *Amida* is the work of Jōchō in his later years (1053 A.D.). It is the so-called sedentary statue of 16 *shaku* (Japanese feet) finished in golden foils. It is characterized by balanced symmetry, receding totally from the irregularities arising from realism, and tenaciously exhibiting beauty in forms with regulated dexterity in technique. It further imparts merciful benevolence from the eyes and graceful beneficence in feature, all in all saturated with refinement and harmonious elegance. These stylized forms together with the nine-fold lotus dias and the flying aureole, which Jōchō had formalized, were preserved with absolute dignity in the sculpturing of Buddhist images during the ensuing periods. Although Jōchō's works still preserved the awe-inspiring solemnity and the realism of the Nara Period, his successors gradually lost such qualities and merely tended to seek grace and elegance in exemplifying their works that led their efforts in sheer frailty.

Since the Heian Period the Japanese art had centered around the more decorative paintings and drawings. Architecture and sculpture had also tended toward such inclination. This is especially noticeable during the Fujiwara Period. Examples of this inclination can be plainly seen in the *Bishamonten* and *Kichijōten* (1078 A. D.) of Hōryūji Temple and the *Kichijōten* of the Jōruriji Temple. The *Bishamonten* of Kuramaji Temple is also one of the most representative of this period, worth mentioning here.

There are 2 other figures of Prince Shōtoku at the Hōryūji Temple, which are among the most outstanding works of this period, which should not be overlooked. One of them is the figure of a child (1069 A.D.) considered to have been modelled after some of the aristocrat's children, and other (1121 A.D.) possessing that sternness and dignity of a Shintō god.

Kamakura Period (1185-1392)

Although Minamoto-no-Yoritomo established his shogunate at Kamakura, the center of cultural civilization was still in Kyoto among the courtiers and other aristocrats. Even in the early days of his shogunate all that Yoritomo was able to do was to try to absorb the culture from Kyoto. In this way it may be appropriate to say that the culture of this period is merely the continuation of the preceding eras, especially the Heian Period (9th century). On the other hand considerable changes had gone through from the latter part of the preceding period, when intercourse with China was resumed whereby the new Sung civilization had been imported effecting the Japanese arts considerably. At the same time there was a great tendency in the revival toward the Nara Period among the sculptors, as seen in other fields of cultural civilization of this period.

In looking over the sculptures of this period there are 2 main currents, the new and the old. The old while persisting to maintain and preserve the traditions of the old school gradually adopted the realistic leaning unique of the time and evolved a new trend in its field. Although this trend should have been treated as the main current of this period, the sculptors who actually exhibited the true merits were the group of sculptors in Nara headed by Kōkei and his son Unkei, and also Kaikei, his disciple. This was the great group that opened their new school and which practically ruled the field of their time.

The activity of this group was mainly directed by Kōkei, who did the work on the main image of worship at the Nanendō, Kōfukuji Temple, known as *Fuku*

Kensaku Kannon (Amoghapasa), *Shi Tennō* (Four Maharajas) and *Hōsōrokuzo*. Although these sculptures do not exhibit the outstanding characteristics of the Kamakura Period, they nevertheless have escaped the weak and delicate mannerisms of the last days of the Fujiwara Period.

Unkei is considered the most famous of Japanese sculptor, but his dates of birth nor death are not known. However, judging from his numerous works, his early works can be traced to the latter part of the Fujiwara Period (1175 A.D.) and those of his late years to some 40 years afterward or around 1218 A.D.

The *Dainichi Nyorai* (Vairocana) of Enjōji Temple, Nara, one of the earliest works by Unkei, retain traces of the late Fujiwara Period, but for the most part possesses that realism most characteristic of the Kamakura Period, emanating vigor and strength. When this is compared with the main image of worship *Miroku Nyorai* (Maitreya), Priests Seshin and Muchaku of Kōfukuji Temple, they have totally departed from the style of the Fujiwara Period and completely adopted the typical of the Kamakura schools. Especially the statues of Priests Seshin and Muchaku are fine specimens of sculpture of the time in spiritual expression, at the same time expressing fulness and renaissance. This must have been the result of his ardent study of the spirit and works of the Nara Period, the golden age of Japanese sculpture, and that through his unflinching effort and also his sensitiveness to realism. Still he succeeded in reproducing that powerfulness and vigor and also stability, which the Nara sculptors failed to express. These characteristics can well be observed in the Deva Kings (1203 A.D.) in the South Tower Gate of the Tōdaiji Temple, Nara, jointly produced by Kaikei, which is said to be the largest wooden statues in the history of Japanese sculpture, measuring 28 *shaku* (Japanese feet). There is one important work of Unkei, Jizō Bosatsu (Ksitigarboha) still remaining to this day at the Rokuharamitsu-dera Temple, Kyoto. It is important in that through this work

his perfected technique can be well evaluated.

Kaikei, disciple of Kōkei, was the other master sculptor of this period together with Unkei. Although Unkei created that strong touches and spiritual weight from the classical schools of the Nara Period, Kaikei undoubtedly was influenced by the Buddhist paintings of the Sung Dynasty of China and originated that sharpness in refined delicacy. In chisel-work, too, Kaikei preferred light shallow touches as against the heavy numerous indented surface. Many of his works are still remaining. Among the most representatives are the *Miroku* Statue (1189 A.D.) now at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and *Sokeihachiman* Statue (1201 A.D.).

The Kamakura school of sculpture, which Unkei and Kaikei had laid the foundation, was successfully followed by Unkei's son and Jōkei. He had 6 children, but only Tankei, Kōkei, Kōben and Kōshō could be identified through their works. Of these three Kōben was the most distinguished. Among the most notable of his works are the *Tentō-ki* and *Ryūtōki* or Lantern Bearers (1215 A.D.) of Kōfukuji Temple, Nara.

Although Jōkei was said to be the son of Unkei, its authenticity had not been established. He had already produced such works as *Kongō Rikishi* (Viras) and Yuima Statue in the years between 1190 to 1198 A.D. at the Kōfukuji Temple, Nara, with a special style of his own that he could be said to be the disciple of Kōkei. His style is decidedly classical, which can be easily seen from the above 2 works. Still in *Bonten* (Brahma) at the Kōfukuji Temple, Nara (1201-1202 A.D.) and the *Tai-shakuten* (Indra) owned by Masuda, traces of realism after the Sung school of China are clearly noticeable.

The famous Great Buddha of Kamakura (1252-55 A.D.) had also been cast in this period, but its sculptor is still unascertained to this date.

This period of realism also left a number of masterpieces in portraits. Among the most notable are the one of Priest Jungen, who revived Tōdaiji Temple in Nara, the

Muchaku Kannon of Kōfukuji Temple, by Unkei, and Basusen (one of the 28 Buddhist figures) of Myōhōin Temple, Kyoto, which are said to be the most distinguished work on portrait in this country.

There is another work, which should not be overlooked, as one of the most representative of this period. This is the portrait of Uesugi Shigefusa at *Myōgetsuin*, Kamakura. Among others which need special mention of this period are the many masterpieces in Shinto deity images, Bugaku mask and animal reproductions of distinct Chinese influences for decoration at sanctuaries.

Muromachi Period (1392-1573)

The Kamakura Period showed a remarkable technical progress in sculpture. However, toward the end of the period this advancement in technique gradually tended to dwindle into obscurity for unnecessary exaggeration and imitation. Especially noticeable is the retrocession of the strong realism, which tended to disappear with the degradation of Buddhist images, which further accelerated the decline in Buddhist sculpture. This trend was further given spur in this period, whereby the sculptors simply concentrated in the surface technique losing the traditional dignity and sublimity of Buddhist images. In other words there was no inner soul to the Buddhist images carved. This was largely influenced by the Zen sect of Buddhism, which began to come into power in the religious field of the time. According to the Zen doctrine, Buddhism was not to be centered in the worship of images, but it was within one's faith. Hence, this new teaching spread among the mass, and resulted in the dissociation of sculpture from Buddhist images into portraits. But strange as it may seem, the most distinguished works of this period are mostly portraits of Zen priests.

Another development accomplished in this period was in the field of noh mask carving. The works of many of these mask carvers are still remaining to this day, although some of them are in question as to their origin, but it is interesting to note

that a new field of noh mask carving had come into the fore in this period, when Buddhist sculpture began to decline due to the rise of Zen sect.

Momoyama Period (1573-1615)

The decline of Buddhist sculpture during the last period was further accelerated in this period. Although there was a great Buddha erected at Hōkōji Temple there was nothing noteworthy of mention in the field of sculpture, except that it was done in a grand scale. Short as it may seem, this period covers but a brief span of 40 years, and yet during the short space of time the Japanese sculpture found its new outlet, diverting from the traditional Buddhist inclination to the architectural decorative arts. In other words the perennial warfare within the country had come to an end, and peace pervaded the country, large structural decoration had begun to appear throughout the country. This gave rise to the art of decorative arts, and free and bold schemes under new methods had been lavishly applied. As a result the progress was spectacular.

Architectural sculpture, hitherto almost forgotten, had now taken the country with new technique with grandeur and magnified scale in buildings of large dimensions. The colors also became more gorgeous and rich, and the sculpturing became highly accentuated by splendor and magnificence, offering features worthy of esthetic appreciation.

As to the traditional Buddhist sculpture this period produced hardly anything worthy of mentioning.

Edo Period (1615-1867)

As in the preceding period this era saw no worthy works in Buddhist sculpture. Except for a few works like the 5 Buddhist figures done by Priest Tankai at Hōzanji Temple near Nara, and *Fudōmyōō* at Tōshōdaiji Temple, which relatively retain the spirited expression of the former era, the sculpture had declined miserably.

Architectural sculpture, which flourished in the preceding period, continued to see its patronage in temple and mausoleum construction, especially in the early years of this period. During this period man like Kishiyama Jingōrō, more popularly known as Hidari Jingōrō, appeared as master carver, but his works were for the most part confined to highly appreciated handicraft. He was never a sculptor of any magnitude.

Meiji-Taishō Period (Meiji 1868-1912, Taishō 1912-1926)

Since the decline from the Kamakura Period sculpture practically lost its life during the succeeding years of the Edo Period. In this complete decadence it entered the contemporary period of Meiji-Taishō Period, which spans through the political turmoil of 1868, known as the Meiji Restoration, to 1926 when the present Emperor acceded to the throne, at the death of his father. However, with the stability of social and political conditions in the country, sculpture also began to resuscitate. As its first step the *Kōbu Gakkō* (College of Engineering) was established in 1877 by the Government. And the Italian sculptor Vincenzo Lagusa (1841-1928) was invited to fill the chair in sculpture, to begin the lecture on the fundamental knowledge of west European realism. This marked the first breath of modern sculpturing in Japan, in which the Italian master brought a new technique to the traditional Japanese sculpture which stresses more on technical skill. Among his pupils at the time were Ōkuma Ujihiro (1856-1934) and Fujita Bunzō (1861-1934), who produced in later years the statues of Ōmura Masujirō, in the precinct of the Yasukuni Shrine, Tokyo, and Mutsu Munemitsu (Foreign Minister) in the compound of the Foreign Ministry at Kasumigaseki, Tokyo, respectively. These are today considered some of the most representative works under his influence.

In 1894 Naganuma Moriyoshi (1857-1942), who studied at an art school in Venice, Italy, returned to Japan, with a new academic healthiness that considerably influenced the rising artists of the time.

Among others who studied in Europe at that time were Shinkai Taketarō (1868–1927) and Kitamura Shikai (1871–1927), who returned to Japan with new techniques that contributed much to the development of the art in this country.

Together with the growth of new foreign tendency the traditional sculpture also saw its own progress. This trend was accelerated by the establishment of the society for protection of traditional Japanese arts sponsored by Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1903), who was invited by the Tokyo University, and Okakura Tenshin (1862–1913). This was further brought to the general public by the establishment of the Tokyo College of Arts in 1888. In other words the sculpture department of the school entered its course in the modelling and reproduction of old Japanese wooden sculptures. The instructors were Takeuchi Kūichi (1857–1914), who specialized in reproduction of such works, then came Takamura Kōun (1852–1934) and Ishikawa Kōmei (1852–1913).

The principal figure of this period of wooden sculpture was no other than Takamura Kōun. He was the son of the so-called *butsumushi* or Buddhist craftsman of the Edo Period. He specially excelled in the skillful adoption of foreign realism into the wooden sculpture. Among the most representative of his wooden sculpture is the "Old Monkey". He also produced bronze statues, and among the most distinguished and popular are the statues of Saigo Takamori, now standing at the Ueno Park, and Kusunoki Masashige, in the outer precinct of the Imperial Palace, both in Tokyo.

While this traditional Japanese sculpturing flourished the imported foreign influence remained stagnant for some time. But in the meantime its value was gradually recognized and in 1898 the plaster art department was added to the Tokyo Academy of Fine Arts. And with the appointment of Naganuma Moriyoshi as its instructor, the foreign influence once again revived its popularity. Among the most distinguished of this school was the poet sculptor Takamura Kōtarō (1883–1956), son of Kōun, and

who was also known as the forerunner of Rodinism in Japan.

One of the most influential institutions which enhanced the growth of Japanese sculpture is the establishment of the Art Exhibition (popularly known as *Bunten*) by the Ministry of Education in 1908. Since its foundation exhibitions have been held, where artists old and new vied with their masterpieces greatly adding to the development of arts in this country. Some of the outstanding artists of the early years of this government undertaking are Shinkai Taketarō (1868–1927), who excelled in realism and emotional romanticism, Kitamura Shikai (1871–1927), who opened the way to marble works, Asakura Fumio (1883–) who distinguished himself in realism and who later became the central figure of the government sponsored exhibits, the genius Ogiwara Morie (1879–1910), who personally studied under Rodin and who was also greatly responsible in introducing his works to Japan, Yonehara Unkai (1869–1924), traditional wooden sculptor, Hiragushi Denchū (1872–), Yamasaki Chōun (1868–) and Naitō Shin (1882–). Following these are Hori Susumu (1890–), Ishii Tsuruzō (1887–), Hasegawa Eisaku (1890–1944), Kitamura Seibō (1884–) and Tatehata Daimu (1882–1942).

The most conspicuous tendency of the period from the Meiji to the succeeding Taishō Era is the appearance of private art exhibits, in resistance to the government sponsored ones. As the years passed the challenge defied by these non-government artists against the government sponsored masters, whose works had gradually lost their vigor and leaned toward more technical tendency degenerating into simple formalism, became conspicuously prominent.

In 1912 the *Nippon Bijutsu-in* (Japan Art Academy) was revived. Among active members were such distinguished sculptors like Fujii Kōyū (1882–), Ishii Tsuruzō, Nakahara Teijirō (1888–1912), Tobari Kōgan (1882–1927) and Satō Chōun (1888–). Of these the central figures were

Fujii and Ishii, the former characterized by composed lyric style and the latter by active creativeness. Nakahara and Tobari were disciples of Ogiwara Morie, and both were followers of the great Rodin. Hashimoto Heihachi and Takei Naoya, also belonged to this school, whose ingenuous naivete must not be bypassed.

Among the other outstanding non-government art organization is the *Nika-kai*, which originally started as an art promotion body. In 1919 sculpture was added to its list. This new department was headed by Fujikawa Yūzō. He studied under Rodin, and through him Japan owed much of the modern European influences in this field.

It was also in 1919 that the government sponsored art organization, which was held under the Education Ministry, was put under the control of *Teikoku Bijutsu-in* (Imperial Art Academy), which has been popularly known as *Teiten*. Among the more distinguished of this Teiten sculptors were such men like Hasegawa Eisaku (1890-1944), Sekino Shōun (1889-1947), Gotō Ryō (1882-1957) in wooden sculpture, Saitō Sogan (1889-), Kunikata Rinzō (1883-), Yoshida Kyūkei (1888-), Kitamura Shikai (1871-1927), Yoshida Saburō (1889-), Katō Kensei (1894-), Andō Teru (1892-1945) and Yokoe Kajun (1887-) in plaster art.

In 1926 the non-government faction centering around Saitō Sogan and Hinako Jitsuzō organized a new body called the *Kōzōsha*. Later Ogishima Yasuzō and Yō Kanji joined them, whose invigorating freshness added considerable attraction to the public. Another private organization which handled sculpture was the *Kokuga Sōsaku Kyōkai*. It was headed by Kaneko Kuheiji and was established in 1926, but in 1928 it was renamed *Kokugakai*. And to this group such men as Takamura Kōun, Takada Hakukō and Shimizu Takashi (1897-) were invited.

As the private organizations began to become more and more active, the government backed factions also began to absolve new

tendencies. As one of its renovating activities in 1919 the *Teikoku Bijutsu-in* (Imperial Art Academy) took over the work of government sponsored exhibitions from the Education Ministry. It has since handled such exhibitions to this day.

Materials used for sculpture

Wood

The materials used for wood-carving are *hinoki* (*chamaecyparis obtusa*, or Japanese cypress), *kusu* (*cinnamomum camphora*, or camphor tree), *kiri* (*paulownia*), *katsura* (*judas tree*), *sakura* (*cherry tree*), *matsu* (*pine tree*), *keyaki* (*zelkova*), *sugi* (*cedar*, *cryptomeria*), and others of less importance. Of all these *hinoki* was employed most, with *keyaki*, *katsura*, and *sakura* coming next. The fact that *hinoki* had been in use so popularly is due to the abundance this country produces and also for the fact that the Japanese people regard it as a sacred tree, added by the unique delicacy attained by the Japanese sculptural technique on wood, which accounts for the greater part of the Buddhist sculptures in this country.

There are 2 types of wood carving pursued in this country. The first is to take a piece of wood and carve the subject in the round. Most of the sculptures of the early part of the Heian Period were of this type. But even in those days, where a large image was too bulky for one piece of wood to suffice the need, several pieces were connected. The other method was to assemble carved pieces to form a complete object. In this case the head was carved by a specialist, the arm by another specialist, and so forth.

In either of these methods, the inside of the sculptured image was given a hollow space. In the former case it was to prevent cracking of the sculpture in case of too dry a weather, and in the latter case it must have been just the customary practice from the former, because the hollowed cavity was found to be an appropriate place to install sacred objects such as small images of Buddha and sacred scrolls of sutra. In

the more technical terms the hollow served to lighten the weight of the sculpture, in transporting and handling.

The assemblage method was completely mastered by sculptors in the middle of the Fujiwara Period (10th, 11th, 12th centuries) by Jōchō, regarded as the master-sculptor of all times. This method also gave rise to the many Buddhist sculpturing centers, which flourished about this time.

Clay

The method employed by the Japanese in making clay images was first to make wooden basic frame on which plastic clay was pasted over and over until the semblance of the subject was produced. To the more intricate parts like the hands, fibrous material was first woven to reproduce the finer outlines of the structural forms, and in the cases of fingers copper wires were used as the core. This method was said to have been the more orthodox, but later less economical method was introduced in that a rough image of the subject was first reproduced in wood and plastic clay was coated, using considerably less clay. Sometimes mica dust was added to the clay for more lustrous finish on the surface.

In both of these cases either colors were added or cloth was pasted on which lacquer was painted to complete the work.

Clay sculpture flourished in the Nara Period together with the dried-lacquer sculpture, which were the 2 most outstanding schools of the time. However, this clay sculpture totally disappeared after the Heian Period. The most representative works are the *Shitsukongōjin* of Tōdaiji Temple, and the *Shitenno* of Kaidanin Temple.

Lacquer

Lacquer is a typically indigenous product of the Far East.

There are 2 types of lacquer sculpturing in Japan. The first is called the lacquered cloth or hollow dried-lacquer type, and the other the wooden-framed dried-lacquer type. In modelling the hollow dried-lacquer

images, first a rough form is made of earthen material to which hempen cloth is pasted with liquid lacquer one upon the other until the desired contour is attained. To the more delicate parts powder lacquer or liquid lacquer mixed with finely powdered saw dust is applied, and sometimes metal wires are woven to get the required affect. After the image is completed and the applied lacquer dried, the earthen frame is broken and taken out and in its place a wooden frame is inserted to preserve it.

In the wooden-framed dried-lacquer type a rough outline of the image is first carved on the wood, and the powder lacquer or saw dust mixed lacquer is applied over the rough surface until the more realistic contours are produced. In both the former and the latter the surface was either gilt with gold powder or given necessary colors.

These lacquer sculptures like the clay ones flourished in the Heian Period as 2 of the most distinguished schools of sculpture. It gradually diminished after the Heian Period. Among the more representatives of the masterpieces of this school now remaining are the *Shitenno* of Tōmaji Temple, which is regarded as the work of the early years of the Nara Period (8th century), *Priest Ganjin* (hollow dried-lacquer) of Tōshōdaiji Temple, the *Kannon* (wooden-framed dried-lacquer) of Tōshōdaiji Temple, and considerable number of others at Tōdaiji Temple, Kōfukuji Temple, Hōryūji Temple and Saidaiji Temple.

Metal

In this field bronze was used most extensively, although there are many of iron. After the bronze sculpture had been made oftentimes gold was plated. This method flourished during the reign of Empress Suiko (early 7th century) but after the Kamakura Period (12th-14th centuries) gold foil was pasted with lacquer to preserve the golden appearance of the sculptures.

The bronze employed by the Japanese in those days were alloy of copper and pewter. The technical knowledge of the alloy must have been considerably advanced, judging from the enormous Buddha built in Nara

(752 A.D.), and also of the construction of the Kamakura Buddha (1252-55 A.D.). But construction of these great Buddhas declined in the following eras.

The other metal used in sculpture was the pig iron, whose technique flourished toward the latter part of Heian Period into the Kamakura Period. Silver is also said to have been employed, according to old records, which first appeared in the Nara Period and best developed during the ensuing Heian Period. However, there is practically no item remaining to this day. It is believed that silver images were for the most part confined to small objects.

Stone

Stone was used to a very great extent in China and Korea, as could be inferred from the large number of stone sculptures found in those countries. Their influences would naturally have been felt in this country, but traces of such remains are extremely rare. This might be principally due to the lack of proper stone material suitable for sculpture and in appropriateness of such art to the racial characteristics of the Japanese. Although very few in number, there are still remains of such art, as at Zutō in Nara, and another in Ōita Prefecture, Kyūshū, which is believed to have begun in the Heian Period and continued to the Kamakura Period. These together with the *Nyoirin Kannon* of Hotsumisakiji Temple in Kōchi Prefecture are the most representative of stone sculpture. But even these do not raise their technique and scale as a branch of the Japanese sculpture as compared with the remarkable degree of master workmanship attained in the field of wooden sculptures.

However, there is one aspect in stone sculpture, which must not be overlooked. And it is the *komainu* (derived from Korean dog), which stands in the foreground of large Shintō shrines in this country. Masterpieces of such sculptures had been produced in the Kamakura Period and for a long while thereafter. Stone lanterns adorning the compounds of Buddhist temples are another examples in this field. Masterpieces can be traced as far back as the Nara Period.

Haniwa

Haniwa trace their origin to the reddish brown, hollow, unglazed pottery, which are about four feet long, but most of them from 2 to 3 feet long. They were first baked and used in ancient times to fence off the cemetery mounds from being washed away from erosion. But in the meantime the so-called formative *haniwa* developed.

There are different views on the origin of the formative *haniwa*. One of the oldest records in this country, the *Nihon Shoki*, says that they were made to abolish the inhuman practice of self-immolation with the dead; that they were developed from the fencing posts to which human features were added; and that they were the imitations of the Chinese funeral practice of burying household articles together with the dead. Whatever they might have been, *haniwa* unquestionably took an important part in the burial services of human beings in ancient Japan.

The Japanese art made a sudden development from the latter half of the 6th century, when Buddhism was imported from the Asian Continent. *Haniwa* was the product of the Japanese of the 3rd and 4th centuries when their artistic tendency was still on the level of primitive art. However, looking from the standpoint of art *haniwa* may be regarded as the source of its artistic inheritance in its most simple naivety. Therefore, its technique is by far primitive, its expression free and lively with inner beauty emanating. The impression it imparts is exceedingly gentle and meek. While the primitive art of other countries of the world for the most part is characterized by mystery, sensualism and fetishism, the Japanese *haniwa* has its own singularity. This point speaks eloquently of the explicit optimism of the Japanese people even in those ancient days.

Buddhist images

Since the Japanese sculpture had developed together with the progress of Buddhist sculptures, one cannot appreciate the sculp-

tural art of this country conceptionally nor esthetically without mentioning them. Nor can he understand its history without the knowledge of the Buddhist sculptures.

There are different categories of Buddhist sculptures, but they can be conveniently classified into the following four kinds: (1) Buddha images, (2) Bosatsu images (Bodhisattva), (3) Deva images and (4) Fury images.

(1) Buddha is also known as *nyorai*. This is supposed to be the central figure of Buddhism. For example: *Shakamuni—Sakyamuni*, *Rusyana-butsumi—Vairocana*, *Amita—Amitabha*, *Yakushi—Bhaisajya-guru* or *Vaidnurya—Prabhava*, and several others. The style of these images are originally made as a rule to appear like a priest with that style of hairdo with innumerable curls, wearing clerical robe, and without any adornment about the body. In the Mikkyō sect they are often seen with a crown with adornment about the body, but they are said to be exceptionals.

(2) *Bosatsu* or *Bodhisattvas* are those who aid the Buddhas. For example: *Avalokitesvara*, *Miroku—Maiteya*, *Monju—Manjusri*, *Fugen—Samantabhadra*, *Kokūzō—Akasagarbha*, and others. These are unlike Buddhas and do not have any fixed style of hairdo, but combed their hair high up on the head and wear headgears, put on a kind of robe with the sash freely flowing, and wear *yōraku*, a kind of pendant and other ornaments.

(3) *Deva* are types of celestial images acting as guardian deities of Buddhas and *Bodhisattvas*. For example *Bonten—Brahma*, *Taishakuten—Tenindra*, *Bishamonten—Vaisravane*, *Kichijōten—Mahaori*, *Kongōrikishi—Vajrapani*, *Kishibojin—Hariti*, and others. These images are all guardian deities. They have distinct sexes. Some are in the form of monarchs, men of arms, men of great strength, female courtiers and others.

(4) *Fury* images are the incarnation of *Fudōmyōō—Acala*, *Gōsanzenmyōō—Trailokyavijaya*, *Aizenmyōō—Raga*, and others of Buddhas and *Bosatsu* in the expressions of fury. The other 3 deities are found in all other sects of Buddhism, but this fury

images are only seen in Mikkyō sect. They have no set forms and features, they could represent any one of the Buddhas, *Bosatsu* and *Deva* images.

All the abovementioned four classes of deities have the so-called *Mudra* in their hands in one form or another together with some sort of articles, which in every case symbolize their respective acts in meditations, actions, and other mannerisms. The *Mudra* and the article together with the facial expressions shown in the images are highly revered in Buddhist faith.

There are other images of the large number of disciples of *Shakamuni*, the founder of Buddhism, but there are no set rules for their representation. In other words, they are the reproduction of human beings, and not deities, that they are more realistic and decidedly lack mystic expressions and features as well as forms. The common features of these images are that they are usually bold headed and wear flowing robes.

Accessories of Buddhist images

Since Buddhist images are objects of worship and their primary mission is to be enshrined in temples and other places of veneration, they themselves invariably must possess those qualities conforming to the needs of the worshippers. Therefore, the fundamental principles of constructing Buddhist images must first conform to these requirements, that they themselves must possess the power to attract, that the images stand on firm ground, and that they have appropriate background. The most impressive of these accessories is the halo, adorning the images as if radiant rays of lights are beaming from them. Sometimes canopies are added, but not always. Although the origin of this halo is written in the sutras, there is no formula ascribed to its attachment. The Japanese had devised their own creations. These tendencies can be seen as far back as the Asuka Period, immediately following the introduction of Buddhism into this country.

These decorations in the background were simple at the beginning, but since Buddhist images primarily and always had been the

objects of worship and adoration, they naturally tended to increase their dignity and impressiveness and finally turned into pure decorative art. Although these decorative halos and canopies differed in individual images, the workmanship on them reached its height during the Heian Period.

Strictly speaking there were two kinds of halos for the Buddhist images, the first at the back of the head and the other at the back of the body. The halo at the back of the head was originally a simple round disk-like plaque, which in time became more embellished as the technique began to advance with multiple designs of flaming treasure balls, flames, flowers, and angel-like figures adorning its surface. From the very early days lotus flowers were for the most part used in these circular halos. Only in the case of sedentary figures were these halos doubled, the smaller one being overlapped by the larger halo. In most of the standing figures the halo covers the entire image in an oblong shape. These are said to be the fundamental principle in halo attachment, but in the course of time different kinds of variations were originated to add to the splendor and attractiveness of the images. Among these variations was the one called the boat-shape halo which was patterned after the petals of lotus flower.

One of the interesting variations of this halo workmanship is the carving of ornamental open-work of angel-like beings with their flowing robes waving outward at the edge rippling in an undulating symmetry. This rhythmic expression was devised by Jōchō, and it developed to its height during the latter part of the Heian Period. These halos, unlike the images themselves, were not made of the same materials and were highly treated with gold foils and gorgeously colored to increase the impressiveness of the accompanying images. These dazzling objects of worship were also intended to captivate the Buddhist followers, who were lured by these insinuating reproductions of the other world in such glittering and glaring fashion before their own eyes.

In summing up, the magnificent gorgeousness that was attained in the halo decorations on Buddhist images could be construed as the effort exerted by the sculptors to accentuate the simplicity of the images themselves, whose adornment was greatly restricted.

The next in importance of the accessories of Buddhist images is the dais or pedestal, as the case may be. There are various kinds, but the most representative is the so-called the lotus-flower dais. Needless to say the lotus flower has been known for its purity, which coincides with the Buddhist doctrine of purity, and for this it is closely associated with this religion. The most simple of the lotus flower dais is composed of a base, of various shapes, on which is a rostrum around which petals of lotus flowers are attached in a scale-like fashion. The most revered and the highest degree of these dais is the one built in nine layers from the bottom base to the topmost rostrum, between which are various forms and shapes of variegated decorations.

The dais had not made its own development, as was the halo, as they were integral part of the whole sculpture, possessing close organic relations among themselves in the history of Buddhist sculpture.

A word about Japanese sculpture here will help to add to the better understanding of the history of this subject.

From the earliest time of Japanese Buddhist sculpture, even in the Asuka Period the sculptors were called *butsumushi*—freely interpreted as Buddhist craftsman. These *butsumushi* were laymen, which included anyone who pursued his livelihood by engaging in producing articles for Buddhist purposes. But in the Heian Period it had become the custom of the time for these sculptors to become priests in order to pursue their profession. In the course of time these *butsumushi* were regularly employed by the different temples, and their positions became more stable enabling them to produce better works of artistic value. In this way most of the sculptures in this country were produced by these *butsumushi*, who enjoyed complete protection by the

Buddhist temples. These *butsushi* survived until the Edo Period, but they finally disappeared in the Meiji Era, our contemporary period.

Shintō images

Originally the Shintoism, which is the native faith of this country, had no object of worship, but after the inception of Buddhism into Japan in the 6th century, the new religion must have had a considerable influence over the old belief through the new spiritual ideology known as *Honchi-suijaku*, in which Buddhist deities were believed to have transformed into Shintō gods. As the result the Shintoists in the course of time adopted concrete forms as objects of worship.

According to the earliest record this tendency of adopting images appeared in the beginning of the Heian Period. Therefore, its images were almost entirely influenced by Buddhism in every respect. However, since Shintoism had no strict restrictions on the making of images of worship, their images were in most cases reproductions of earthly human beings, in contrast to the superhuman images of the Buddhism. Shintō images were for the most part sedentary statues and with clear distinction between the male and female, unlike those in Buddhism where sexes could not be discerned.

The oldest of the Shintō images now remaining is the wooden statue of the male god of Matsuo Shrine, which is of life-size wearing the garments of the time. The technique of carving is exactly like that which flourished among the Buddhist sculptors, in that the curves are characterized by the mild undulated ripple-like finish. Judging from this and other remaining statues the mode of the Shintō sculptors was invariably to reproduce deities clothed in the garments of their own time. In the way masterpieces were produced by Buddhist sculptors during the Kamakura Period and the following Muromachi Period, so were the Shintō sculptors whose masterpieces were seen in great number in these two periods, and gradually dwindled to obscurity thereafter.

Although the Shintō sculpture as compared with Buddhist sculpture is but a minor school, still there are certain characteristics emanating from such works. In short Shintō sculptures are singularly naive and simple, spiritually melancholy, sedate in posture with ample likeness to earthly men.

Portrait images

Japanese portrait sculpture saw its birth in the sculpturing of high and noble Buddhist priests soon after the introduction of Buddhism into this country, and thereafter remained intact with Buddhism for the following several centuries. However, the earliest of the surviving works are those of the Nara Period of Priest Gien (died 728 A.D.) of Okadera Temple, Priest Gyōshin (died 758 A.D.) of Hōryūji Temple, Priest Ganjin and several others. But even these can not escape the conceptional tendencies perceptible as in the portrait drawings of Buddhist priests and in Buddhist sculptures of the time. And this tendency is also true of those works produced in the ensuing periods.

These characteristics were also seen in the works of the early part of the Heian Period, which included portraits of Shintō images as well as those of laymen, but the conceptional trend was still accentuated in them. However, the genuine portrait sculpturing was not produced until the Kamakura Period (12th, 13th, 14th centuries), when such wooden work as Uesugi Shigefusa of Meigetsuin Temple. This is the outcome of the revival of realism which attained artistic and esthetic expressions at the same time. The other outstanding work is that of Priest Chinsō, who was one of the Zen priests. This portrait is more realistic than any of the works on Zen priests preceding the Kamakura Period.

Works of this type rarely appeared during the ensuing years through the Edo Period. In the Meiji Period, or the contemporary period, Western method of sculpturing was introduced into this country, and thereafter almost all the portraits were made according to the imported method us-

ing plaster and bronze. A considerable number of bronze statues were also produced in this period.

Post-war sculpture

In the pre-war days, Japanese modern sculpture made slow progress compared to other branches of Japanese art. Being accustomed to appreciate the suggestive simplicity of traditional oriental art, the Japanese people found it difficult to fully understand the severe masses of modern sculpture. Japan's defeat in the war added to the handicapped position of sculpture. In the past, the Japanese mode of living had little need for sculpture. Even when people began to appreciate paintings in their barracks among the debris of post-war devastation, no one felt any necessity for sculpture. Above all, the fact that sculpture is an art that requires years of study was the main cause that prevented young sculptors from developing new phases. It was only since 1948, that sculpture showed signs of revival, mainly through the slow efforts of existing sculptors. By this time, the sculptural section of such art groups as the *Nitten*, *Inten*, *Shinseisaku-ha* and *Nika-kai* began to show works of sculpture. But unfortunately, hardly any of these sculptural sections were independent or stood apart from the Painting Section. In 1949, in self-criticism of their deficiencies, sculptors from various schools of sculpture organized the Japan Sculptors Federation and had their first exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This first post-war independent sculptural exhibition is significant as one which instigated the self-consciousness and creative power of sculptors. Glorification of liberalism showed itself in a strong yearning for foreign culture, which resulted in successive exhibitions of reproductions of foreign masters. Since 1951, this tendency gave vent to an avalanche of exhibitions of the original works of such masters as Matisse, Picasso, Braque, Rouault and the Salon de Mai. Although the emphasis had been on paintings, these exhibitions gave a strong impulse to the sculptors, both from the

formative and expressive standpoint of view. With the stabilization of social conditions in the early 1950's, the self-consciousness and imported stimulation rose above the level of pre-war animation. From this time onward, such art groups as the *Kōdō-Bijutsu*, *Dai-Niki-kai*, *Shinju-kai* and others gradually established sculptural sections which increased in their importance. The following is a synopsis of the development of the above mentioned sculptural groups.

The *Nitten* was as ever the main sustaining power of post-war apathy. Eighty percent of the artists joined it and submitted what we might call etudes or sketches which could hardly be considered as tableaux. Yet, the moderate realism of such pre-war masters as Asakura Fumio and Katō Kensei in sculpture and Yamazaki Chōun, Sawada Haruhiro and others in wood-carving, gradually stabilized their skill, while the individualistic pursuit of Mizufune Rokushū, Kijima Masao, Engaku Katsuji and others greatly contributed to the revival of government sponsored exhibitions. Thus, the deeply rooted tradition of Japanese sculpture has been handed down to the present day. The rise of young sculptors is well proved by the fact that in 1952, the 26 year-old Asakura Kyōko, noted for her pursuit of purity of form, was chosen as one of the judges of the *Nitten*.

The *Inten*, together with the *Nitten* maintains conservative realism with such pre-war masters as Shinkai Takezō, Ishii Tsuzō, Yamamoto Toyoichi who are the driving force of this group of artists.

As opposed to the above conservative groups, the sculptors of the *Shinseisaku-ha*, though having a slight tendency toward realism, are aiming to uncover the essence of form. The fresh vitality of those members whose age is in the thirties and forties is a proof that theirs is a group distinctly apart from the government sponsored groups. "The Statue of a Young Man" (1947) by Kikuchi Kazuo and "The Man and the Horses" (1952) by Satō Chūryō are representative of this group, while Hon-gō Shin with his series of "Voice of the

Sea" is socialistic in his themes. The fact that the *Shinseisaku-ha* added an architectural section is worthy of note. We find new vistas for future development, in the organic display of the Sculptural and Architectural Sections of the *Shinseisaku-ha* exhibitions.

Owing to a difference of opinion whether to participate in the *Nitten* or not, the *Nika-kai* Group lost the majority of its pre-war members. But, with Kasagi Sueo as its central figure, the younger generation succeeded to quicken the pace toward avant-garde abstract sculpture. By 1950, even the sculptures began to reveal *Nika-kai's* tendency to favour giant size exhibits. "Harmony", Kasagi Sueo's impressive abstract stone sculpture, weighed over 2,800 kilograms. The very same year, Isamu Noguchi arrived in Japan. With his lectures and one-man shows, Noguchi stirred the art circles and aroused an increasing interest for abstract art. The sculptural works of the *Nika-kai* and other private art groups unanimously adopted the new tendency. Konno Hisashi of the *Jiyū Bijutsu*, Tatehata Kakuzō of the *Kōdō-Bijutsu*, Ueki Shigeru of the Modern Art Group and others are the present leaders of abstract sculpture. On the other hand, there arose a tendency of using space in sculpture as a positive theme. Nagano Ryūgyō of *Dai-Niki-kai* introduced space

through his theory of abstract form while Hiroi Tsutomu of the Modern Art Group used the density and frame of sculpture for architectural space. Teshigawara Sōfū ingeniously combined flower arrangement, one of the traditional space-arts of Japan, with sculptural space. Although he is for the most part sensuous in his interpretation, we owe him a great deal for the popularization of the abstract point of view. Standing apart from these groups, Kinouchi Yoshi perfected his unique Baroque style.

Turning our eyes from art galleries, we find that since the first Inokashira Park Open-Air Sculpture Exhibition of 1950 which revealed the beauty of sculpture in open space, the number of exhibitions magnifying our formative field of vision has markedly increased. In relation with this new tendency, we find that nude statues symbolizing peace and happiness as well as out-door sculptures for the purpose of embellishing cities began to take the place of pre-war militaristic bronze statues. Again, with the prevailing building boom, sculpture outgrew its original function and found a new field in architecture where it blends and becomes a structural part of it. From galleries to piazzas, from piazzas to architecture, we find that sculpture is changing both in concept as well as in the demand for it.

Architecture

History

Neolithic Age

The people who migrated to the Japanese Islands around 1,000 B. C. were living in the culture of the Neolithic Age. Using stone implements and earthenware, they made their livelihood by hunting and fishing and lived in fixed houses which consisted in a roof over a 50-centimeter-deep cavity. The shape of the plan varied being either round, rectangular with round corners, rectangular or quadrate. It is sur-

mised that the beams were resting on four pillars planted directly in the ground, surrounded on the four sides by rafters and thatched with grass.

Around 100 B. C., bronze and iron were brought in from China together with the tillage method which made cultivation of rice the main production. Although pit dwellings continued to be built, high floored houses of the south were introduced. We can observe the shape of these houses in the drawings and *Dōtaku* (cylindrical bronze plaques with handles on both sides and cord on top).

As agriculture progressed, the difference between the rich and the poor increased. There emerged a class of nobility toward the end of 400 A. D. and the Japanese Islands were consolidated into a country.

In spite of the fact that shrines were rebuilt for many times, the architectural style of the shrines that were built around this time is still preserved in our days. It is considered that shrine architecture of the time followed the style of palace architecture. Hence by observing shrine architecture, we are able to find facts about palace architecture. The Ise Shrine and the Izumo Shrine are both typical examples. With curved roofs, pillars directly planted in the ground, high floors, unpainted wooden member and simple structure, the architectural style of both the Ise and the Izumo shrines is that of Japanese architecture before the introduction of Buddhism.

Asuka, Nara Periods (552-794 A. D.)

Buddhism was introduced to Japan from Korea together with Buddhist architecture which brought great changes to Japanese architecture. Originating in India, Buddhism was introduced to China from western regions in the beginning of the Christian Era. In China, Buddhist architecture flourished around the 3rd and 4th centuries. As Chinese architecture of the time had been considerably advanced, the influence of Buddhist architecture made itself felt chiefly in the ornamentation and details, while the architectural style of Chinese architecture (palaces and government buildings) was merely modified to suit Buddhist architecture. Thus, we find that the style of Buddhist architecture introduced to Japan was, in reality, Chinese architecture brought over via Korea.

A Buddhist temple has as its center the *Kondō* (Golden Hall) and Pagoda surrounded by a gallery with a gate called *Chūmon* (Inner Gate). The Auditorium, *Kyōdō* (the building where prayer books are stored), the belfry and the cells are situated at the back. Among other buildings we find the shrine office, the dining room with numerous structures for preparing meals

and warehouses. All these buildings are surrounded by an outer fence with gates open on all the four sides. The above mentioned arrangement varies in its style, the Shitennōji style being the oldest. The Hōryūji style comes next followed by the styles of *Yakushiji*, *Kōfukuji* and *Tōdaiji*. Chinese architecture with its stylobate, pillars raised on a stone foundation, pillars with entablature which support the eaves, curved tiled roof, heavily decorated interior and exterior, greatly differs from Japanese architecture. With the spread of Buddhist architecture throughout Japan, palaces and shrines began to adopt the Chinese style.

Although the *Hōkōji* built in 588 A.D. is the first example of a temple fully equipped with adjunctive buildings, the Hōryūji Monastery with its *Kondō* (Golden Hall), towers, Inner Gate and galleries is the oldest among the existing temples. Built in 607 A.D., *Hōryūji* was destroyed by fire in 607 A.D. The architectural style of the present temple is different from others in its usage of cloud-shaped brackets which were used in China in the 6th century. As there was a distinct difference between the brackets of the 6th and 7th century, the 670 A.D. fire of Hōryūji Temple has been subject to prolonged debates. At present, two different theories—one which maintains that *Hōryūji* was rebuilt in 650 A.D. immediately after the fire and the other, which maintains that it was rebuilt in 650 A.D. eight years after the fire which took place in 642 A.D.—are considered to be the most convincing.

During the latter half of the 7th century, Japan began to have direct communication with China. Thus, T'ang civilization was brought to Japan without passing through Korea. Following the example of T'ang, the capital of Japan adopted city planning. *Heijōkyō*, the capital built in 710 A.D. had an Imperial Palace in the center of its northern half and a well-organized road system running east, west, south and north. Within the boundaries of the capital were built such temples as the *Tōdaiji*, *Saidaiji*, *Kōfukuji*, *Daianji*, *Genkōji*, *Yakushiji* and *Tōshōdaiji*, which presented a spectacular sight. *Tōdaiji*, the biggest of all had a

Kondō Hall which was about 9 meters long, 5 meters wide and 4 and a half meters tall with two 10-meter towers. Among these temples, the East Tower of Yakushiji Temple, the Yumedono (Dream Pavilion), the Buppōdo, the East Main Gate and the Kyōdō (the building where prayer books are kept) of Hōryūji, the Shōsōin Repository, the Hokkedō and the Tegaimon Gate of Tōdaiji, the Kondō Hall and the Auditorium of Tōshōdaiji, the East Tower and West Tower of Tōmaji, the Octagon Hall of Eizanji still remain intact while the small towers of Kairyūōji and Gokurakuin built at the time remain as models of towers.

Heian Period (794-1185)

In 794 A.D., the capital was transferred to Heiankyō. Though similar in shape, Heiankyō was somewhat bigger than Nara. But the temples, instead of being built within the limits of the city, were removed to the mountains. Though Enryakuji and Kongōbuji are representative as such temples, none of the original buildings managed to survive the frequent fires. Those that remain were built after the 17th century. The Murōji and Sanbutsuji are among the mountainside temples of the time. We can find no representative examples of towers built in the Tahōtō Tower style which was introduced from China, a style that consists in a square basis, round middle and square roof. The only existing examples are the Tahōtō of Ishiyamadera Temple and those built since the end of the 12th century.

During the latter Heian Period, a great number of Amitabha Halls were built as a result of a growing faith in the Amitabha. The Hōōdō (Phoenix Hall) of Byōdōin, the Amitabha Hall of Hōkaiji and the Main Hall of Jōruriji are representative Amitabha Halls. Dedicated to the golden statue of Amitabha, these Amitabha Hall were masterpieces of solemn beauty. Prostrating in deep worship in front of an Amitabha Hall, people felt like being in a living paradise. The Phoenix Hall, for instance, was decorated with every conceivable means of ornamentation. Even the architectural

style was in imitation of a painting of paradise. In other words, the Phoenix Hall was a formative expression of paradise in the minds of the people of the time.

By using massive building material, the architecture of the Nara Period was majestic in its style. But, during the Heian Period, the material gradually grew thinner and people began to prefer a more graceful style. Even temples began to have wooden floors and cypress bark roofs.

The influence of Buddhist architecture on temples made itself felt since the 8th century. Thus, we find temples with curved roofs and colored exterior, an architectural style known under the name of *kasugazukuri*, *nagarezukuri* or *hachimanzukuri*. The Kamo Shrine, the Kasuga Shrine and the Usa Shrine are representative examples of this style.

Chinese architecture also influenced the architectural style of residences. We find examples of residences built exactly in the architectural style of the Buppōdo of Hōryūji Temple. Adopting the orderly, symmetrical arrangement of Buddhist architecture, the architectural style of residences increasingly developed during the Heian Period. The Emperor's residence inside the Imperial Palace of Heiankyō is a representative example of this style. Though the present Imperial Palace of Kyoto was built in 1756 A.D., its style is that of the 9th century. *Shindenzukuri*, the architectural style of the nobility also resembled the Emperor's residence. Towards the end of the Heian Period, the architectural difference between temples and residences became closer. This resulted in the fact that temples began to adopt the architectural style of residences. The *saiden* of Kasuga Shrine and the Front Shrine of the Ujigami Shrine were both built in the style of a residence while the *Shōryō-in* of Hōryūji Temple is an exact replica of the adjunctive building of a shindenzukuri residence.

Kamakura, Muromachi Periods (1185-1573)

After the 10th century, official communication with China ceased and architecture

became increasingly Japanized. We find wooden floors and cypress bark roofs even in Buddhist architecture. But toward the end of the 12th century, when *Tōdaiji* had been reconstructed, the architectural style of Southern Sung was introduced. The South Main Gate of *Tōdaiji* and the Jōdo Hall of Jōdoji Temple are examples of this influence. The brackets were inserted into the pillars while bare beams revealing the structure were used as the ceiling, thus rendering a feeling of strength and power.

A little later, the teachings of Zen, a branch of Buddhism, was introduced to Japan together with the architecture of Northern Sung. As in the *Shariden* of Enkakuji Temple and the Kaizandō Hall of Eihoji Temple, the architectural style of Northern Sung with its delicate *kiwari* (Japanese module), without wooden flooring, a cluster of entablature on top of pillars, radial rafters and pointed eaves with curves, is refined compared to the powerful style of the South Main Gate of *Tōdaiji*. With the expansion of Zen Buddhism, this architectural style was adopted throughout Japan and helped create an eclectic style by combining various architectural styles since the Heian Period. The Main Hall of Kanshinji and Kakurinji Temples, which abound in sculptured details, are examples of this style.

As opposed to the imported architectural style, we find a traditionally Japanese architecture representing the post-Heian years. The Tahōdō Hall of Ishiyamadera Temple, the Fudō Hall of Kōyasan, the Hokushidō Hall and Tōkondō Hall of Kōfukuji are graceful in their shape.

In the latter part of the 15th century, the power of the central government weakened and gave way to the rise of the power of the *daimyō* or feudal lords. This brought many changes to architecture. Though *nagarezukuri* was most prevalent in the architecture of temples and shrines, we also find unusual planning in such shrines as the Tatemikumari Shrine, Kibi Shrine and Tosa Shrine.

Functional division of space greatly improved in residences of the Heian Period. Partitions and sliding doors increased while such new installations as the *toko* (niche),

shelves and *shoin* were added for the purpose of adorning masterpieces of paintings and art objects of Sung, Yuan Periods. Building pavilions in gardens became a fashion and such buildings as the *Kinkaku* (Golden Pavilion) and the *Ginkaku* (Silver Pavilion) were built.

Momoyama, Edo Periods (1573-1868)

Toward the end of the Muromachi Period, the *samurai* who were fighting among themselves all over the country, were unified by Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi. The castles that were demolished to mere mounds as a result of years of war, gradually grew in their scale. With the importation of the gun from the west, tactics changed and for the first time, permanent castles began to be built. The mansions of feudal lords were included within the boundaries of a castle and in order to emphasize the power and might of the master, were purposely built on a grand scale, with the utmost ornamentation. During the Momoyama Period, religious architecture, which until the Middle Ages was the center of the architectural circles, gave way to castle architecture and building of mansions for feudal lords.

Though a great number of castles were destroyed during the Meiji Restoration and some more perished under the fire during the World War II, the Himeji Castle, the Hikone Castle and the Matsumoto Castle, still remain. The mansion of Nijō Castle and the *Hiunkaku* which was removed from *Jurakudai* to Nishi Honganji Temple are typical examples of a grand mansion.

A considerable number of guest houses such as the *Kōjōin* and *Kangakuin* of Enjōji Temple, the *shoin* and *sambōin* of Nishi Honganji Temple which were built between the Momoyama and Early Edo Period still remain. From them we can judge the various aspects of residences of the time. One of the main characteristics is the fact that the best room is reserved for the guest. A guest's room has a *toko*, shelves and *shoin* for the purpose of adorning works of art. The purpose of a *toko* is for hanging paintings while the shelves and *shoin* which originally were installed for practical purposes

became means of ornamenting a room. An exactly similar arrangement is found in the arrangement of residences in our days. Not only residences, but temples and shrines abounded in ornamentation. As in the case of the Tōshōgū Temple of Nikkō and Ōsaki Hachiman Shrine, the entire structure is covered with sculpture and rich coloring.

As opposed to castle architecture, tea ceremony which originated in the Middle Ages created a small room where one could enjoy spiritual peace, a room in the style of a farmhouse with no apparent ornamentation. Every decorative device was sacrificed for the purpose of stressing the beauty of the paintings hanging in the *tokonoma*. In a tea room, the purpose of a window was not to have a view, but to let the light in. In order to add variety to the interior, windows were small in size but numerous. The architectural materials were left as much as possible in their natural texture. Though shabby at a glance, the architect of a tea room made his utmost in expressing formative beauty by using commonplace materials. The *Taian*, *Nyoan*, *Kandenan*, *Jikōin* Tea Room, *Shiguretei*, *Kasatei* and the *Minoan* are representative examples of a tea room.

The simple beauty of a tea room greatly influenced the architecture of residences and was instrumental in creating such a masterpiece as the Katsura Palace. Architecture of residences which developed along these lines created a style, extremely simple in its ornamentation.

Another characteristic of this period is the advent of the *noh* stage, a new kind of architecture which developed into theater architecture and the establishment of schools which until the Middle Ages never existed.

Kinds of architecture

Classifying by usage, architecture comes under the following headings:—residences, palaces, temples, shrines, castles, tea rooms, schools, theaters and hotels, among which residences have the highest percentage. Palaces and shrines first appeared in the

Early Ancient Times, while Buddhist temples were introduced in the Middle Ancient Times. Castles and other types of architecture belong to the Modern Age.

Classifying by shape, architecture is divided into the following different architectural forms—residences, main halls of temples and shrines, *Butsudō* (halls for idols), towers, gates, castle-towers and pavilions.

Shrine Architecture

Shrine architecture consists of the Main Shrine for the enshrinement of idols, the Front Shrine and the *heiden* for worshipping and religious rituals, the Torii Gate symbolizing the entrance and the shrine office for office work. At times, the influence of Buddhist architecture is felt in the addition of pavilions and galleries. At first, a shrine only consisted of the Main Shrine and the Torii Gate. Later, in the 8th century, the Front Shrine was added and was followed by pavilions and galleries in the 11th and 12th centuries. Shrine architecture began with the building of a temporary sanctuary for yearly festivals. When the festivals were over, the sanctuary was torn down. But gradually, these shrines began to remain permanently. Some shrines, as in case of the present Ise Shrine, are according to the custom built anew every 20 years. This is a proof that the custom of building yearly a new shrine has been handed out.

In most cases, the architectural style of the Main Shrine is an exact replica of the original structure. Hence, the older the shrine, the older the architectural style.

The oldest style of shrine architecture is the *shimmeizukuri* of the Ise Shrine with its *hirairi* single gabled roof and the *taishazukuri* of the Izumo Shrine with its *tsumairi* single gabled roof, while the *nagarezukuri* with eaves in front of the *hirairi* single gabled roof and the *kasugazukuri* with eaves in front of the *tsumairi* single gabled roof come next.

Though there is only a small number of Main Shrines either in *shimmeizukuri* or in *taishazukuri*, *nagarezukuri* is the commonest architectural style of a Main Shrine. Contemporary Main Shrines are for the most part *nagarezukuri* in their style.

kasugazukuri style which ranks next is prevalent in Nara Prefecture with a few exceptions in other places.

Toward the end of the 8th century, the Front Shrine was newly added in front of the Main Shrine, thus creating *hachimanzukuri* (Usa Hachiman Shrine is a typical example of this style). In the 11th century, by connecting the roofs of the Main Shrine and the Front Shrine, a new style called *gongenzukuri* was born (Kitano Shrine is a typical example of this style). This style was widely used since the end of the 15th century. The *Tōshōgū* of Nikkō, the first of its kind and many other shrines adopted this style.

The purpose of a Front Shrine was to seat the people during a religious festival. In an ordinary case, the person who pays homage to a shrine, instead of entering the Front Shrine, offers his prayers in front of it. The gates and the galleries, as in case of the Front Shrine, were for the most part places to seat the people who took part in the festival.

Since shrine architecture existed before the importation of Chinese architecture in the 6th century, it was little influenced by it. The simple and pure beauty of shrine architecture consists in its scarcity of ornamentation, its cypress bark roof and its usage of wooden flooring. Some shrines, which were built in the Modern Age show the influence of Buddhist architecture in their heavy ornamentation.

Torii Gate is a typical example of the simplicity of shrine architecture. Though we know little about its origin, Torii Gate is a kind of gate consisting of 2 pillars and a connecting rail with a top rail on top of it. The simple shape of Torii Gate is the symbol of a shrine.

Buddhist Architecture

Though imported from China, the style of Buddhist architecture differs according to each sect.

The architecture of *Nanto Rokushū* (the six religious sects of the Nara Period), which usually chose level ground as its site, had an earthen floor and tiled roof. The principal object of worship was enshrined

in the Kondō Hall. Together with the tower dedicated to the ashes of Buddha, the Kondō Hall is one of the most important structures of a Buddhist temple. With the Auditorium, where prayers are offered at its back and a surrounding gallery, a Buddhist temple has a gate at its front. Besides these structures, there are the belfry that rings the time, the *kyōrō* where prayer books are stored and the cells for priests. All these structures are symmetrical in their arrangement and are known under the name of *butsudenin*. To the back or side of the *butsudenin* are the dining hall, bathroom, warehouse, shrine office, a vegetable garden or a flower garden and a corner for the living quarters of the slaves. A fence with gates on all the four sides surrounds the entire temple.

Because of the fact that most of the temples of the Tendai and Shingon sects are built in the mountains, the arrangement of the buildings is irregular while the galleries were only for big temples. In front of the Kondō Hall was built a structure called the Reidō Hall. In the Middle Ages, these 2 buildings were combined into one and called the Main Hall. With the *Naijin* (sanctuary), a place where the idol is enshrined, the Main Hall became a universal example of planning.

A tower with a square basis and round top called *Tahōtō* was newly introduced. The cells expanded and were called under the name of such and such an *in* like any independent temple. This gave birth to a complex formation which consisted in the halls and towers surrounded by *shi-in*. This style was adopted even by the temples of *Nanto Rokushū*.

During the latter part of the Ancient Times, Amitabha worship flourished and a great number of Amitabha Halls were erected.

With the adoption of Zen architecture and the Sung style, once more, the arrangement became symmetrical and gentle slopes at the foot of mountains were chosen as sites. With an earthen floor, fine wooden member and a great number of ornamented details, the architectural style of each temple was Chinese. The Front Gate and the

Three Gates (the Middle Gate, Central Gate and Inner Gate), the *butsuden*, the *Hōdō* (Auditorium) were in a row in the center. Thus, passing through the galleries, one could reach the *butsuden* from all the 3 gates. To the right and left were the Sōdō Hall for religious meditation and the priest's living quarters where business matters of the shrine were handled and meals were prepared. In front of the Sōdō Hall, at an oblique angle, were the bathroom and toilet while the chief priest's residence was at the back. Lay priests lived in the *Shūryō* near the Sōdō Hall. As in case of the Tendai and Shingon sects, the Zen sect, since the 14th century, had an increasing number of cells called *tatchū* which developed into a complex shrine formation. Instead of being built within the boundaries of the shrine, the towers were built in the surrounding mountains at the back of the shrine.

Although the Jōdo, Shin and Nichiren sects were prophesized since the 13th century, it was only in the 15th century that their architecture flourished. With the Main Hall, Taishidō Hall (or Soshidō Hall) in the center, the other buildings were arranged according to their functions. The architectural style was mainly that of the Tendai and Shingon sects with the details of Zen architecture.

The Nichiren sect shrines have towers while the Jōdo and Shin sects don't have any.

Residence Architecture

Pit dwellings which were found throughout Japan were the primitive form of human abodes. In underdeveloped areas, pit dwellings prevailed until the 12th and 13th centuries. Around 100 B.C. houses with high floors were imported from the south. The nobility adopted high-floored houses while the houses of the common people developed from pit dwellings.

With the importation of Chinese architecture around the 7th and 8th centuries, Japanese residences began to adopt the architectural style of the Chinese continent. In the 10th century, the architectural style of the residences of the nobility called *shin-*

denzukuri was accomplished. With the *shinden* (main building where the master lived) facing the south in its center, a Shindenzukuri residence had a *taiya* (the place where the family lived) called *fukuya*, to its east, west and north. The garden and pond were on the southern side and were surrounded by corridors coming out from the east and west *taiya*, while a structure called *tsuridono* adorned the garden. The site was 400×400 *shaku* with 2 gates facing the east and the west.

Inside, the house had very few partitions. The floor was wooden and the tatami mats were used only as cushions for the people to sit on. The pillars were round while *shitomido* (a shutter hinged to the lintel so as to be pushed up) were hanging around the room.

The *shinden* was the living room of the master, the *taiya* that of the family. Following the changes in the mode of living, shindenzukuri architecture increased its partitions. The arrangement of rooms became more complicated and between the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age gradually developed into shoinzukuri architecture. Shoinzukuri architecture had the *tokonoma*, shelves and *shoin* in the main rooms and tatami mats with sliding doors and *fusuma* and *mairado* as its fixtures. Contemporary Japanese style houses inherited the shoinzukuri tradition.

Since a residence bears the closest relationship with human life, the characteristics of Japanese architecture are most pronounced in residence architecture. The following are the main characteristics of a Japanese residence: -

a. A Japanese residence has a wooden floor which after the 15th century changed into tatami flooring. Since a Japanese residence has neither chairs nor beds, its rooms can be used for all kinds of purposes. There is no functional difference between the rooms.

b. The construction of a Japanese house is extremely open. Since walls are scarce, the number of windows is also limited. Using *fusuma* (sliding doors) for partitioning, the rooms lack independence.

- c. The verandah with its close relation to the garden gives a feeling of out-door living.
- d. There are hardly any doors. All the openings use sliding doors. (after the 16th and 17th centuries)
- e. There is a *tokonoma* for hanging paintings or admiring flowers. Other kind of ornamentation is scarce. One can add variety to the atmosphere of a room by changing flowers or pictures. (after the 16th century)
- f. The outward appearance is simple with hardly any ornamentation.

Castle Architecture

Though establishments for defensive purposes existed since the olden times, those structures that we know as castles had been built in the latter part of the 16th century. In the early days, making use of natural fastness, a castle was built on a mountain while the living quarters of the lord were at the foot of it. Later, when wars continued for many years, castles eventually became the political and economic center. As a result, castles usually made use of a hill in the center of a plain where they functioned as the center of communication. With the importation of the gun, castles became more massive. Again, in order to stress the dignity of the lord, castles became more refined in their design.

With several layers of castle walls and moats and a castle-tower as its last stronghold, a castle had look-outs at its strategic points. A castle town consisted of the magnificent residence of the lord within the castle walls, the living quarters of his vassals outside the castle walls and the houses of the common people further out.

In order that a castle be fire proof, castle architecture employed *nurigomezukuri*. The white walls of a castle symbolize the aristocratic expression of Samurai culture. For the purpose of defense, the plan of a castle was extremely complicated. In order to facilitate defense from side attacks, the castle walls were indented. The castle tower and look-out were equipped with places to drop stones and loopholes for defending enemy attacks.

Although a castle tower originally was a small look-out built on top of a big residence, it gradually grew in size.

In the beginning of the 17th century, when wars came to an end, the government put restrictions on castle architecture. As it became impossible either to build or reconstruct, castle architecture stopped to develop. Hence, the height of castle architecture continued for less than half a century.

Moreover, as a result of destruction caused by the Meiji Restoration and World War II, there are only few existing castles.

Tea Room Architecture

Tea room architecture flourished since the end of the 15th century. A tea room is a small room where tea ceremony is held. Murata Jukō was the originator while Senno-Rikyū perfected the tea ceremony. As opposed to the residences of the nobility which were magnificent with their painted *fusuma* and sculptures, a tea room was like a farm-house in its style. By using simple material, a tea room succeeded to compete with the gorgeous shoin style of urban architecture.

Four and a half mats is the basic size of a tea room. Excepting a *toko* decorated with paintings or flowers, a tea room was completely without ornamentation.

With an entrance for the guest called the *nijiriguchi* (crawling entrance), an entrance for the host and another for the servant, the basic size of a tea room was four and a half mats. Using coarse tatami mats, three fourth of a regular *tatami*, the size of a tea room varied as follows:—four and a half coarse tatami mats, 4 mats, 3 coarse tatami mats, 3 mats, 2 and a half coarse tatami mats, two coarse tatami mats, 2 mats, one coarse tatami mat.

Since a tea room was in imitation of a farmhouse, its pillars were round instead of square. Having no trabeation, the wall was earthen and unpainted. The windows were nothing but open sections of unpainted wall, while such natural materials as bamboo and reeds were used for the ceiling. The purpose of a window was not to admire landscape but to bring in light. By using a

number of small windows of various shapes, the architect succeeded in transforming light and shade inside the room.

By avoiding symmetry, repetition of one pattern as well as ornamentation, a tea room with its line, surfaces and perfect balance, succeeded in producing a new kind of beauty.

Characteristics of Japanese architecture

Architectural Philosophy

The structural basis of Japanese architecture owes its characteristics to the way of thinking of the Japanese people toward architecture. In case of Europe, India and China, architecture is something massive which man built in opposition to nature. But Japanese architecture, like a tree in a forest, blends into nature and becomes a part of it. It does not attempt to claim its existence as something made by man.

The way of expression of Japanese architecture derives from the attitude of the Japanese people toward architecture. Being temperate, the climate of Japan is neither too hot nor too cold to be a menace to human life. The four seasons are so mild and beautiful that people forget to fight against it. Instead, they blend their lives into nature.

Architectural style based on such a view of nature results in being not only subdued in its outlook but shows itself in the treating of indoors and outdoors.

In most cases, the interior of a structure consists in isolating natural space and creating a space which is to some extent independent from nature. By intercepting the influence of the open air by walls, the architect tries to create a space fit for human habitation. But in case of Japanese architecture, the openings are big, as most structures consist of a roof and pillars with hardly any walls. This tendency is especially pronounced in residences. Such a method of construction from a foreigner's point of view is not worthy to be called "architecture". Japanese architecture does not aim at appreciating nature through the

limited frame of a window. The floor is the only restricting factor of the openings. The interior of a room is connected with the garden by a surrounding verandah. Although logically, there is a borderline between the natural and artificial space, the person who lives in the house cannot clearly distinguish between the two—the natural space itself being his abode.

Another characteristic of Japanese architecture is the fact that it does not strive for eternity. It is natural to wish that a structure last for ever. Japanese architecture bears no comparison with foreign architecture in the durability of its buildings. Though the fact that shrines were rebuilt every 20 years is because they were temporary structures built to celebrate the yearly festivals, no other country has such a custom in its religious architecture. The Japanese people believed that it was impossible to perpetuate an object. What they aimed at was to hand down eternally the spiritual value of an object.

Materials and Construction

Until the Meiji Restoration, Japanese architecture was consistently wooden architecture. Though used as foundations, stones were never used as building material. This was caused because of the fact that Japan produced a great quantity of superior quality of wood and had no need of using stones which needed cutting. Another reason was the fact that the Japanese people did not look for durability in architecture.

Japanese cypress was the main building material. Owing to lack of cypress after the Middle Ages, pines, cedars, zelkova-trees and other timber was partially used.

Since wood was the main building material, the plan of a structure was rectangular. Round or polygonal structures were very rare. The scale of a building was in most cases rather small.

The construction method called the *trabeated* system consisted in raising pillars, connecting them with rails, putting entablature on top of the pillars, connecting them with beams, raising struts, putting the beams on top of them and with the support of rafters complete the roof.

Since walls were either earthen, wooden or of *shinkabe* construction (a thin bamboo wall like the modern curtain wall), pillars and other construction materials were left unhidden and functioned as ornamentation. Because of this, the quality of timber was of the greatest importance. Since the function of a wall consisted in merely filling in the space between the pillars and not supporting weight, it was possible to leave open the entire space between the pillars. Thus, in order to suit the sultry weather of Japan, Japanese architecture merely consisting of a roof and pillars became extremely open-aired.

Excepting the walls it was possible to have fixtures in any place. There were 3 kinds of fixtures—the doors, the *shitomido* and the sliding doors. A door was like any western door which opens and closes around a vertical axis. The *fusuma* are sliding doors which slide to the right and left along 2 channels. The first 2 are made of wood and are widely used by temples and shrines while the *fusuma* are made either of wood or of paper and are mostly used for residences.

Since the entire space between the pillars becomes an opening, windows are used only by religious architecture and tea room architecture. There were 2 kinds of windows, the rectangular Renji window (latticed window) and the pointed arch Katō window.

Chinese architecture has an earthen floor which is paved with tiles or stones while Japanese architecture has a wooden floor surrounded by a verandah.

Although in some cases the attic was left as it is, in most cases there was a ceiling. Among the various types of ceilings we find the *gōtenjō* (coffered) ceiling, *kogumi gōtenjō* ceiling, *kumiiri* ceiling, *saobuchi* ceiling and others.

The entablature on top of a pillar is the most characteristic feature of Chinese style architecture. It is an equivalent of the capital or bracket of western architecture. Though structurally, an entablature is important because it supports the deep eaves, it also is used as an ornament. An entablature consists of arms and brackets and can be increased in the following formation—1

arm, 1 arm plus one bracket, one arm plus one bracket plus 3 arms. The space between the entablature can be filled with struts and *kaerumata* or the same type of entablature that is used on top of pillars. The rafter rests on the beam that is supported by entablature. The rafters are sparse in case of a private residence and denser in case of temples and shrines. When the roof curves up, the rafters are in 2 layers.

The rafters are covered with planks as a foundation for the roof. The chief roofing materials are tiles, cypress bark, shingles and miscanthus.

There are 4 different kinds in the shape of a roof—the single gabled roof, hipped roof, Japanese combination of the hipped and gabled roofs, the square pyramidal roofs.

In most cases, temples and shrines are painted with comparatively simple colors while paint is never applied to residences. Though sculpture has been widely used in temples and shrines since the Modern Age, it is never used for other kind of architecture.

Standardization of materials is one of the singular structural characteristics of Japanese architecture. One *ken* or half a *ken* is the structural unit of a plan. The height of the fixtures is limited to 5 *shaku 7 sun* or 5 *shaku 8 sun* (the length of one *ken* differs according to locality, thus in some cases one *ken* is 6 *shaku 5 sun* or 6 *shaku*).

Because of this fact, timber is sold on the market in 3 *shaku* units while the fixtures and tatami mats are sold ready-made. The size of furniture is also based on the above units.

Since the method of building residences in Japan relies on manual work, mass production of residences is not carried out. Yet the fact that one *ken* is a unit greatly facilitates simplification of planning.

From the 12th to 15th centuries, *tatami* was used as a kind of cushion to sit on the wooden floor. Since the length of a tatami mat was fixed to 3 *shaku 2-3 sun* per person, its regular size was 6 *shaku 5 sun* by 3 *shaku 2-3 sun*. Tatami mats began to be spread all over the floor since the 14th and

15th centuries. Consequently, the fact that the pillars were placed at the *tatami* joints resulted in fixing the structural unit of one *ken* (6 *shaku* or 6 *shaku* 5 *sun*).

Design

The subdued expression of Japanese architecture is the result of its main concern in revealing horizontal forms. Japanese architecture has none of the vertical line of Gothic architecture. Although a tower is a tall structure, the fact that it has several layers of roofs with deep eaves which dark shadows on the building itself decreases the feeling of verticality.

The delicate slope of the roof lessens the felling of height of a tall building. The entire shape of the axis is a rectangle which is long sideways. The rectangle which is created between the pillars and the horizontal material is almost always a regular rectangle. It is hardly ever a rectangle long lengthwise. Even though it is at times long lengthwise, the rails and trabeation that come between weaken the strength of vertical lines.

Though Zen architecture of the Middle Ages is Chinese in its style, the vertical lines of the pillars are pronounced because there are no horizontal pieces of timber. As opposed to this, the Japanese architectural style since the Heian Period has a surrounding verandah. The vertical lines of the pillars are interrupted by horizontal pieces of timber nailed to the top of pillars.

The architectural style of the towers and halls of Hōryūji Temple which resemble Chinese architecture as well as Zen architecture, has a central room which is 1.5 times the size of the anteroom. The anteroom with its small size cuts off communication between the right and left wings and stresses the independence of the building, while the houses of the Nara Period and the Japanized Buddhist temple architecture of later years had a central room which was 1.2 times the size of the anteroom. As a result, the independence of the building decreased and suggested a more effective way of communication between the right and left wings.

Such independence depended on the difference in the existence of a building, that is to say, it depended on whether a building strongly revealed its existence or rather aimed at blending with the environment.

This fact clearly reveals itself in case of the slope of a roof. The slope of the roofs of Hōryūji Temple and Zen architecture buildings is steep, revealing the will to soar high above. On the other hand, Heian architecture with its gentle slope puts less importance to its roofs. Thus, its buildings do not reveal strength.

Though the Tomb of the Emperor Nintoku in Osaka competes with the Pyramids in the total number of workers employed for its construction, the result is that of a natural hill with no attempt to create a tall majestic structure.

One of the main characteristics in the design of Japanese architecture is its lack of symmetry. As symmetry adds to the solemnity, it is customary that religious architecture adopts it. But in case of Japanese architecture, the Izumo Shrine has its entrance on the side while the Hōryūji Temple has the Tower and Kondō Hall to its right and left.

In case of the Izumo Shrine, although it is natural that the entrance be on one side because of the structural importance of the central pillar, it is not impossible to remove it in favor of the entrance or to have entrances on both sides.

In spite of the fact that the Chinese influence is strongly pronounced in the architectural style of Hōryūji Temple, we find that the traditional symmetry of Chinese architecture is overthrown in favor of an unprecedented arrangement of irregularity which is a proof of the strong predilection for unbalance among the Japanese people as a nation.

Unlike religious architecture, residence architecture is closely related to everyday life and has no need to be a memorial. Thus, even in western countries, residences do not necessarily adopt symmetry. In Japan, the *shinden-zukuri* style which derived from Chinese influence, at first adopted symmetry. But later, it gradually became irregular and the *shoin-zukuri* of the Modern

Age has no trace of symmetry neither in its arrangement nor in its interior decoration. In spite of the fact that symmetry would emphasize the power of a *daimyō*, even in the most stately room where he gave audience to his vassals the *toko*, shelves, *chōdai-gamae* (the raised platform where a noble man sat), and *tsukeshoin* (attached *shoin* window) were irregular in their arrangement.

A typical example of irregular arrangement is the tea room where beauty is revealed by avoiding repetition.

Another characteristic of Japanese architecture is lack of depth. Among other temples, the arrangement of the Shitennoj Temple consists in having the Inner Gate, Tower, Kondō Hall and Auditorium stand in a line in the middle. Hence, standing in front of the temple, one cannot see the buildings that stand behind. Yet, as one advances, one after another the buildings come into sight. On the other hand, in case of the Hōryūji Temple, when one stands in front of the Inner Gate one sees the Tower and Kondō Hall on both sides in the background. Since the Auditorium is in the center, all the buildings come in sight. This is a characteristic example of a panoramic development in the arrangement of Japanese architecture.

In comparing the *dairi* (the Emperor's residence) and *shindenzukuri*, we find that in *dairi* style, there are 2 structures that extend to the center on the southern side of *shishiden* while in *shindenzukuri*, in spite of the fact that there is a corridor, all the main buildings face the south in a row.

The greatest characteristic of Japanese architectural design is its simple and pure beauty which is the result of scarcity of ornamentation and simplicity of color.

Western architecture is closely related with painting and sculpture. It is only in modern architecture that western architects began to aim at the beauty of the building itself, without any ornamentation, paintings or sculpture.

But in Japanese architecture, as in case of the Ise Shrine or Katsura Palace, architectural beauty was created not by orna-

mental beauty but by the beauty of the structure itself. The purpose of Japanese architecture consisted in revealing the beauty of each material as well as the structural beauty created by the varying sizes and arrangement of materials. Japanese architecture is unparallel in its practical beauty.

The Torii Gate of a shrine is a typical example of this characteristic.

Another example is the pure simplicity of Buddhist architecture as compared to that of Buddhist architecture of China. In Japan, the majority of Buddhist temples use no colors. Even if they do, the colors are limited to the red of the wooden member, the yellow of the cross section of wood and the green of the latticed windows.

To say that Japanese architecture uses no ornamentation whatsoever is an overstatement. Especially, religious architecture since the beginning of the Modern Age uses a considerable amount of sculpture. Yet, excepting the Nikkō Shrine, Japanese architecture is essentially devoid of ornamentation. In short, compared to the massive magnificence of foreign architecture, Japanese architecture is simply subdued and small in scale.

As stated above, Japanese architects concentrated their efforts to perfect the proportion of the materials and details. It was the perfection of design and not the size of the building that revealed the high rank of the owner.

Modern architecture

The establishment of the Meiji Government brought revolutionary changes to the architectural world of Japan. Stones and bricks were introduced as new building material. With the progress of capitalist production, public buildings became the main current of the architectural world. Thus, Japanese architectural circles which concentrated their efforts in the wooden architecture of religious buildings and residences underwent a drastic revolution.

In the beginning, western architecture of the Early Meiji Period was designed by Japanese architects who used conventional

material and covered wooden structures with tiles, plaster or gray floor tiles set diagonally while the roofs were thatched with roof tiles. The Tsukiji Hotel designed by Shimizu Kiusuke in 1868 is a typical example of this style. Later, western architects were invited and build orthodox western style brick buildings.

The majority of foreign architects were British. Among them, the works of Josia Conder are the most outstanding. Conder arrived in Japan in 1878. As an engineer of the Ministry of Technology he designed scores of buildings. The former Imperial Household Museum, the Rokumeikan, the former Auditorium of the Faculty of Jurisprudence of Tokyo University, the Nicolai Cathedral which were designed by Conder are eclectic in their architectural style. He was also a lecturer at the College of Technology where he trained future architects. Thus, genuine architects distinctly different from former artisans, with a training in the modern science of architecture, made their appearance for the first time in Japanese history.

In 1880, the first group of full fledged architects graduated from the College of Technology. During the latter part of the Meiji Period, a great number of western style buildings were designed by Japanese architects. The Bank of Japan (Tatsuno Kingo), the Hyōkeikan (Katayama Tōyū), the Mitsubishi No 1-3 Buildings (Sone Tatsuzō), the Mitsui Bank (Yokokawa Tamisuke) are representative examples of their works. On the other hand, owing to special conditions, the development of earthquake proof architecture resulted in the building of the Imperial Theater and Mitsukoshi Department Store (Yokokawa), Tokyo Station (Tatsuno), Tokyo Kaijō Building (Sone, Chūjō) and other steel-frame buildings. Structure engineering developed through the efforts of Sano Riki and Uchida Shōzō.

The study of the history of Japanese architecture began since 1888. Itō Chūta and Sekino Tei are the first historians of the history of Japanese architecture. In 1897, the Law for the Preservation of Ancient Shrines and Temples was promulgated.

Thus, preservation of ancient architecture gradually developed. At present, there are approximately 1,800 buildings that are designated for preservation. The influence of 1897 Secession Movement of Vienna made itself felt in Japan after the 1920 Secession Movement. The 1923 earthquake acted as a stimulus to the development of ferro-concrete architecture. With the increase of production of iron, glass and cement as a back ground, the majority of buildings like the National Diet Building were eclectic in their style. The Asahi Newspaper Building, the Shirokiya Department Store (Ishimoto Kikuji), the Tokyo Central Telegram Office (Yamada Mamoru) which are the works of architects belonging to the Secession Movement stood distinctly apart among the prevailing eclectic trend. Modern architecture gradually increased in number. The Central Post Office Building (Yoshida Tetsurō), the Telephone and Telegraph Public Corporation Hospital (Yamada Mamoru), the Nonomiya Apartments (Tsuchiura Kamezō), the Dai-Ichi Sōgo Building (Watanabe Jin) were built in the late twenties. With the nearing of World War II, rationalism and functionalism of Modern Architecture gave place to nationalistic tendencies. The National Museum is an example of superficial imitation of traditional Japanese architecture.

Residence architecture persevered in following the tradition of *shoinzukuri* architecture of the Modern Age. Big mansions usually had a separate western style wing while among the middle class, a single western style room was added to the Japanese style main house.

Since the end of the Meiji Period, independence of rooms was increasingly stressed. A residence with a corridor in the center was typical of a middle class residence. In Japan, where the weather is sultry, it is necessary that the rooms be wide open. Modernization of residences was retarded because of lack of understanding for privacy of rooms and low standard of living which prevented improvement of structure and equipment.

The demand for new architecture greatly increased with the termination of World War II, as the majority of big cities were

demolished by fire. As a result of the spiritual revolution caused by Japan's defeat in the war and the influence of modern architecture of the west, public buildings completely abandoned the Renaissance style eclecticism.

In Japan, before World War II, modern architecture was extremely scarce. But in the post-war years, all the buildings did away with ornamentation and adopted modern architecture. We cannot deny the fact that economic restrictions were one of the biggest motives behind this phenomenon. Buildings had to be built as cheaply as possible.

Although housing shortage is a common post-war phenomenon throughout the world, it is more so in Japan where war damage was far greater than in any country. Post-war rehabilitation in Japan is negligible compared to that of England and Germany. Yet, a great change is taking place in the history of Japanese residence architecture.

In the pre-war days, Japanese residences were designed mainly for the comfort of the family as a whole. No respect had been paid for the privacy of an individual. This great deficiency of Japanese residences

was caused by the existence of the family system.

As a result of the defeat in World War II, modern individualism was introduced to Japan for the first time in history and residences began to have individual rooms.

A strong demand for alleviation of housework, the spread of the use of western chairs and improvement of kitchen equipment is accelerating the pace of modernization of Japanese homes.

Big projects of ferro-concrete apartments is another post-war tendency which is a fact worthy of note in the history of Japanese residence architecture.

How to make use of the superior tradition of Japanese architecture has been a point of debate since the pre-war days and is still attempted in new designs. For example, the works of Horiguchi Sutemi and Yoshida Isoya are an example of this tendency. The recent tendency is increasingly toward self-examination. Yet, it will take some time until the influence of Japanese tradition will make itself felt not only in wooden architecture but in colossal ferro-concrete structures as well.

Representative Examples of Japanese Architecture

Asuka, Nara Periods

The Kondō Hall, the Quintuple Tower, the Inner Gate, the Galleries of Hōryūji Temple	Nara Prefecture
The Triple Tower of Hokkiji Temple	Nara Prefecture
The Dream Pavilion, the Buppōdō Hall, the East Main Gate, the Kyōzō, the Dining Hall of Hōryūji Temple	Nara Prefecture
The East Tower of Yakushiji Temple	Nara City
The Hokkedō Hall, the Tengai Gate, the Kyōko of Tōdaiji Temple	Nara City
The Shōsōin Repository	Nara City
The Main Hall of Shin-Yakushiji Temple	Nara City
The Kondō Hall, the Auditorium, the Treasure House, the Kyōzō of Tōshōdaiji Temple	Nara City
The West Tower of Tōmaji Temple	Nara Prefecture
The Octagon Hall of Eizanji Temple	Nara Prefecture
The Quintuple Tower of Murōji Temple	Nara Prefecture
The West Kondō Hall, the Small Quintuple Tower of Kairyūōji Temple	Nara City
The Small Quintuple Tower of Gokurakuin Temple	Nara City

Heian Period

The Golden Hall of Murōji Temple
 The Big Auditorium of Hōryūji Temple
 The Kondō Hall, the Quintuple Tower, the Yakushi Hall of Daigoji Temple
 The Amitabha Hall of Hokkaiji Temple
 The Main Hall, the Triple Tower of Jōruriji Temple
 The Hōdō Hall of Byōdōin Temple
 The Main Shrine, the Front Shrine of Ujigami Shrine
 The Triple Tower of Ichijōji Temple
 The Tōnyūdō Hall of Sanbutsuji Temple
 The Main Hall of Fukidera Temple
 The Hokusai Amitabha Hall
 The Konjikidō Hall of Chūsonji Temple

Nara Prefecture
 Nara Prefecture
 Kyoto City
 Kyoto City
 Kyoto Municipal Prefecture
 Uji City
 Uji City
 Hyōgo Prefecture
 Tottori Prefecture
 Ōita Prefecture
 Fukushima Prefecture
 Iwate Prefecture

Kamakura Period

The Main Hall of Daihōonji Temple
 The Main Hall of Rengeōin Temple
 The South Main Gate, the Belfry, the Kaizandō Hall of Tōdaiji Temple
 The Hokuendō Hall, the Triple Tower of Kōfukuji Temple
 The Belfry of Tōshōdaiji
 The *Seireiin*, the Saiendō Hall of Hōryūji Temple
 The Mandara Hall of Tōmaji Temple
 The Sessha Front Hall of Ishigami Shrine
 The *Tahōtō* of Ishiyamadera Temple
 The Main Hall of Saimyōji Temple
 The Main Hall of Chōjuji Temple
 The Main Shrine of Mikami Shrine
 The Fudō Hall of Kongōbuji Temple
 The Shaka Hall of Zempukuin Temple
 The Jōdo Hall of Jōdoji Temple
 The Main Hall, the *Tahōtō* of Jōdoji Temple
 The Butsuden Sanctuary of Setsuzanji Temple
 The *Shariden* of Enkakuji Temple
 The Butsuden Sanctuary of Shōfukuji Temple
 The Kyakujinsha Guest Shrine of Itsukushima Shrine

Kyoto City
 Kyoto City
 Nara City
 Nara City
 Nara City
 Nara Prefecture
 Nara Prefecture
 Nara Prefecture
 Ōtsu City
 Shiga Prefecture
 Shiga Prefecture
 Shiga Prefecture
 Wakayama Prefecture
 Wakayama Prefecture
 Hyōgo Prefecture
 Onomichi City
 Shimonoseki City
 Kamakura City
 Tokyo City
 Hiroshima Prefecture

Muromachi Period

The South Main Gate of Hōryūji Temple
 The Tōkondō Hall, the Quintuple Tower of Kōfukuji Temple
 The Silver Pavilion, the Tōgudō Hall of Jishōji Temple
 The Main Shrine of Tatemikumari Shrine
 The *Tahōtō* Tower of Konraiiji Temple
 The Main Hall of Kanshinji Temple
 The Main Hall of Kakurinji Temple
 The Kibi Shrine
 The Quintuple Tower of Rurikōji Temple
 The Kaizandō Hall of Eihōji Temple

Nara Prefecture
 Nara City
 Kyoto City
 Ōsaka Municipal Prefecture
 Wakayama Prefecture
 Ōsaka Municipal Prefecture
 Hyōgo Prefecture
 Hiroshima Prefecture
 Yamaguchi City
 Tajimi City

Tokyo City

The Marunouchi Building	Tokyo City
The Central Telegraph Office (Yamada)	Tokyo City
The Asahi Newspaper Building (Ishimoto)	Tokyo City
The Telephone and Telegraph Public Corporation Hospital (Yamada)	Tokyo City
The Tokyo Central Post Office (Yoshida)	Tokyo City
The Tsukiji Honganji Temple (Itō)	Tokyo City
The Dai-Ichi Sōgo Building (Watanabe)	Tokyo City
The Nonomiya Apartments (Tsuchiura)	Tokyo City
The Osaka Sogō Department Store (Murano)	Osaka City
The Reader's Digest Building (Raymond)	Tokyo City
The Japan Sōgo Bank Main Office (Maekawa)	Tokyo City
The Osaka Central Post Office (T. Yoshida)	Osaka City
The Kyoto Station Building	Kyoto City
The Shimizu Municipal Government Office (Tange)	Shimizu City
The Aichi Prefectural Museum (Kosaka)	Nagoya City
The Kamakura Modern Art Museum	Kamakura City
The Hasshōkan Hotel (Horiguchi)	Nagoya City
The Kineya Residence (I. Yoshida)	Atami City
The Ise Shrine	Ise City
The Nikkatsu International Building	Tokyo City
The Welfare Annuity Hospital (Yamada)	Tokyo City

Gardens

General Outline

The oldest record concerning gardens is found in the chapter on Emperor Suiko in the *Nihon Shoki* (720 AD).

According to this record, Soga no Umako, one of the powerful calns of that time, had a magnificent garden in his grounds. From this it is believed that gardens of a considerably grand scale existed in the latter part of the sixth century. It is believed that the landscaping technique was imported from China through Korean Peninsula. The method of landscaping was gradually adapted to suit Japanese tastes and was eventually perfected into the purely Japanese garden.

Japanese gardens can be roughly classified into 1) the gardens of the nobles of the Heian Period (794-1185); 2) the gardens of the temples and *samurai* of the Muromachi Period (1393-1575); 3) the magnificent gardens representative of the tastes of the Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598);

4) the tea ceremony gardens of the same period; 5) the gardens perfected from the gardens of the former periods and the gardens opened to the public by the aristocrats of the feudal era; and, 6) the gardens of the Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa eras which show the influence of foreign landscaping.

The common point about these six gardens is the fact that Japanese gardens are built as natural gardens and the artificial elements have been eliminated as much as possible. For example, water is used to represent lakes, streams or waterfalls. Tiled pools of various shapes and artificial canals or fountains that are used in western style gardens are not preferred in Japan. Until very recently, the method of arranging flowers into gardens was not used. Pebbles, sand and moss are used to cover the garden area but grass is not used. Symmetry which is aimed for in western style gardens is avoided as much as possible in Japanese gardens.

The gardens of the Heian Period cannot be seen today but a considerable number of the gardens of the 14th century and later remain intact, mostly in Kyoto.

Heian Period

The landscaping technique which came from China was adapted to suit Japanese tastes and the Japanese type garden was perfected when the Shinden style architecture was perfected in the Heian Period. The form of landscaping was foreign but there was freedom in the use of flowers and plants. Stones were used to form hills while lakes and streams were placed at the most effective places. The aim was to attain an effect of pictorial beauty. In the gardens of the powerful aristocrats, the lakes were large enough to accommodate canoes.

Muromachi Period

The gardens of the Heian Period were sumptuous creations following the lines of the then popular *yamato-e*. In the Muromachi Period, sumptuousness gave way to quietness and repose. The influence of Zen, the religion imported from China, was reflected in the gardens of that period. The Zen priests were the cultural leaders of that time; consequently, the *samurai* who were influenced by these priests gradually came to discard magnificent aristocratic culture for the austere tastes of the Zen religion. This taste was reflected in the gardens. The beautiful temple gardens of that time were designed by the Zen priests and are regarded as the model gardens of this period. The famous gardens of *Ryūanji*, *Saihōji*, *Tenryūji*, *Kinkakuji*, *Ginkakuji* and *Daitokuji* in Kyoto were all built during this period.

The paintings of this period are not gorgeous like the *yamato-e*. The *sumi-e* which originated in China was popular and this trend was seen in the gardens. In some instances, plants are wholly discarded and only stones are used to express the wonders of nature. The modern concept of Japanese gardens is based on the gardens

perfected during the Muromachi Period.

The famous garden of *Tenryūji* is believed to have been designed by Musō Kokushi (1275-1351). The garden is so designed that it will appear as a perfect picture when viewed from the living quarters. Stones are used to represent lakes, bridges and waterfalls. The same method of landscaping is used in the gardens of the *Tōji-In* and *Daitokuji*, *Daitokuji Tatchū Daisen*, a branch temple of the *Daitokuji*. This method of landscaping continued to be used in the Momoyama and Edo periods.

In the Momoyama Period, the *bonseki* was popularly used as an interior decoration. In *bonseki*, small stones of interesting quality, shape and color are placed on a *bon* (tray) in an interesting pattern. This same method was used in the Ryūanji Temple Garden. The entire surface of the garden is covered with white sand and rocks of various shapes are placed in an interesting manner. This garden, too, is best when viewed from a room.

The garden of *Rokuonji* is so designed that the large lake is on the south of the *Kinkakuji*. There are a number of islands in the lake and rocks are placed in a very interesting pattern.

The garden of *Saihōji* was constructed in the Heian Period and was redesigned by the aforementioned Musō Kokushi. This garden embodies the sumptuous beauty representative of the Heian Period. Various flowers and maple trees are planted in the garden. Buildings are located on the hill and near the lake. The garden is not for viewing alone, it can be used for strolling.

The garden of *Jishōji* was patterned after the *Saihōji* garden. Buildings are built on the hills and by the lakes so that the entire garden can be viewed from any of these buildings. Great care is given to the position of the buildings; however, only the *Ginkakuji* and one other building are all that remain today.

Azuchi and Momoyama periods

The turbulent times that had continued for years was ended with the victories of Oda Nobunaga (1554-1582) and Toyotomi

Hideyoshi (1536-1598). The Momoyama Period heralded the age of sumptuous living befitting the triumphant Hideyoshi. The gardens took on stronger lines to match the gorgeous architecture of that period. The Nishi Honganji Temple garden in Kyoto is said to have been moved from Hideyoshi's castle located in Fushimi. Compared to the gardens of the Muromachi Period, the garden is on a grander scale and there is more coloring. No water is used in the lakes and waterfalls. Huge stones and sago plants are used in abundance. The sago plant is a tropical plant and was not used in Japanese gardens until the time of Nobunaga who preferred it to other plants for its masculine beauty.

Tea ceremony and gardens

The forms of tea ceremony is said to have been laid down by Murata Shukō, a Zen priest, in the middle of the 15th century. This form was gradually improved upon and in the Azuchi and Momoyama periods, the principal purpose of the tea ceremony was to use it as a means to obtain relief from the complexities of everyday living. Consequently, the room used for the ceremony was extremely simple and the garden surrounding the room was devoid of anything artificial. The garden was kept clean and in good order at all times. Since the garden was primarily designed to serve as a footpath to the ceremonial room, stepping stones and steps were laid to give the impression of a pathway. Also, stone lanterns were placed at appropriate positions.

These simple and natural gardens gradually became popular as the tea ceremony came to be enjoyed by more people.

Edo Period

Much progress was achieved in the art of landscaping during this period. Many famous gardens were laid out and in many instances, tea ceremony rooms were constructed in these gardens. The entire garden was designed as a continuation of the tea ceremony room.

The gardens of the Katsura Detached Palace are the most famous of all gardens

of this period. The grounds were originally laid out on orders of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and subsequently redesigned. It is for this reason that it is regarded as a garden of the Edo Period. There are a number of tea ceremony rooms besides the main buildings.

The gardens of the Kyoto Palace, Sentō Palace and Shūgaku-In Palace were all designed after the pattern of the Katsura Detached Palace garden.

The Kōraku-en garden was built by Tokugawa Yorifusa (1603-61) and later changed by Tokugawa Mitsukuni. It is one of the famous gardens of Edo. The influence of Confucianism is evident in this garden. The gardens of Rikugi-en, the former Shiba Detached Palace, Sensōji Temple *Dempō-In* and Tōkaiji Temple in Shinagawa are famous Tokyo gardens.

The temples in Kyoto all have well preserved gardens. Three schools of tea ceremony also maintain famous tea arbours with gardens.

Besides the private gardens, there were many public gardens in Edo. Nanko built by Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758-1829) at Shirakawa and Kairaku-en built by Tokugawa Nariaki are famous public gardens. These gardens were used for the welfare of the people.

During this period, many public gardens were built and private gardens heretofore closed were opened to the public. Hibiya Park in Tokyo is one of these public parks that were built relatively recently.

Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa periods

Western culture was adopted in everything during these periods and landscaping was no exception. Especially, the gardens surrounding western style architecture were western gardens. However, these gardens still retain Japanese peculiarities since the trees and flowers are peculiarly Japanese. Purely natural Japanese gardens are used to surround Japanese architecture. Recently, however, lawns and flower gardens are being adopted in an increasing degree.

Handicrafts

History of handicrafts

Archaic Period (Before Introduction of Buddhism)

The history of Japanese handicraft actually begins with the introduction of Buddhism into this country, that is 552 A.D. Prior to this date it is the so-called archaeological period. It is not easy for any one to understand Japanese handicraft unless he is acquainted with the fact that the Japanese had inherited for generations that high degree of intellectual skill, even before the inception of Buddhism into Japan, which had been clearly manifested in the most elaborate accomplishment attained in architectural, sculptural and similar fields in the construction of the Hōryūji Temple erected not long after the introduction of Buddhism.

Although there are no specimens of pictures and paintings, sculptures and architectural works, which can be attributed to the direct development of fine arts of the Asuka Period (Buddhist fine arts), in the field of handicraft arts there are articles like metal works of harnesses and mirrors, which are the direct products of the Asuka Period. There are also many relics believed to be the forerunners of Japanese fine arts from the Asian continent excavated from old tombs of the time.

The Japanese, like all other peoples of the world, had first gone through the Stone Age and then the stone-metal age, which produced metallic articles. The most representative relics of the Stone Age are the earthenware of the Jōmon Period. These ware are so classified by the impressions of ropes on them, whose imprints are found in various forms and shapes. Generally they are grotesque and do not escape the realm of primitive handicraft. However, they are rich in composition. Similar earthenware are found in different parts of the world, but those of the ancient Japa-

nese specially show ample signs of the superior and more advanced technic of their kinds, well reflecting the artistic inheritance of the Japanese race.

When the bronze articles were imported from the Asian continent together with iron articles into Kyūshū, western Japan, they gradually found their way into eastern Japan. This influence led to the stone-metal age resulting in the so-called Yayoi type earthenware, known as Aeneolithic age or Litho-metallic age. This is unlike the Jōmon type in that potter's wheel was employed in making their ware, and the technic of the use of high degree of fire must have been introduced. The shape has become plain without pattern, and marked by simplicity as appreciated by the Japanese. Among the bronze articles cast were swords, halberds and staff

In Japan during the 4th and the 5th centuries large burial mounds were built, which are rarely found in other countries of the world. This period is known as the ancient burial mound period or Proto-historic Period. Articles recovered from excavation of these burial mounds in different parts of Japan are the representative relics of this period. Among these relics are those articles brought from the Asian continent, especially of Chinese origin of the Three Dynasties and imitations of these, and further those entirely native of this country. Although excavated relics are limited to metal and earthenware, it is presumed that woven goods and lacquer ware had also existed at that time, and in a very high degree. In the metallic relics of this period there are cast works, engraving, and inlaid works. Among the earthenware are ceramics and pure earthenware after the Korean influence.

Asuka Period

After the introduction of Buddhism, as a natural consequence temples had to be built and images of worship had to be made. Together with these, interior decorations

of these edifices had to be prepared, like bells, *ban* or banner, *keman* or wreath of flowers, various ornamental objects in gold, silver and other precious metals surrounding the Buddhist images of worship, incense-burners, vases, miniature shrines, and other decorations to solemnize the altar. It can also be assumed that skilled artisans to produce these articles must have been invited from the Asian continent to introduce new methods and technics in Japan.

Some of the more important relics of this era are the *Tamamushi-zushi* (iridescent shrine) of Hōryūji Temple, *Tenjukoku-shūchō* (Embroidered picture on the Land of Longevity) of Chūgūji Temple, and *Kanchō-ban* (Banner on sprinkling of perfume on Buddha) of Hōryūji Temple. These articles are very highly valued as the first rated works in this field, with distinct Chinese influence of the Northern and Southern Dynasties coming into Japan through Korea. The most characteristic of these articles are the exquisite decorative scheme and technique, and the intensive grandeur emanating from them. The *nin-dō-karakusa* (honeysuckle arabesque) design of this period seemed to have come from Persia and Greece. And that the artistic standard of this period, for the most part of Chinese origin, had easily ranked among the best in the world of the time.

Nara Period

As it was in the preceding period parties concerned exerted their full force in absorbing continental Asian culture in this period. During the former period most of cultural contact with China was with the Northern and Southern Dynasties through Korea, but during this period direct intercourse was opened with the T'ang Dynasty of China, from where a large scale cultural import was realized. The T'ang Dynasty was the greatest of the Chinese dynasties, and its sphere of influence spread far out of China itself into Gupta India and even into Sasanian Persia. In this respect Central Asian influences must have infiltrated in the arts of the Nara Period, especially in motifs and designs of handicraft art objects.

In the technic of the handicraft arts considerable progress had been attained in these countries. This appeared principally in the metal works and lacquerware, which in turn was imported into Japan forming the fundamental bases for their future development.

Buddhism in this period continued to flourish. Temples were built by the government. Consequently Buddhist images of worship together with their ornamental accessories also saw similar patronage from the state. Every effort was made to produce the best in the country. Fortunately there was no prosecution against Buddhism in Japan throughout her history, therefore relics of these ancient periods have been preserved intact in various temples and shrines up to the present day. Further in the Shōsōin Repository, which was once the storehouse of the Tōdaiji Temple, many Buddhist articles offered to the Great Buddha of Nara by the Emperor Shōmu and many others, including handicraft objects are still preserved there. Although these treasures were for the most part derived from China of the T'ang Dynasty, they serve as the most valuable sources of study for handicraft objects of these periods. They abound in a surprising number of varieties, materials and technic. Handicraft objects of the time before those of Shōsōin Repository are also found in Tōdaiji Temple, Kōfukuji Temple, Hōryūji Temple, and other temples near Nara, which are of master workmanship of the time.

In the field of metal works the technic must have attained its peak during this period, judging from the three bronze Buddhist images at the Yakushiji Temple. This is also true in engraving, as seen in the various works of the time. It was also in this period that the art of *makie* or the so-called "gold lacquer" was invented, together with such technical work in lacquer picture, oil picture, gold and silver paint, and *raden* or nacre inlay. *Makie* was further developed after the Heian Period, as a typical technic of the Japanese. And it is also interesting to note that the first specimen of *makie* is still seen among

the treasures of Shōsōin Repository.

In the field of pottery it was in this period that the first of the ware appeared. This is the imitation of the ware which were in vogue in China of the T'ang Dynasty, in two or three colors of yellow, green and white. These specimens are found in the treasures of the Shōsōin Repository, and also in urns and vases excavated from old tombs.

Intricate weavings were also done in this period, including *ra* or silk gauze weave, *aya* or twill weave, *nishiki* or brocade weave, or *shokuse* or tapestry weave, and various other forms of compound weavings. In dyeing there were those techniques like *rō-kechi* or wax-resisting dyeing, *kyōkechi* or jammed dyeing, *kōkechi* or tied dyeing and others.

Aside from the above there were various other materials were used, as wood, bamboo and sprouts, and extremely exhaustive methods had been employed in the handicraft objects made from them, judging from the relics still remaining to this day. Throughout this period the motifs and designs employed for decorations were abundantly plentiful as seen in the drawings, paintings and sculptures of this period. They were also cubical, and lively as if full of longevity, said to be the representative characteristics of this period. While in vases and jars their corpulence is also known to be the most distinguished features of this period.

Heian Period

This period lasted for some 400 years. The first 100 years, that is the 9th century of the West, were passed in nurturing the culture of the past period at the same time assimilating the new cult from the T'ang China, which eventually laid the foundation for the ensuing 300 years or the Fujiwara Period. This was truly the transitional period, in which the traditional Japanese talents were intimately interwoven with the newly imported civilization from continental Asia. At the end of the 9th century the government envoy to the court of T'ang Dynasty in China was discontinued, which officially cut off intercourse with China.

But with this interruption the trend of the Japonization of the imported cult was further accelerated.

The relics of handicraft arts of the first part of the Heian Period (9th century) are extremely scarce. In general they are, like in calligraphy, simply the extension of the past period. But judging from the famous *sanjūchōsasshi-kyō* (lacquered box for thirty volumes of Buddhist manuscripts -919 A.D.) owned by the Ninnaji Temple and other records great step had been made in the field of *makie* (gold lacquer).

In the Fujiwara Period (10-12 centuries) the nationalization characteristics in handicraft arts became conspicuously noticeable, as were in the learnings of Japanese literature and also in the *yamato-e* drawings. This trend was specially noticeable in the furnishings of the courtiers and nobility classes of the time, who were actually the patrons of these handicraft art objects. Their economic power was so great that they commanded the best and the most elaborate of the articles from the artisans, which naturally resulted in the production of the most exquisite in refinement and elegance. Of the many technics derived from the Chinese arts those which were most adaptable to the Japanese like the *makie* and *raden* saw remarkable progress. These were also adopted in the shaping of articles, where extreme intricacies in curves were made with gracefull figurations, and further accentuated by the quaint traits of the Japanese. To these were harmonized the natural scenes, flowers, herbs, animals and the like in the most decorative manners, originating the typical style of the Japanese people.

In the field of lacquer works the best example is the relic now remaining of the small gold lacquer inlaid chest known as *sawachidori* of the Kongōbuji Temple of Mt. Kōya Monastery. Further the design on the back of the mirror known as *wakkyō* is another noteworthy example of such tendency of this period.

Buddhism flourished in this Heian Period as in the preceding period. And *Mikkyō* or the esoteric sect of the Buddhism had a specially close relationship in arts during

the earlier years of this period. Since the *Mikkyō* required a large number of decorative and ornamental articles for Buddhist rites and other purposes, its influence in the handicraft arts was great. Although *Mikkyō* flourished in the years following the Fujiwara Period, the most notable was the essence of the teachings of Priest Eshin of the Tendai branch of the Jōdo sect. He preached that Nirvana or the Buddhist paradise could be attained through prayers and that the *Amida-dō* or the enshrined altar was to be the paradise, that the construction of such a worshipping place was given the best of attention in every detail resulting in the most imposing impressiveness in artistic splendor. Therefore such works of art have become the most valuable sources for study of handicraft arts of the time. The most striking example of this kind is the *Hō-ō-dō* (Phoenix Hall) of the Byōdōin Temple at Uji, near Kyoto, which was erected by Fujiwara Yorimichi.

Kamakura Period

According to political history this period is known as the age of military ascendancy. But in the cultural history the first half of this period is a mere extension of the preceding period. The Yamato-e school was the main current in the field of drawings and paintings, as it was during the preceding period. Likewise there was no appreciable progress nor advancement seen in the field of handicraft from the aristocratic culture of the former period. The only change was the receding tendency of the more romantic trend of the former years to the accentuation of the more realistic actualism and naturalism, which tended to change the more decorative designs to the bold graphic motifs. In the art objects themselves the refinement and grace of the former period receded to give way to the more strictly measured robustness. Such examples are best seen in the mirrors and *makie*, as depicted on the decoration of the hair-gear container now preserved at the Mishima Shrine.

Since the end of the last period intercourse with China was again resumed.

And with such contacts Zen sect of Buddhism began to pour into Japan, which began to flourish centering around Kamakura. Zen priests also came to Japan with handicraft works that greatly contributed to the progress in this country. The most notable result was the development of the ceramic works in the Seto District in Aichi Prefecture, which was later to become one of the most active ceramic centers in this country. The *kamakura-bori* (carved lacquerware) was the direct influence of the Chinese *tsuishu* (solid cinnabar) and *tsui-koku* (solid black), which were carved lacquerware themselves.

Handicraft works of this period were in general much more advanced in technic than in the preceding period. This was especially noticeable in *makie*. Up to this period *makie* was known as *togidashi-makie*, in which various lacquer mixtures, like gold and silver, were applied and when dried the surface was polished to produce glittering effect. In the Kamakura Period a new method of *taka-makie* was invented, in which designs were raised in low relief, and also the *hira-makie* method, which is the ordinary flat lacquer design. In addition various kinds of lacquer powder were invented. In metal works such fine and exquisite work as the *sharitō* (pagoda-shaped reliquaries) of Saidaiji Temple was produced, which is considered one of the most representative works of this period. The technic used in this work is said to be exceptionally high in workmanship of this type.

With the rise of the military class from the latter half of the preceding period, such items as swords, armors and other arms also saw considerable progress, which should not be overlooked.

Muromachi Period

This age marked the return of the political center to Kyoto, after the fall of the Kamakura Shogunate at Kamakura. Consequently the cultural center was also shifted from Kamakura to Kyoto. The Zen priests, who were in a way in charge of the cultural activities of this period which centered around the emperor's court

and the nobilities, were for the most part greatly responsible for the progress of culture of this period. Therefore, admiration of things Chinese became prominent, as in drawings the tendency of the Sung school of China, the so-called *kanga* school was eagerly followed by artists like Shūbun, Sesshū and Kanō schools. In the handicraft field although it was not as strong as in the drawing schools, still considerable leanings toward Chinese influence were noted. This is noteworthy especially in the imported articles from Ming China, aside from drawings, in such items as flower vases and tea bowls made of Chinese celadon and *temmoku* (or t'ien-mu, a type of stoneware characterized by its coarse, grayish-black, porous body, and thick black or brownish glaze, named after T'ien-mu-shan, home of Zen temples in Chekiang, China), other porcelain, gold brocade, satin damask, and damask, which people value as rare pieces of ancient imported relics in fabrics, *tsuishu* (solid cinnabar), nacre lacquer, *chinkin* ware or sunken gold lacquerware, and bronze articles. These were all eagerly sought by the Ashikaga *shōgun* and other men of power of the time. Many of these imported articles were also valued as necessities for tea ceremony, which had just become in vogue among various classes of people. This on the other hand led to serve as incentive for making such tea ceremonial necessities. Of the many relics today remaining of this period, most of them are believed to have been those of the traditional techniques and tendencies of the time.

In the field of lacquerware, *makie* as in the preceding period remained the principal tendency. Its technic became more and more intricate and fine, and tended to become more decorative in its aim. Materials were plentiful; gold was used lavishly in every possible form, together with silver in the *kirikane* style, in which tiny pieces of gold and silver are intermixed and applied in lacquerware. The techniques employed were rich in varieties. But for the most part Chinese tendencies were prominent. In metal works of the accessories of swords, new devices were born in produc-

ing *menuki*, *kozuka*, and *kōgai*, and in small articles like *tsuba* there also arose new schemes to attract the rising warrior classes of the time. The most representative of the makers were Goto Sukenori for small articles, and Kin family for *tsuba* and the like. The Goto families were hence directly employed by the shogunate.

As the tea ceremony had become quite popular, casting of tea-kettle also became prominently established in various parts of the country. The more distinguished makers of tea-kettles were located at Ashiya of Chikuzen (Fukuoka Prefecture) and Temmei of Shimotsuke (Tochigi Prefecture). Those tea-kettles made at Ashiya are still highly valued. About this time tea caddies and tea bowls and other tea utensils had begun to be made at the newly opened kilns at Seto, now in Aichi prefecture. Together with the rise of Seto kilns, other kilns like Bizen, Tamba, and Shigaraki kilns, which had been engaged in simple rustic native ware for daily uses, had begun to produce ware for tea ceremony. In the field of fabrics such highly valued works as mentioned above were imported from the Asian continent, at the same time skilled artisans in fabrics were also invited from China to establish weaving centers at Sakai, near present Osaka, and Hakata in present Fukuoka. It should also be noted here that the *noh* drama, which began to flourish in this era, required elaborate costume that it further added to the development of weaving skill of the time.

Momoyama Period

This period marks one of the grandest and most gorgeous pages in the history of art development in this country. Great warrior leaders like Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and their kind and also merchant princes, backed by their mighty military and economic power had commanded the most splendid and the finest of art objects of the time. They were instrumental in the cultural development that exceeded grandeur in scale and magnificence and splendor in quality since the Tempyō Period, that no Japanese had ever conceived. This

was due to the flourishing economic condition of the time, on the one hand. On the other hand it was also the result of the favorable trade with the Asian continent, which led these undaunted dilettantes to freely and boldly seek for self-sufficing satisfaction, unlike their predecessors who confined their demands to traditional and customary practices. For instance, in architecture the construction of *tenshu* or the castle tower of the Japanese castle, and the Japanese mural painting of the Kano school (Kanō Eitoku) are the most representative in their respective fields.

However, in tea ceremony, which became more and more popular among different classes, instead of demanding rich and ornated utensils the trend reverted to the more patinated or *sabi* and toward simplicity and solitude or *wabi*. This reversion was best exhibited in the choice for the tendency to seek such seclusion and retirement in farmhouse tea room in the country and antiquated tea vessels of hazy Korean origin.

As in the previous period *makie* was the most important item produced in lacquerware. Products of this period was in general marked by the large designs executed in grand scale in simple method. On the other hand the minute motifs skillfully incorporating Chinese scenery as seen in the previous period were scarce. Some of the most representative works of this period are the *makie* box of Kōdaiji Temple and the chest at the Itsukushima Jinja Shrine. There were also some interesting products depicting newly rising customs of the time, as picturing European traders in various forms, who had brought new civilization to this country from Europe. Another new technique employed was the use of oil colors and colored lacquer.

While in metal works the same splendor was witnessed in the various accessories of sword, like the sword-guards and the like, reflecting the sumptuous and luxuriant taste of the time. Those who distinguished themselves in this field were Gotō Kōjō and Gotō Tokujō. Umetada Myōju (1558-1631) was the best known in making sword guards, who also was known for his inlaid

works. Another name famous in the ornamental open-works of this period was Hayashi Matashichi of Higo Province, now Kumamoto. As in the previous period the best kettles for tea ceremony were produced at Ashiya (Fukuoka Prefecture) and Temmyō also called Temmei (Tochigi Prefecture), whose rough and rustic appearance was prized, added by the gracefully styled kettles of Kyoto. The best of the Kyoto kettles were made by Nishimura Dōjin and his pupil Tsuji Yojirō, who was designated by the great warrior lord Toyotomi Hideyoshi as *Tenka Ichi* (first under the heaven). The ornamental metal works used in various architectural purposes of this period also require special attention.

The popularity of tea ceremony greatly enhanced the pottery works in this period. The first to be mentioned was Tanaka Chōjirō, who invented the raku style of china-ware. He was the son of a naturalized Korean, but other Korean artisans came to Japan in large number to western Japan and established kilns in different places. Among the more famous of these kilns are Arita, Hirado, and Satsuma, which were primarily responsible for the enormous growth of this industry in this country. Aside from these, those kilns at Seto and Mino, like Shino and Oribe, also flourished, and those founded in the previous period at Bizen and Shigaraki also continued to prosper.

Since dyeing and weaving were principally confined to clothings of the people, they candidly expressed the trend of the time, the luxuriant and lustrous splendor of the era. It was during this period that the so-called *nuihaku*, which is the combination of embroidery and gold foil imprint, known as *surihaku*—a kind of applique of gold and silver foil, which in turn is said to have derived from *inkin*, which was first adopted in China, by means of applying gold foil to cloth with glue or lacquer—had come into great use in producing elaborate works in this field. Representative specimens of this kind is seen in *noh* costumes, *koshimaki* or loin cloth and *kosode* or wadded silk garments of the time. It was also during this era that the weaving

center established by the Chinese artisans at Sakai near Osaka was transferred to Kyoto and given special protection by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. This is the origin of the *nishijin* fabric of Kyoto, famous even to this day.

Edo Period

When Tokugawa Ieyasu established a new shogunate he not only brought the political center from Kyoto to Edo (present Tokyo), but he also planned to transfer the cultural civilization from Kyoto to his new capital. Furthermore with the establishment of peace in the country the feudal lords throughout the country began to encourage industrial development of their respective regions, that as the result great stride was seen in various fields.

In lacquerware the famous Honami Kōetsu (1558-1637) was particularly prominent. His *makie* works were characterized by terse but dauntless boldness reviving the spirit of the Heian Period, added by grace and grandeur. He was succeeded by Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716), who was more or less decorative, but in general the technical skill in detailed workmanship seemed to have reached its peak during the fifth shogun Tsunayoshi. The so-called *Jōken-in makie* is the name given to the lacquerware of this period. After that the designs on lacquerware unnecessarily tended to become complex and perfunctory. Among the most noted of the *makie* masters was Ogawa Haritsu (1663-1747). He was also skillfully versed in the other fields of pottery, ivory, and *tsuishu* works. Beside *makie* other styles of lacquerware were also pursued, as *urushie* and *mitsudae* (oil painting with litharge). It was also during this period that provincial centers in lacquerware such as *aizu-nuri* (present Fukushima Prefecture), *shunkei-nuri* (Gifu Prefecture), and *wajima-nuri* (Ishikawa Prefecture) became known in this field of handicraft.

In metal works artisans in sword accessory works, like sword guards and the like, continued to enjoy prosperity as in the

preceding period. The Gotō family of the sword accessory works also continued to flourish. But a new trend was also introduced by Yokotani Sōmin (1670-1733), who attempted at graphic designs disregarding conventional styles. In *narabori* such men of art as Nara Toshinaga, Tsuchiya Yasuchika, and Sugiura Jōi were most prominent in this period. While in the tea ceremony kettle making among the more famous were Nagoshi, Ōnishi and Nishimura in Kyoto, Nagoshi and Hori in Edo, and Miyazaki in Kanazawa.

The Edo Period was one of the most important in the history of ceramic art. The kilns at Arita in Kyūshū saw great prosperity after the influences from the Ming and Ching Dynasties of China. After successfully attaining the *sometsuke* (underglaze blue) art, the famous Sakaida Kakiemon further perfected the *ue-etsuke* (overglaze). This art was later introduced to the *kokutani* (old *kutani*) kilns in Kaga (Ishikawa Prefecture). Arita is characterized by its grace, while *kutani* by weightiness. In Kyoto Nonomura Ninsei, known as the founder of Kyoto-ware, *kyō-yaki* began to produce the florid and elegant works of the pure Japanese fashion. Following these centers of pottery manufacture, various other kilns in the country were established and an unprecedented era in ceramic art was ushered in this country.

Dyeing also centered in Kyoto, and as in other fields of cultural and handicraft arts they spread throughout the country in innumerable forms and fashions. But among the most noteworthy of this period is the introduction of Miyazaki Yūzen.

Present Period

Since the Meiji Restoration of 1868 Western civilization streamed into this country incessantly like torrents, causing drastic changes in the livelihood of the people. This invariably led to the introduction of new ideas and methods in handicraft arts. But the traditional handicraft arts, now deeply rooted after centuries, were carefully protected by such government sponsored exhibitions held regularly from

time to time. On the other hand those highly toned handicraft works, which are far from the practical livelihood of the people but possessing artistic values and qualities, were also encouraged by both government and private parties interested. Although at the outset of the new Meiji Era, when people were busy absorbing imported civilization, men like Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1903) and Okakura Tenshin began a movement for the reappraisal of traditional Japanese art and set out to revive the lost interest in this field. As a means to accelerate this movement export of Japanese handicraft arts were encouraged, and frequent exhibitions were held as incentives among artists. Among the more prominent who appeared during these years were Shibata Zeshin (1807-1891), Ikeda Taishin, Ogawa Shōmin, Kawanobe Itchō (1830-1910), and Shirayama Shōsai (1853-1923) in *makie*. In metal works Kanō Natsuo (1828-1898), Unno Shōmin (1844-1915), Okazaki Sessai, and Hata Zōroku were among the more representative. While in the ceramic field Miura Kenya (1821-1889), Miyakawa Kōzan (1842-1916), Seifū Yohei, Itō Tōzan (1846-1920), and Shimizu Rokubei (1901-) were among the more distinguished, and in dyeing and weaving Itō Yasuke and Kawashima Jimbei (1853-1910) who was specially prominent as *ni-shijin* artists, were among the important names. Among others who were regarded as master artists in handicraft arts of this period are such men as Ishikawa Kōmei (1852-1913) and Shimamura Toshiaki in ivory works, Namikawa Sōsuke (1847-1910) and Namikawa Yasuyuki (1848-1927) in cloisonné works, and Tamakaji Zōkoku (1805-1869) and Kiuchi Hanko (1855-1933) in lacquerware. Generally speaking these artists were faithful followers of the Edo school and did not deviate from the traditional technics, nor did they adopt new skills from outside. However, in the field of ceramics, dyeing and weaving new European tendencies were liberally adopted, especially in designs and technical methods. Consequently a great stride was made in these fields. As the years passed

the general livelihood of the people became more and more westernized and their clothings, household and personal necessities all demanded considerable changes to suit the new Western civilization. Among the most westernized of these was the glass works. But aside from the great influence felt in glass works, in most of the other fields the European colors were limited to the incorporation of designs and fashions to the traditional Japanese technics. However, it was from the latter part of the Taishō Era (1912-1926) to the present Shōwa Era (1926-) that a new trend appeared to revert to the traditional Japanese and Chinese motifs. These changes are distinctly witnessed in the various exhibitions held seasonally in recent years under the government auspices.

Another important change in recent years is the strong inclination and nostalgic leaning felt among the artists to the more prosaic but rough and rustic simplicity of the healthy provincial arts.

Some of the more celebrated artists after the turn of the 20th century, who are inclined to the restorative tendencies, are Shimizu Kamezō in engraving, Katori Hozuma in casting, Rokkaku Shisui in *makie*, Tatsumura Heizō in weaving, and Itaya Hazan (1872-) in ceramics. There are also many other prominent figures in the old established ceramic centers at Kutani, Seto, Kyūshū and other places, under whose guidance the traditional master workmanship in their respective fields are preserved. Their highly artistic works are always shown at the regularly held government exhibitions. The names of Iwata Tōshichi (1893-) and Kagami Kōzō (1896-

) must also be mentioned here, who are prominently associated in glass works today. Yanagi Sōetsu (1889-), authority on provincial arts, Hamada Shōji (1894-) and Kawai Kanjirō (1890-) of the ceramic arts, are among the leaders in their respective fields today, whose contribution to the movement to preserve folk arts in this country is highly appreciated by those concerned.

Lacquerware

Lacquerware Methods and Technique

Base. For the most part wood is used as the bases for lacquerware. Generally speaking there are three different kinds, namely *hiki-mono* or lathe work, *ita-mono* or board work, and *mage-mono* or bent work. *Hiki-mono* is made by lathe machine, and such wood as *tochi* (Japanese horse chestnut), *keyaki* (zelkova), and the like are most suitable. *Ita-mono* is made of board in joinery-work, and *hinoki* (Japanese cypress) is suitable, while *mage-mono* is made by bending thin pieces of *hinoki* and *sugi* (Japanese cedar) and pasting them on bottom boards.

Bamboo. The stem of the bamboo is split according to desired thickness and knitted into *rantai* (knitted base) in majority of cases. But the whole is also used in *hiki-mono* and *mage-mono*.

Kanshitsu. Literally it means dry lacquer, in which layers of hemp cloth are pasted together by lacquer to form the foundation. This method was popularly used in the Nara Period. In China it was called *kyōcho*, but in Japan it is known as *soku*.

Hikaku. This is lacquered hide. It was popular in Nara Period. This is today made for base in making medicine pouches.

Ikkanbari. This is papier maché, in which moulded vessels are made with paper pasted with lacquer.

Metal. Iron, brass, aluminum and silver are pressed to form desired shapes, while antimony is cast, and lacquer is applied. In olden China metal was often used in *tsuishu* lacquerware.

Ceramics. In the Momoyama Period ceramic base was sometimes used in the so-called *Kōdaiji makie*. In the latter part of the Edo Period Ōki Toyosuke used lacquer as an outside coating in his *raku* ware pottery, which became famous as *Toyosuke-yaki*.

Shitaji. This is the first step in actual lacquering of the *kiji* or the base.

Urushi-shitaji. A piece of cloth is coated with lacquer to the base, on which *sabi*—made of *jinoko*, which is the powder ground from Japanese roof tile, mixed with water and raw lacquer. This is said to be the best of all the bases used in lacquerware.

Nikawa-shitaji. It is the coating of *jinoko* or a mixture of *jinoko* and *tonoko* (fine clay) intermixed with glue. This is inexpensive and simple in process, but weak.

Shibu-shitaji. This is persimmon-juice mixed with finely powdered charcoal or oil soot coating. Its process is simple, material inexpensive, and it is comparatively strong.

Butachi-shitaji. Paulownia oil and finely powdered clay are mixed in pig's blood, which is applied as priming or preliminary coating. This is the speciality of Ryūkyū Islands.

Uwa-nuri. This is the secondary lacquer coating, after the first coating has been done.

Hana-nuri. This is also called *nuritate* or *mamenuri*. This is decorative in nature with strong gloss, possessing oily quality. It is different from *roiro-nuri* in that it is the final and finishing coating in itself.

Roiro-nuri. Non-oily lacquer is applied, which in turn is polished until gloss is produced.

Shunkei-nuri. Shunkei is the name of the inventor of this type of lacquerware. No priming is used but yellow and red colors are painted on the base and transparent lacquer is applied, also exhibiting the natural beauty of the wooden base.

Makie. Designs are made by lacquer and gold and silver dust are applied. This was originated in the Nara Period as a decorative method. There are three kinds of *makie* processing; *togidashi-makie*, *hira-makie*, and *taka-makie*.

Togidashi-makie. Designs are painted with lacquer, on which gold and silver dust are planted or applied and the entire surface is again coated with lacquer. After the lacquer is completely dried, the designs are polished with charcoal, after which finishing polish is done with oil and polish powder. This method was invented in the Nara Period.

Hira-makie. This is the process of planting gold and silver dust on designs, on which lacquer is coated, and after the gold and silver had firmly been adhered it is polished with charcoal and later finished with polish powder. There is also another process in which no polishing is done. *Hira-makie* was originated in the Kamakura Period.

Taka-makie. This is the method of applying *hira-makie* on a low relief, produced by coatings of lacquer or with a mixture of raw lacquer and polish powder called *sabi*. This process of using *sabi* is called *sabi-age makie*. *Taka-makie* was first employed in the Kamakura Period and *sabi-age taka-makie* developed in the Muromachi Period.

Shishiai-togidashi-makie. This is the combination of *taka-makie* and *togidashi-makie*. For instance, in landscape scenery the mountains are raised in relief by *taka-makie* and the rivers are of *togidashi-makie*, both of which are polished.

Sumie-togikiri-makie. This is the process of coating powdered silver and charcoal mixed in lacquer in different qualities on gold, silver or tin background, and polished.

Makie-fun. Powder used in *makie* can be classed into the following: gold, silver, tin, copper, *shibuichi* (or quarter powder), brass, and lead. There are two kinds of gold powder, namely *yaki-kin* and *koban* or blue gold. Blue gold has silver in it, which makes it appear blue.

Powdered materials for *makie* are made in the following manner:

Yasuri-fun. Gold and silver are filed and the filings are used as they are. *Makie* of the time before the Kamakura Period all used such filings.

Hirame-fun. Filings are evenly placed on a copper plate, and over these are laid three or four iron needles of about three inches, which are pressed and rolled over the filings by means of an inch-thick flat-iron. The filings then become flat. These flattened filings are then sieved and graded into different fineness.

Nashiji-fun. This is the further flattening of *hirame-fun* materials.

Maru-fun. Such materials as *nashiji-fun* are placed on the file and lightly rounded by means of a hammer of about 1½ inches square with a rounded-surface, grooved like the file. The resulting rounded material is called *maru-fun* or round powder or dust.

Hira-fun. The finely powdered material is still further powdered.

Keshi-fun. Gold foil is soaked in liquid glue. After it is dried, it is powdered, by fingers. After the Meiji Era it is made by machinery.

Jimaki. In this method gold or silver dust is scattered in places other than the designs, as in background.

Chiriji. This is also known as *heijin*. Filings are scattered over surface and then they are polished out. This method was chiefly used in the Heian Period.

Ikakeji. Gold dust is secretly applied as the background. This name originated in the Heian Period, but today it is known as *kinji* or *kindamiji*.

Hirameji. *Hirameji-fun* (filings) are applied and coated with lacquer after which they are polished out. This method was practised after the Kamakura Period. Usually *hirame-fun* is planted from a tube container, but when individual filing is planted it is called *okihirame*.

Nashiji. *Nashiji-fun* is applied, then lacquer is coated over it and polished, without impairing *nashiji-fun*. Ordinarily *nashiji* is employed as background, but when it is employed in designs to produce better effect, it is called *e-nashiji*. This method developed in the Momoyama Period.

Urushi-e. Colors of red, yellow and green are mixed in transparent lacquer, with which designs are painted. This is known as *urushi-e*, or lacquer painting. The colors were confined to these three until the Meiji Era, but since through the discovery of bismuth chloride all kinds of colors are being produced today. *Urushi-e* developed noticeably in the Han Dynasty of China, but in Japan it came into great use after the Momoyama Period.

Mitsuda-e. This is oil painting with letharge or lead oxide. Perilla oil is mixed with lead oxide and pigments, and designs

are painted. There are specimens of *mitsuda-e* among the treasures of Shōsōin Repository at Nara, but they are not authentic. The method popularly employed in Japan was first imported from China in the Muromachi Period.

Hyōmon. In China it is called *heidatsu*. Thin sheets of gold and silver are cut into designs, and they are pasted on the lacquer surface on which lacquer is applied again, then polished with charcoal or scraped off by means of knife edge. This method was imported from the T'ang Dynasty of China in the Nara Period. It developed after the Heian Period. After the Muromachi Period the technique changed somewhat and is sometimes called *kanagai*.

Kirikane. Thin sheets of gold or silver is cut to pieces of about one-tenth of an inch and worked in together with *makie*. This technique was developed after the Kamakura Period.

Raden. This is nacre inlaid. Shell pieces are cut into designs or placed in designs on base material and lacquer is applied, which is then polished by charcoal or scraped off with knife. This inlaid work was first introduced into Japan in the Nara Period from China of the T'ang Dynasty. At first red sandalwood was used. After the Heian Period it was employed together with *makie*. In the Kamakura Period its technique reached its height. In the Muromachi Period a new technique was introduced into Japan from China, and in the Momoyama Period another method was also introduced from Korea. After the Muromachi Period *raden* was also known as *aogai* (blue shell).

Tsuishu. Layers of red lacquer coatings are applied, and then designs are cut. If the lacquer is black, it is called *tsuikoku*. In China it is known as *chikkō* and *chikkoku*. There is another variation of this method, in which red and green lacquer coatings are applied alternately. After they are dried flowers are engraved on red lacquer and leaves on the green lacquer, and this technique is called *kōkaryō-kuyō*. *Tsuishu* technique flourished in China during the Sung Dynasty, but in

Japan it came into use in the Muromachi Period from the Ming Dynasty of China.

Kamakurabori. This is the imitation of *tsuishu* on wood. After engraving designs on wood, red and green lacquer is coated. It was originated in the Kamakura Period, hence the name. It flourished in the Muromachi Period and thereafter. There are also similar lacquerware, namely *Odawarabori*, *Echizenbori*, *Yoshinobori* and the like, but they only represent the localities where they are produced.

Chinkin. Literally it is sunken gold. Hairline engravings are done on lacquered surface into which gold foils and dust are sunken with lacquer. In China it is known as *sōkin*. It flourished in the Sung Dynasty, and introduced into Japan in the Muromachi Period. The most famous of this *chinkin* ware today is that of Wajima of Ishikawa Prefecture.

Zonsei. This is known in China as *sōsai*. Designs are outlined by means of *chinkin*, and the inside is coated with colored lacquer or sometimes designs are engraved and filled with colored lacquer, after which it is polished.

Kinmanuri. This is the speciality of Thailand and Burma. The natives of these countries have a custom of chewing betelnut with a kind of pepper leaves and lime, all of which are kept in a wooden box, finished in color lacquer. These were were imported into Japan during the Edo Period and cherished by the tea ceremony dilettantes. The *sanuki-nuri* of Kagawa Prefecture today is believed to be one of its offsprings.

Lacquerware of Different Localities

Tsugarunuri. In the Genroku Era, (12th. cen.) a lacquerware artisan called Ikeda Gentarō, a retainer of the Lord Tsugaru of Wakasa, is said to have invented this unique ware. Several kinds of color lacquer are coated unevenly and then polished. This style of lacquerware is still produced today.

Jōbōji-wan. This is large-size bowl, with black lacquer coated outside and red inside, and designs made in gold foil and

color lacquer. Originally the ware was made for the Tendaiji Temple near Kitafukuoka in Iwate Prefecture.

Aizunuri. This was originated during the Tenshō Era (10th cen.) under the encouragement of the Lord of Aizu, present Fukushima Prefecture, centering around the city of Aizu-Wakamatsu. Its distinguished feature is the *makie* made chiefly of powdered gold foil.

Jōhanamakie. In the Keichō Era (11th cen.) a lacquer artisan called Jigoemon of Jōhana, present Toyama Prefecture, is said to have learned the art of *mitsudae* painting from a Chinese in Nagasaki. He applied this art to lacquerware. The distinguished features of this lacquerware are its whiteness and refine coloring.

Wajima-nuri. In the Ōei Era (8th cen.) Priest Ichizen is said to have brought a lacquerware artisan to the Jūrenji Temple at Wajima, present Ishikawa Prefecture, to make utensils for the temple use. Wajima is noted for its specially high quality of *jinoko*, which gives firmness to the ware. For decorative purposes *chinkin* is used.

Kaga-makie. The Lord of Kaga, Maeda-Toshitsune invited the famous lacquerware artisan Igarashi Dōho from Kyoto to his feudal city of Kanazawa to introduce the art of *makie*. It is marked by the refine delicateness of the *makie*.

Wakasa-nuri. In the Manji Era (11th cen.) a method was invented in which several kinds of lacquer colors with egg shells and gold and silver foils were employed in making designs. This method pleased the feudal lord, who gave the name of *Wakasanuri*. The ware is still produced to this day.

Kuwana-bon. This is the name given to a round tray coated with black lacquer, whose surface is designed with turnip in tin dust coated with green lacquer in low relief, sometimes in red lacquer. The feudal lord of Kuwana, Matsudaira Rakuō is said to have specially favored the making of this kind of ware. This is still the special product of this locality, present Mie Prefecture.

Kuroe-shikki. This is the special product of the town of Kuroe in Wakayama Prefecture. It is said to have originated

in the Kan-ei Era. (12th cen.) The ware is made of high grade lacquer and wood. It is still being produced to this day. It is popular for its low price.

Negoro-nuri. It is said that in the Shōō Era, (17th cen.) a priest from the Temple of Mt. Kōya went to a province of present Wakayama Prefecture to establish the Negorodera Temple. He made utensils for the temple, which he coated first with black lacquer then red over it. Since his technic was still primitive, in the course of time the overcoated red lacquer began to crack to give way to the black underneath, giving a pleasing effect. In later years black spots were purposely planted in red background to give color to the ware.

Yagumo-nuri. About 1888 a lacquer artisan called Sakata Heichi of Matsue, Shimane Prefecture, invented a method in which he drew outlines in tin dust and inserted color lacquer, over which transparent lacquer was coated, then given finishing polish.

Ikkokusai-nuri. This is made in Hiroshima. It is also known as *tsuishitsu-takamorie*. It was invented by Kinjō Ikko-kusai III, in the Meiji Era. This is the combination of *tsuishu* and *tsuikoku* engraving with *makie*.

Zōkoku-nuri. This was first started by Tamakaji Zōkoku in the Kansei Era (13th cen.) in Sanuki province, present Kagawa Prefecture. He is said to have incorporated the technique of *zonsei* of China and *kinma-nuri* of Thailand. This ware is still produced to this day.

Dyeing and Weaving

Dyeing.

Kōkechi.—This is tied dyeing. In the very olden days it was called *yuhata* and fabrics were dyed in patterns. This is said to be the oldest method in dyeing.

Kyōkechi.—This is the so-called jammed dyeing. The fabric is folded and clamped between two boards, which are perforated with designs. The dye is poured into the perforated openings. At present it is known as *itajime-zome*, and for the most part the perforated designs on both boards are identical.

Rōkechi—This is wax-resisting dyeing or batik. Wax is used as the resistant in dyeing.

The above three methods of dyeing are the representative dyeing methods of the Nara Period.

Surizome—This is also known as *surie*. This is a kind of stencil dyeing. The dye is applied to the perforated stencil over which the fabric is placed and stroked and pressed to acquire the design. The reference of *shinobumojizuri* in the *Manyōshū* is said to be the most primitive method of this kind.

Tsujigahana—This is the method of producing large tied dyed designs with shading and other patterns in black by brush, which was in vogue after the middle of the Muromachi Period into Momoyama Period. The origin of this name is not known.

Chayazome—This is the mono-color indigo or tea-color on *katabira* silk by means of *norizome* (starch dyeing) method. This was originated in the Kanei Era by Chaya-Sōri, hence the name of *chaya*.

Yūzenzome—This is also called *kamogawazome*. This is another branch of the *norizome* method. It is the multi-color dyeing of elaborate graphic designs. It revolutionized dyeing in the Edo Period, and flourished after the middle of the period. It is said to have been originated by a priest, Miyazaki Yūzen, but it is not authentic.

Komonzome—This is one of the stencil dyeing types, producing a series of small patterns, mostly floral, by repeating the same stencil. The samurai class in the Edo Period use this fabric in their formal dresses. This type of dyeing flourished in Edo, as compared with *yūzenzome* in Kyoto.

Sarasa—This is wax-resisting dyeing, also called batik. The principal center of this kind of dyeing is Java and Southeast Asia, where such wax is produced. During the Momoyama Period foreign traders brought such material into Japan. It is also known as *shamurozome*, *shamusome* and *inkafu*.

Weaving.

Nishiki—This is brocade. Colored threads and gold and silver threads are used

to weave the most gorgeous type of fabric.

Tsuzure-nishiki—This is tapestry brocade, similar to the Gobelin weave of France. The weft and warp threads are woven only when desired designs are required. In so doing thin mesh is produced between the different colors. This thin mesh is said to be the distinguished feature of this tapestry weaving. In China it is known as *kokushi*.

Shokusei—This is practically the same as that of *tsuzure* in the method of weaving, but it does not produce any thin mesh, the weft and warp threads are woven all the way over the fabric. The only example of this type is seen in one of the treasures of the Shōsōin Repository, called *juhishoku-shichijo-kesa*.

Tatenishiki—This is the kind of brocade only produced by warp threads. It was in vogue during the Asuka and Nara periods. The brocade known as *shokkōkin* of the olden days belongs to this type of weaving.

Nuki-nishiki—This is the brocade produced only by the weft threads, in contrast to the *tate-nishiki*. All brocades in the later years were woven in this fashion.

Karaori—Literally it means Chinese weave. This is sometimes called *watanishiki* (cotton brocade), because the designs woven are not pressed from underneath but are accumulated like cotton yarn. Various kinds of colored threads and gold and silver threads are freely used to produce lavish designs of flowers, birds and animals. It is believed to have been the imitation of the Chinese *shokkōkin* incorporated by a *nishijin* fabric artisan, Tawaraya by name, in the Keichō Era.

Shokkōkin—Gold and silver threads are not used in this type of weaving. Only colored threads are used in weaving continuous octagonal designs. In later years it became similar to *karaori*.

Kinran—This is gold brocade. Gold foil is pasted on paper and cut to make threads with which designs are woven. Toward the end of the Heian Period Japanese priests brought back such fabric from China and later in the Tenshō Era Chinese artisans from Ming Dynasty of China came to teach such weaving in this country. After that

it was produced in large quantity at Nishijin, Kyoto. Since the production at Nishijin had become sufficiently satisfactory, import from China was stopped in the Tenwa Era (1681-1683). If silver threads are used it is called *ginran*.

Ezonishiki—Since the Chinese made brocade came into Japan by way of Ezo (northern Japan) this name was given. The distinguished feature of the weaving is the Chinese designs on *shusu* or satin.

Atsuuta—The basic weaving is done flat and designs are woven with weft threads pressed by the warp threads. In the *noh* robes *atsuuta* means male robe and *karaori* means female.

Braid (Mōru)—This is the fabric produced in Mongol, in northern India. Designs are made by gold and silver threads twisted on satin and other colored threads by the weft threads and pressed by the warp threads.

Aya—This is twill weave. Ordinarily the raised diagonal lines predominating the surface of the fabric is called *aya*. Fabric with designs made by these raised diagonal threads is also called *aya*. Very high quality of *aya* was produced in the Nara Period.

Shusu—This is satin weave. The surface of the fabric is predominantly of the weft threads or warp threads, with glossy appearance. It was first introduced into this country in the Tenshō Era (1573-1591) by a Nishijin artisan, imitating that of Ming fabric of China.

Donsu—This is akin to *shusu*. Designs are made by twill weaving by means of weft threads. In the Tenshō Era a Chinese from the Ming Dynasty is said to have taught Japanese artisan at Sakai.

Ra—This is silk gauze. It is sometimes called *usumono* or thin material. It is transparent with the twisted weft threads intricately woven. This is said to have originated in the Han Dynasty in China, but in Japan it came into fashion in the Asuka and Nara periods. Later it died out.

Kinsha—Gold threads are woven into *sha* or *ro*, both of which are silk gauze. This type of weaving is said to have been introduced to Sakai by a Chinese in the Gen-

na Era (1615-1623). In contrast to the Chinese fabric, the one made at Takeyachō in Kyoto is called *takeyachō*.

Kantō—In general it is striped pattern fabric. It is said to have originated in Southeast Asian areas.

Inkin—Gold foil is pasted on cloth by means of lacquer or glue to produce designs. This technic came to Japan from Sung Dynasty of China in the Kamakura Period.

Meibutsugire—Literally it means pieces of famous things. This is the general name given to masterpieces of remaining fabric of different makes of various ages. These are usually made into containers of small articles by tea ceremony dilettantes.

Textile fabrics of different localities.

Kaiki—This is plain silk fabric, finished after being moistened and pressed. It is produced in the province of Kai, present Yamanashi Prefecture, in the locality called Gunnai. Therefore, it is also known as *gunnaiori*, *gunnaishima* and the like. Its production prospered from the Kambun Era (1661-1672).

Yūkitsumugi—This is produced in Yūki, Ibaraki Prefecture. It is hand woven with threads hand spun from floss-silk. It had been called as such from the Keichō Era (1596-1614).

Oshimatsumugi—This silk fabric is produced in the Ōshima Island, south of Kagoshima, in southern Japan. It is patterned, soft, hard to wrinkle, and best known for its dark brown coloring. Its origin is not known, but it was an accomplished product in the middle of the Edo Period.

Hachijōjima—As the name suggests this is the product of Hachijōjima Islands, south of Tokyo. It is patterned. It is woven with silk from wild silkworm. It is made in black, brown and yellow, and is noted for its dyeing. This was the officially designated fabric of the Tokugawa Shogunate in the Edo Period. Its yellow silk had once led Edo in fashion.

Isezaki-meisen—It was known as *futoori* in olden days. It is made of threads spun from floss-silk, and is noted for the simple but quiet taste in dyeing. It became famous in the Bunka Era (1804-1817).

Echigo-chijimi—This is also known as *ojiya-chijimi*, named after the town where it is produced. It is famous for the hand

spun warp threads, dating as far back as the Kyōho Era (1801-1803).

Satsuma-gasuri—It is also known as *iyo-gasuri*. Its principal production is centered around the city of Matsuyama in Ehime Prefecture. This is cotton fabric in patterns of various sizes. It dates back to the Bunsei Era (1818-1820).

Kurume-gasuri—This is cotton fabric. Both the weft and warp threads are tied dyed in indigo and woven to produce patterns of desired sizes. It is noted for its durability and dyeing. A woman named Inoue Den of Kurume, Fukuoka Prefecture, is said to have invented this method in the Kansei Era.

Narazarashi—The fiber of the stem of *karamushi* (china grass), hemp-like plant, and fabric made of these fibers were bleached in Nara and vicinity for sale in the Keicho Era (11th cen.). In later years it was bought by the Tokugawa Shogunate, and became famous.

Metalworks

Gold

There are following gold alloys:

Aokin—This is contained from 20 to 30 per cent silver, and the rest gold.

Shikin—This is dark purplish, like the egg-plant, with 85 per cent copper, 15 per cent gold and a very small quantity silver.

Shakudō—This is a mixture of *niguro-medō* and gold, with less than 10 per cent gold to copper.

Rogin—This has three parts of copper and one parts of silver, therefore it is also known as *shibuichi* (or one in four). It is rather greyish white in color.

Copper

This is mainly mixed with other metals, mostly tin to form alloys. The color and name differ according to the proportion they are mixed.

Seidō—For the most part it is nine parts copper and one part tin, but a very small portion of zinc, lead, and other metals are mixed. It is generally used in metalworks.

Hakudō—This contains from 25 to 30 per cent tin. Its quality is high and white in color. It was used in making mirrors.

Odō—This contains less than 10 per cent tin, and more zinc and lead, resulting in low quality alloy. It is yellowish in color.

Sawari—This is ninety per cent copper, 9 per cent tin, and the rest in silver and other metals. This is also known as *kyō-dō*, meaning sounding copper, reflecting the sonorous quality of the metal when sounded.

Niguro-medō—A small amount of pewter is added to copper. It is also known as *yamagane*.

Sentoku—In the Sentoku Era (1428 A. D.) of Ming Dynasty of China a large quantity of copper articles were cast. The copper used in these articles were called *sentoku*. It is yellowish in color.

Shirome—This is antimony extracted from copper ore. It has a large amount of arsenic. It is mixed with copper to acquire a greyish black color. It is also used in alloys to aid melting.

Shinchū—This is an alloy of copper and zinc. The color differs according to the proportion of the metals, and its use also differs accordingly. If the proportion of zinc exceeds more than 50 per cent, the alloy becomes weak and brittle.

Chūkin—This is casting. Melted metal is cast into moulds. *Megata* (matrix) and *nakagata* (core) are used in making hollow vessels.

Sōgata—*Hanijiru*, which is the liquid mixture of clay and water, is mixed with sand to form the mould. Designs are made on the inside of the *megata* (matrix) and molten metal is poured into the space between the matrix and the core.

Rōgata—This is wax model. Beewax is used to make the original mould, over which is covered the mixture of earth and *hanijiru* (liquid clay). When it becomes dry, the wax is melted by means of charcoal fire, leaving the clay mould. Since the original mould can be made by wax, very intricate and delicate designs can be acquired.

Sunagata—This is a mould made of sand for mass production of such simple items like coins and mirrors. Models are pasted

over with liquid sand, then heated and broken into halves. Hollow articles requiring core can not be made by this method.

Komegata—Fine earth is mixed with paper, to strengthen the adhesiveness, and this mixture is pasted on the original object. When it is dried it is broken and used as a mould.

Iguri—This is one method of casting, as for making large statue casting bit by bit from the bottom to the top. This method had been used for making all the gigantic Buddhas now remaining in Japan from olden days.

Yôchû—This is casting out. The designs made on the inside of the *megata* (matrix) come out in relief on the outside of the casted articles.

Chôkin—This is the term applied to the method of engraving designs on metal by means of a burin.

Kebori—Literally it means hairline engraving. Fine hair-like lines are cut into the objects forming designs by means of a burin.

Keribori—This is unlike *kebori*, in that the lines are not continuous. The lines appear in a series of wedge-shaped dots by means of a wedge-shaped burin.

Shishiaibori—This is the so-called quasi-relief carving. Designs like paintings are engraved in a relief on metal plate, without touching the ground, but engraving the surroundings.

Katakiribori—This means one-way-cut engraving. In this method, the designs are outlined in lines obliquely engraved by burin, resulting in vertical cut on one side and slanting on the other.

Sukashibori—This is openwork. There are two kinds; one is the perforation of the designs and the other is the ground perforation.

Nanako—This is the designs on metal-works resembling fish-roe, like innumerable tiny bubbles.

Zôgan—This is the method of inlaying one metal in another.

Itozôgan—This is also called *harigane-zôgan*. Thread-like metal pieces are inlaid in the other metal.

Hirazôgan—This is flat inlay. The inlaid metal is embedded flat with the base.

Nunomezôgan—This is fabric-mark inlay. The surface is marked like fabric mesh with a burin vertically and horizontally, and the other metal is inlaid in designs.

Suemonzôgan—In this method the inlaid metal is raised as in relief.

Kirihamezôgan—The thin sheet of base is perforated and in its place another metal is filled in.

Kagazôgan—In the early part of Edo Period *itozôgan* and *hirazôgan* methods were brought to Kaga province, present Ishikawa Prefecture, and they developed with special provincial color in this locality.

Tokin—Gold is melted in quick-silver to form an amalgam. This amalgam is applied to copper or alloys of copper, which is later heated over fire and gilded.

Kinkise—This is to paste gold foil to other metallic surface.

Iroe—Low-temperature wax (*yakitsuke-ro*) is employed to paste engraved thin sheet of gold or silver on the surface of another object, and finished over fire.

Tankin—This is also known as *uchimono*. This is the beating method. The metal is beaten or hammered to the desired shape and form, flat or cubical. When it is beaten to cubical forms, it is called *tsuchiokoshi*.

Mirror

Mirrors in the Western countries were made of glass. In the Occident they were made of copper. The first of these copper mirrors appeared two or three centuries B.C.

Kankyô—This is the name given to those mirrors of the Han Dynasty days of China. It is round and made of nickel. Designs for the most part are of gods and birds of auspicious nature. In Japan imitations of these olden mirrors have been excavated from old tombs.

Tokyo—This is the name given to those mirrors of T'ang Dynasty of China. There are several different shapes and designs. The Japanese mirrors of the Nara Period were of this type.

Wakyō—This type of mirrors were made from the middle of the Heian Period. The designs became distinctly Japanese. Natural herbs, flowers, butterflies, insects, birds and the like seemed to have been the favorite designs.

Chanoyu-gama

This is the kettle used in tea ceremony. It is made of cast iron. Its manufacture began toward the end of the Kamakura Period. However, kettles of better quality were produced during the Muromachi Period. The Ashiya kettle and Temmyō kettle are among the better known products. Different names are given to the kettles according to make and shape, as *shinnari*, *tsurukubi*, *arare*, *daikōdō*, *amidadō*, *ubakuchi*, *shiribari*, etc.

Ashiyagama—In the Muromachi Period the first of this famous kettle was produced in the region called Ashiya in present Fukuoka Prefecture. The surface of the kettle is smooth. It is best known for the exquisite designs.

Temmyōgama—This famous kettle was also started in the Muromachi Period at Sano-Temmyō, present Tochigi Prefecture. It is noted for the quality of the iron, more than the designs. During the Momoyama and the Edo periods, kettles were also produced in Edo, Kanazawa and Morioka.

Harness

Gyōyō—This is the name given to the pendant decorative harnesses, which are made of copper, gilded copper, and iron. These were made by means of engraving and casting. And the designs were for the most part *nintō-karakusa*, phoenix, dragon, and the like.

Kagamiita—This is a part of the bridle bit that separates the mouth on both sides. For the most part they are round and square, which are made of gilded copper, copper, iron, and gold plated iron. Designs are mostly crosswise, and others are of *nintō-karakusa*, dragons, and the like.

Uzu—This is the gadget at the tailend. It resembles a round tray placed flat at the tailend. It is mostly made of gilded copper.

Bataku—This is a kind of bell hung at the front of the horse. It is made of cast copper. Its shape is like *dōtaku* (see following), and the design is simple.

Kushiro—This is one of the personal ornaments of the Archaic Period, excavated from old tombs. It is a specimen of armlet, and is circular.

Dōtaku—This was originated in the Yayoi Period, but later died out. It is a kind of bell (literally copper bell) made of cast copper. It is cylindrical, and at the top there is a helmet-like object with fins on both sides. There are various sizes, from three or four inches to five feet. Designs are of different kinds; *kesatasuki* (crossed pattern) *ryūhyō* (ice-drift), simple primitive drawings, and the like in relief.

Mikkyōhōgu

Among the Buddhist sects the Shingon-Mikkyō has its own ceremonial and ritual furnishings and decorative objects, which are unique of this religious branch. Some of the more difficult ones are as follows:

Kongōrei—It is a bell sounded to give pleasure to Buddhas and other deities. It has a short handle at the top, designed with lotus flowers. It is made of gilded cast copper.

Kongōban—This is a plate-like article, which is said to be employed to destroy the worldly passions and desires. It resembles an Indian weapon. The number of scissiors are in odd numbers, as one, three, five, nine and the like. Some are of treasure-ball shape. It is made of gilded copper. Many of them are decorated with lotus flower designs.

Kongōban—This is a stand or rest to put *kongōkine* and *kongōsuzu*, known as vajra dish. It has lotus flower decorations, and made of cast copper for the most part.

Rokki—This is a set of three bowls, on saucer, placed on both sides of the incense burner, before the altar as one of the decorative accessories. Water and artificial ornaments are placed in them for offering.

Rimpō—This is an old weapon in India, with which earthly worries and passions are exorcised. It resembles a vehicle wheel.

and from the center eight spoke-like rods radiate through another outer ring. It is made of gilded cast copper.

Katsuma—Two three-pronged forks are crisscrossed, and four such forks represent the 12 causes as taught in Buddhism. These are made of gold and silver.

Butsugu (Buddhist ceremonial and ritual furnishings and decorative objects)

The following are some of the more important of the *butsugu*:

Shakufō—This is a staff, with a bell at the top, made of cast copper. It is like a three-pronged fork toward the top, where six rings are attached. At the middle of the prong is a stupa or a Buddhist image.

Nyō—A cast copper handle is attached to a cast copper bell. It was in use in the Nara Period. It is now used at the ceremony of the *Nigatsudō*, Tōdaiji Temple, Nara today.

Kei—It is a gong, an instrument of percussion in olden China. It was originally made of stone, but when it was made of copper, it came to be used in Buddhist rituals. In the middle there is a lotus flower design around which are peacock on both sides in relief. It is made of cast copper.

Unpan—This is also one of the percussion instruments in olden China. The Zen sect of Buddhism began to employ it. It is round and has a cut on both sides. It is made of cast copper.

Keman—This is the tapestry hung within the Buddhist temple hall from the ceiling. Originally it was fresh flower decoration, but in time it changed to metalworks, wood, hide, and threads. For the most part it was made of gilded copper.

Keko—This is a flower basket-like vase, used to hold flowers in rituals. It is made of bamboo and also gilded copper.

Nyoi—It is also known as *magonote*. It was originally a stick bent at one end to scratch one's back. Later it was used as a formal accessory of Buddhist priests.

Mitegusoku—This is the general name given to incense urn, candlestand, flower

vase and the like. This was originated by the newly formed Buddhist sects during the Kamakura Period in order to simplify their rituals.

Suebako—This is a container made of gilded copper, with designs of dragon, peacock, and *rimpō*. It was placed beside the priest in putting sutras and manuscripts while preaching.

Kaitaibako—This is a box unique of the Mikkyō sect of Buddhism, which is used to store ceremonial papers of the *sammai-ya'cai* ritual, incense, and the like.

Tō (Pagoda)

Gorintō—This is the tower or pagoda which symbolizes the five elements of earth, water, fire, wind, and sky. The shapes are from the bottom square, round, triangle, semicircle, and circle, which are inscribed with their respective symbols. Some are made of gilded copper.

Sharitō—This is the pagoda-shaped reliquary, in which the ashes of the Buddha are enshrined. It is usually made of quartz and crystals. There are all kinds of shapes.

Hōkyōintō—This is the pagoda to store the *hōkyōindaranikyō* sutra. On the four corners of the cylindrical tower, decorations are placed. It is mostly made of stone, but there are some of gilded copper.

Nōsashōtō—This is the pagoda which is supposed to enshrine the real ashes of the Buddha.

Hōtō—This is the pagoda to enshrine *Tahōnyorai*. There is a round mound on the base, which is surmounted with a roof-like cover and a pair of rings. There is quite a number of this type of *sharitō* or pagoda-shaped reliquary.

Kyōzutsu—This is a cylindrical container for Buddhist sutras. In the middle of the Heian Period it was used to bury sutras according to the custom of the time. It is made of copper and gilded copper. There are others of beaten metal.

Kakebotoke—Originally *Shintō* and Buddhist images were engraved on metal mirrors and worshipped. In time the practice transformed to pasting images on circular metal plates, which were worshipped. These were called *kakebotoke*.

Dolls

Saga-ningyō—This is wood, engraved and heavily colored, and highly treated with gold foils and the like. It is mainly replica of human beings, and the height rarely exceeds a foot. It was first made by Suminokura Ryōi, after his retirement at the northern outskirt of Kyoto, known as Saga. Hence the name of Saga was given to this type of dolls.

Ukiyo-ningyō—Stylish young men, geisha girls, women and the like are the themes of this type of dolls. The bodies are painted white, and *kimono* are put on them.

Gosho-ningyō—The theme of this type of doll is usually a child. There are two kinds of dolls, one is naked and other clothed. The former is usually made as a gift for auspicious purpose and is paired with other auspicious items like stork, turtle, and treasures. The latter is mainly made after *noh* personalities. Therefore it is sometimes called *noh* dolls. It is also known as *shirakiku-ningyō*, because of the whiteness of its feature, and *izukura-ningyō*,

after the shop which sells it. It is distinguished from other types of dolls by its proportionately large head.

Kamo-ningyō—This type of doll is wooden. *Kimono* is pasted on the doll. It is also known as *kimekomi-ningyō*. It was originated by a priest of the Kamo Shrine in Kyoto.

Nara-ningyō—This is made in Nara and is also known as *ittōbori*. It is highly colored. The themes are *noh* dances and personalities.

Fushimi-ningyō—There is a large number of clay dolls throughout Japan, but that of Fushimi, in Kyoto, is believed to be the oldest. Other clay dolls which are famous in different parts of the country are *Tsutsumi-ningyō*, *Sagara-ningyō*, and *Hanamaki-ningyō* in northeastern Japan, *Imado-ningyō* of Tokyo, *Hakata-ningyō* and *Saga-ningyō* of Kyūshū.

Miharu-ningyō—The most noted of the papier maché dolls in Japan is said to be that of the Miharu in Fukushima Prefecture. The colors and forms are said to be particularly exquisite.

Calligraphy

History

Calligraphy is a term used to designate the expression of ideographs in beautiful forms to stimulate the aesthetic sensation of the reader. It has been highly admired in the Orient since ancient times as a type of formative art.

Ideographs were imported into Japan from China in the fifth and sixth centuries. Consequently, the history of calligraphy in Japan is closely interwoven with that of the China continent, and through the years, Japanese calligraphers were influenced by the changing forms of writings initiated by their Chinese counterparts.

The introduction of Chinese calligraphy into Japan between the 7th and 19th centuries can be roughly divided into four stages. The first stage—This stage begins with the seventh century when the influence of the

Sui form of calligraphy was most strongly felt in Japan to the middle of the eighth century (the Nara Period in Japan) when the calligraphy forms of Wang Hsi-chih (307—365), which was tremendously popular in China during the T'ang Dynasty, were imported into Japan.

Wang's style was adopted in Japan by the celebrated calligraphers, Emperor Shōmu (701—756) and the Empress Kōmyō (701—760).

The famous calligraphers of the early Heian Period (first part of the ninth century) Saichō (767—822), Kūkai (773—835) and Emperor Saga (786—842) were also disciples of Wang. The second stage—This stage extends from the 13th to the 15th centuries which correspond to the Kamakura and Muromachi periods in Japan.

Chinese calligraphy came to Japan during this era in the wake of the introduction of the Zen sect of Buddhism into this count-

ry. It was introduced both by the Chinese Zen priests who came to Japan and the Japanese Zen priests who visited China for advanced studies of Buddhism. The third stage—This stage corresponds to the Edo Period in Japan which began in the latter half of the 17th century and ended in the late 19th century.

The Ming form of calligraphy in China was introduced to Japan at the outset of this period by the Zen priest Yin-yüan (1592-1673) and his disciples.

Throughout this era, the Ming, Sung and Yuan forms of writings spread widely among Japanese intellectuals and came to be known as *karayō*. The fourth stage—In 1880, an entirely new form of Chinese calligraphy was brought into Japan by Yang Shou-ching (1839-1915). It was a style of writing that prevailed in North China from the fifth to the sixth centuries, but this was the first time that it was introduced into Japan.

This style of writing was spread in Japan by Kusakabe Meikaku (1838-1922) and Iwaya Ichiroku (1834-1905) and became one of the foundations of contemporary calligraphy in Japan.

It was at the start of the 10th century, or just after the end of the first stage mentioned before, that Japanese calligraphers formed a unique style of their own on the basis of the Chinese calligraphy represented by Wang.

Ono-no-Tōfū (896-966), Fujiwara-no-Sari (944-998) and Fujiwara-no-Kōzei (972-1027) perfected a form of writing that was elegant and uniquely Japanese though originated by Wang.

The Japanese calligraphy style of this period is called *Jōdaiyō*. Many capable calligraphers appeared between this period and the 12th century and ushered in a golden era in the history of calligraphy in Japan.

Eventually, the Japanized calligraphy deteriorated into a prototype and suffered a stalemate until the middle of the 19th century.

Around the time when a new form of Chinese calligraphy was introduced into Japan by Yang Shou-ching, an attempt was made to revive the *Jōdaiyō* style and inject

some life into Japanese calligraphy, and the foundation was laid for the evolution of contemporary calligraphy in Japan.

The Japanese style of calligraphy formed the main current of calligraphy in this country from the early 10th century until the rise of the *Karayō* style of Chinese calligraphy in 1880. Since then, the traditional Japanese current of calligraphy was practiced side by side with the Chinese style of calligraphy.

One of the biggest events in the history of Japanese calligraphy was the birth of the unique *kana* letters.

The Chinese ideographs primarily convey specific meanings. And in borrowing such ideographs to express sentences in Japanese, it became necessary to use some ideographs for the sound and not the meaning they express. As early as the sixth century, Chinese ideographs were sometimes used in the sense that *kana* letters are used today—to express auxiliaries, inflections and the like.

The *kana* letters were created to avoid this discrepancy and also to adopt a simple style of writing that could replace some of the complex Chinese ideographs.

The *kana* calligraphy assumed a most beautiful form from the middle of the 10th century to the 12th century, and continued to occupy a vitally important place in Japanese calligraphy until today.

Writing paper

Japanese calligraphy has been carved on stones and wood and is sometime written on silk canvass. But by far the largest portion is expressed on paper.

Extremely beautiful paper was often used for calligraphy from the golden era of calligraphy in the 10th century to the 12th century. Some of them were imported from China, and others were patterned after the Chinese originals.

They were dyed into myriad colors and featured beautiful designs of butterflies, birds and flowers in gold and silver paint. Some were made by patching together two different kinds of writing paper.

Japanese culture of this period was geared to the taste of the nobility, and their extreme estheticism was automatically reflected in the popularity of fancy writing paper.

Actually, such writing paper provided a much more harmonious backdrop for the elegant Jōdaiyō style of writing that was then the fad than staid, white paper might have.

Later, fancy writing paper faded out once but came back into vogue again since the revival of the Jōdaiyō style of writing in the middle of the 19th century.

Since ancient times, Buddhism has been widely followed in Japan, and hand copying of the sutras was a common practice among the faithful. Relics of such copies provide valuable data for studying the history of Japanese calligraphy.

There were times when the copies were used merely as religious texts and written in clear, legible handwriting. But with the coming of the fancy writing papers, the Buddhist followers tried to outbeat each other by copying the sutras on beautiful paper and in an elegant style of writing. Many such copies of the sutra has been handed down through posterity and are known today as *Sōshoku-kyō* or ornamental sutras.

In addition to color and design, shapes and size give variety to writing papers. Some of the more commons ones used from olden time to the present are:

1. *Kaishi* or pocket paper are about 12 inches long and 15 inches wide. Most *kaishi* is plain white, but there are very few that are decorated. The *kaishi* is

used mainly for writing Chinese and the 31-syllable waka verse.

2. *Shikishi* come in two sizes: 7.6 by 6.6 inches and 7 by 6.2 inches. They are thick paper for writing Chinese and waka verses and also for painting in Japanese style. White *shikishi* is used for paintings, but decorated *shikishi* is often used for calligraphy.
3. *Tanzaku* is an oblong hard paper measuring 2 by 14 inches and used for writing waka and haiku verses. There are both white ones and decorated ones.
4. *Semmen* or plain white fans come in many sizes. They are used for painting and also for writing Chinese and waka and haiku verses.

Originally there were no rules governing the size of the *kaishi*. As its Japanese name meaning pocket paper indicates, the poetically inclined used to produce any kind of paper they happened to have in their pockets and scribble impromptu poems on them. It was from the middle of the 10th century that the size of the *kaishi* was specified.

The present size of the *tanzaku* was established in the middle of the 16th century. The *tanzaku* before this period were smaller than the present ones.

For admiring the calligraphy written on these forms of paper, the *kaishi* is usually mounted as a *kakemono* or scroll and hung over the *tokonoma*, or alcove in the Japanese guest room.

The *shikishi* and *tanzaku* are slipped into hangers with four strings in the corners and hung on the walls.

The *semmen* is usually stripped off the fan bones, mounted, and hung on the *tokonoma* or walls.

XXV DANCE, DRAMA, MUSIC

Dance in Ancient Japan

In ancient Japan, from the primitive days to the 14th century when the *noh* drama was perfected, there existed four main categories of stage art or dance, i.e. the *kagura*, *bugaku*, *en-nen* and the *dengaku*.

Kagura

The *kagura* is a religious dance form native to ancient Japan. It was performed as a religious rite; and influenced by the continental *bugaku* dance which was transmitted to Japan in the ninth century, it came to take on a ceremonious nature under the patronage of the Imperial Court. This later spread to the populace, and today, both the early *kagura* and the later court form still exist. The form used within the court is known as *mi-kagura*, while those performed at shrines outside the court are called *sato-kagura*.

The word *kagura* itself means *kami-no-kura* or the seat of god; hence it meant rites which were centered around the presence of the god. The principal dance within the *kagura* was the *chinkon-buyō* which was for the purpose of appeasing the spirit of the demons, and was performed with much stamping of the feet on the ground. In the very early days, this was performed mainly by the *miko* or female mediums; but after the establishment of the Imperial Court, it became the custom for male priests

of the Shintō order to carry out the performance, as it still is to this day.

From the beginning of the ninth century, the dances gradually took on a set form, and in the 4th year of Chōhō in the reign of Emperor Ichijō (1002) the *mi-kagura* dances to be performed in rites at the imperial sanctuary were established; and music and dance were offered to the ancestral goddess of the Imperial Family, *Amaterasu-ōmikami*. Since then, the dances became more and more ceremonious; and they have been transmitted to this day as performances for the purpose of blessing the fortune of the Imperial Family.

In the procedure for this rite, sacred bonfires called *niwabi* are lit in the garden before the altar of the god in the *Ommeiden* suite of the Imperial Palace. At nightfall, after the emperor has worshiped at the altar, the *ninjō* (leader of the *kagura* rites) steps out into the yard together with a group of more than ten musicians. Each takes his designated place, and then, starting with the *ninjō*, they all formally call out their respective duties in turn. Then one at a time, the musicians try out the flute, *hichiriki* (flageolet) and the *koto* (Japanese harp) in turn, after which they perform together, and singers are called in to perform the *niwa-bi no uta* or song of the sacred fire. This is followed by the *Achime-waza*, which is a performance for

the purpose of calling the god of the sea to attendance.

Next follows an invocal dance to the accompaniment of *kagura-uta* (kagura songs). This is called the *torimono-uta*, and is a song in praise of certain charm objects or talismens held in the hands of the performers of the dance. The *sakaki* (sacred tree branch), *mitogura* (sacred paper pendants), *jō* (stick), *sasa* (type of bamboo), *ken* (sword), *hoko* (halberd), *hisago* (dipper) and *katsura* (a vine) were the nine objects which were each praised in songs sung in turn one after another.

The *ninjō* danced only for the songs of *Sakaki* and *Sono-koma*, the rest being music only. (There is also another form of the *torimono-kagura* which is known as the *kara-gami kagura*.)

These performances are followed by the *saibari*, which had more of the nature of stage entertainment. There are two categories of *saibari*, the *ō-saibari* and the *ko-saibari*. These are of a folk-song nature, and are related to the early chanted songs known as *saibara*.

Finally, there was the *Akaboshi* (morning star) song, the implication being that this song is for the purpose of sending off the god on his return to heaven at early dawn when the morning star is shining. With this, the mystic rites of the *kagura* end.

Bugaku

The *bugaku* is still utilized to this day at the Imperial Court as the official dance form, and is a form which is based on dances transmitted to Japan from the various Asiatic countries about 1300 years ago and later adapted to native taste. The very early forms reached Japan by way of Silla in Korea about the middle of the 5th century, later from Pakche (also in Korea) in the middle of the 6th century, and from Koryu (Korea) in the 7th century. In the 20th year in the reign of Empress Suiko (612), Mimashi of Pakche brought the *gigaku* to Japan. This was a form of dance which had its origin in the Central Asiatic nations such as Tibet and India, and was

transmitted to Korea and Japan by way of China.

In the eighth century, from the Nara Period to the beginning of the Heian Period, much intercourse existed between Japan and the T'ang Dynasty of China, one of the great civilizations of that age. Envoys and students crossed to the Continent, while on the other hand, many Chinese became naturalized in Japan. Through this cultural intercourse, the *bugaku*, official dance rites of the T'ang court, came to be transmitted to Japan. The *toragaku* dances of Southeast Asia were also transmitted; and, in the year 736 the *rinyūgaku* was introduced to the country by Indian Brahman priests and by the priest *Buttetsu* of *Rinyūkoku* (present-day Annam). Among the *Rinyūgaku* dances the *Karyōbin*, *Ryō-ō*, *Ama*, *Bairo*, *Batō*, *Konju* and others still form an important part in the current *bugaku* repertory, and are often performed, being of a most exotic and interesting nature. The *bugaku* dances of Pohai (Manchuria) were also transmitted to Japan.

Of the many dances introduced into Japan in this manner, the *gigaku* is to be seen to this day in the form of the *shishi-mai* or lion-dance performed among the populace; but the other dances in the *gigaku* repertory, together with the *toragaku*, have been lost.

In the ninth century, Emperor Saga and Emperor Nimmyō rearranged these many forms as well as having new music composed, and brought about many drastic changes, with which these court dances reached a new peak, and brought forth such famed musicians as Ō-tono Kiyokami and Owari-no-Hamanushi. Subsequently, with the decline in the power of the Imperial Court, and due to the restive situation within the nation, the court dances gradually declined, and some came to be lost altogether. However, through rites held at large temples and at the court, some were preserved. In the latter part of the 16th century a trend toward their revival came into being, and they received the protection of the Bakufu government. After the

Meiji Restoration, they continued to be preserved in the *gagaku-ryō* (Court Music Bureau) of the Imperial Household, where court musicians with a hereditary history of 1,300 years of service in their respective posts, continue to preserve this art with its great cultural significance.

The *bugaku* repertory was divided into two categories, with the *sankan-gaku* (that of Koryu, Pokche and Silla of Korea) and *Bokkai-gaku* (that of Bokkai, that is, Pohai) forming the *Uhō*, and those of Tang and of India forming the *Sahō*. They are also called respectively *U-mai* and *Samai*. Almost without exception, they are performed with instruments from the continent, and are without words. Some were performed with masks, some without. Of the masks, some were grotesque, while some bore resemblance to those of early Greece.

As for the costumes of the dancers, they wore cloth headwear in the shape of a bird, called *tori-kabuto*, and wide-sleeved, loose-fitting *hō*. This was called the *tsune-shōzoku*, while special costumes used on the occasion of certain specified dances were called *betsu-shōzoku*. The *Sahō* performers wore red, while the *Uhō* performers wore green, and these two groups appeared alternately on the stage to perform their dances. A dance is generally made up of one, two, four or six performers, but in the old days, there were occasions when a greater number appeared together.

Dances in which the performer wore or held a sword were called *buno-mai*, the others called *bun-no-mai*. A dance in which one or two performers moved actively about the stage was called *hashiri-mai*. This last is an exotic dance making use of a grotesque mask, with the dancers wearing a bib-like cloth from their necks, called *ryō-tō*.

The music accompaniment for the *bugaku* dances is called *gagaku*. This *gagaku* is often performed independently from the dances. It is made up of three parts, called *Jo*, *Ha*, and *Kyū*; some numbers are complete with all three parts, while others have

only a part. Among these, the longer numbers are called *Tai-kyoku*. The *ō-daiha-jin-raku*, *Tō-den*, *Shun-nō-ten*, *Sogō-kō*, and *Manjū-raku* of the *Sahō*, and the *Kotoriso*, *Shintoriso*, *Shinshōtoku* and *Taisōtoku* of the *Uhō* are all *Tai-kyoku*. As for the instruments, in the *Sahō* group, the wind-instruments *ōteki* (flute), *hichiriki* (flageolet) and the *shō* (pan pipe), and the percussion instruments *taiko* (drum), *shōko* (brass drum) and *san-no-tsutsumi* (Chinese lap-drums, of three kinds), were used. When the music was performed independently without the dance, then the *biwa* (lute) and *sō* (harp) and other string instruments were also added. At its height, it was performed by a great group of these and other instruments, forming a musical group somewhat similar to the orchestra of the Western world.

The *bugaku* dances were performed on beautiful outdoor platforms of a height approximately three feet, and with a nine foot square stage space. The performance starts with the *enbu*, which is a sword dance, and ends with the *chōkeishi*, which is just music without dance. Members of the *samai* and the *umai* alternate throughout the program, with the pair of dances performed by the two sides being considered as an entity, referred to as *tsugai-mai*. Dances which may be grouped together in these pairs are more or less specified, with the second dance by the *umai* group being called the *Tō-bu*, in other words, the answering or return dance in relation to the first dance by the *Samai*. The *samai* dance *Ryō-ō* is generally combined with the answering dance *Nasori* by the *umai* group, the *samai* performance of *Garyōbin* is followed by the *umai* dance *kochō* and *manzairaku* is followed by *Engiraku*.

These beautiful and elegant dances belong strictly to the Imperial Court, so that public performances are held only on very special occasions. The *bugaku* may also be seen in the ceremonial dances held by the great shrines in the country, such as Itsukushima Shrine in Hiroshima, *Shitennō-ji* in Osaka, Meiji Shrine in Tokyo, and the *Tōshōgū* in

Nikko. However, these differ slightly from those of the Imperial court.

En-nen

The entertainment programs which were held by various temples during the 12th and 13th centuries were known as *en-nen*. Today, the *en-nen* is no longer practised in the larger temples; but there are certain temples in the provinces which still retain vestiges of the old *en-nen* programs. The most representative among these is the *en-nen* which is held at Mōtsuji Temple in Hiraizumi, Iwate Prefecture.

The *en-nen* was generally performed by the bonzes attached to the respective temples in the capacity of entertainment performers, called *yū-sō* and *chigo-shū*. In temples where women were not allowed, the *chigo*, that is, child pages, replaced women in the performances. The *en-nen* program included all manner of stage entertainment, based originally on the *bugaku*. Some of these numbers were provided with elocuted portions; while such dances as the *itoyori* and *shirabyōshi* were performed by the *chigo*. Again, there was the *furyū* which was a simple dramatization of legends and which formed the source of the later *sarugaku* dances and the *noh* drama. The *en-nen* performance which is to be seen to this day at Mōtsuji Temple in Hiraizumi is a type of rustic *noh*, of which several numbers are still in existence.

Dengaku

Among the public entertainment forms still retained by certain temples and shrines there is the *dengaku*, which was originated at the end of the tenth century and reached the height of its popularity about the year 1096, the military regent Hōjō Takatoki being one of its influential patrons.

At about 1250 a form of musical drama called *noh* came into being, and the *dengaku*, influenced by this factor, came to incorporate numbers called *dengaku-no-noh*. Around the year 1400, the *dengaku* performers vied with the *sarugaku* performers for popularity; but when the *saru-*

gaku replaced the *dengaku* in the favor of the *Shogun* (military regents), *dengaku* declined in influence, and many of its numbers came to be lost to posterity. Today, vestiges of the *dengaku* are to be found only in such limited cases as the performances at Kasuga Shrine in Nara, and in some shrines in Shizuoka Prefecture.

Dengaku originated as a pastoral ritual performed at the time of rice-transplanting, as a prayer to the gods. In this ritual, the *sa-otome* or maidens who planted the rice seedlings, did their work to the accompaniment of the music of flutes and drums, while at the same time, the farmers marked time with bamboo whisks and danced and sang along the ridges of the paddies. This ritual came to be the object of gay sight-seeing; and gaining in popularity, it eventually came to be practiced in the cities as rituals at various shrines. This attained such a wide popularity that finally even the aristocrats came to join in the dancing.

Later, the *dengaku* performances came to be performed by professional entertainers called *dengaku-hōshi*. The performances incorporated many types of entertainment, such as *shina-dama* (also called *katana-dama*) which was a sort of juggling act using a ball and a sword, and the *taka-ashi* (also called *issoku*) which was a type of acrobatics. Dances were performed to the accompaniment of such instruments as the *sasara* (bamboo sticks which were rubbed together to mark the beat), the *dengaku-tsuzumi* (type of percussion instrument), the *dobyōshi* (castanet), *fue* (flute) and others. At some shrines, the head priest himself sometimes took part in the *dengaku* performances.

A dance in which the performer wore a large rush hat and carried a large drum on his breast, or beat time with wooden castanets called *bin-sazara* was called the *Chūmon-guchi* dance. Up to the time of World War II, this was still regularly performed at Ōji. Today, a mere vestige of the *dengaku* is to be seen at the Sanja Shrine of Asakusa. In the Sanja version of the *dengaku*, the *shishi* (lion-dance) is incorporated, this being an example of the so-called *shishi-dengaku*. Such performances are now rare in the larger cities.

Kabuki Dance

Kabuki dance today

Today, in post-war Japan, the ballet has seen so much development, that there may be a general impression that it has encroached into the popularity of the Japanese dance, although there are no statistics available to prove the point, there is no doubt that the ballet is still far from approaching the influence of the Japanese dance, for the fascination of the Japanese dance is such that it cannot be lightly discarded. Its great sustaining power is the native tradition in which it has been bred and perfected. Although a new Japan may have been born, and although the ways of living among the people may have changed, the Japanese dance continues not only to hold its own, but to even develop further, sustained by the fact that it is the sole form of dance which is native to Japan and which has a historic tradition of several hundreds of years. Hence, the great majority of the Japanese native dance stands on this old tradition, and is a form of classic art.

However, in spite of this classic tradition, there are also attempts among various groups to create a modern form of Japanese dance, these new efforts being called the *shin-buyō* (new dance). The *shin-buyō* is still comparatively young, having been initiated about 1904. This was carried out mostly in experimental form by ambitious and progressive professional dancers, but did not become a coordinated movement strong enough to challenge the traditional dance. However, in the post-war years, the new trend has developed greatly, so that perhaps in the not too distant future, it may be able to establish itself more concretely. At any rate, the two forms, classic and new, exist side by side today in Japan.

The term "classic" as used in connection with the Japanese dance may be a little misleading. Actually it refers to the

techniques of artistry employed rather than the period of the creation of the dance itself. Thus the classic dance includes number which are truly classics in the original sense of the word, having been created in the 17th and 18th centuries during the Edo Period, but there are also included many creations of the 19th and 20th centuries up to the present, which are in a classic style. Each of these numbers bears the stamp of the age in which it was created, having been aimed to please the audiences of that respective age.

Looking back at the origin of the so-called Japanese native dance, we can see that it was born at approximately the same time as *kabuki*, and also developed together with *kabuki*, often being regarded as a phase of the *kabuki* art. Thus, it is often called the *kabuki* dance, and is to be differentiated from the provincial folk dances, being from the start a form of stage art. The *kabuki* dance developed in the cities, and then gradually spread to the provinces throughout the country.

There are two factors which have helped to keep the traditional form of Japanese dance alive to this day, one being the *kabuki*, and the second being the unique system of *Iemoto*, or the system of schools headed by a hereditary master. Without this *Iemoto* system, it is doubtful whether the old classic forms would have survived to this day; in fact, perhaps the so-called Japanese dance itself might not have survived. Therefore, it may be said that the fact that the native dance of Japan is still to be seen in its old form, is due almost entirely to the *Iemoto* system.

However, today the *Iemoto* system is viewed with much askance in some quarters, the main reason for the criticism being in the feudalistic nature of the system. Unquestionably, a feudalistic nature surrounds the system, so that many of the progressive dance artists entertain constructive views concerning the desired status of the

iemoto system, more in line with modern life. In some cases the *iemoto* himself is the center of such a movement toward a new system; and it may be said that both the *iemoto* and the *iemoto* system of today are in many ways freed to some extent from the feudalism which tied it in former days. In fact, the *iemoto* system is in some respects coming to be more in the nature of a business enterprise.

In former days, each school, centered around its *iemoto* master, adhered strictly to a maintenance of the special forms of their respective schools, so that the difference between schools was more recognizable than it is today, when it is difficult to tell one from another because of the wide similarity now prevalent. This may be laid to the fact that the *iemoto* is no longer the absolute authority that he used to be, and also to the fact that more importance is attached not to the individual characteristics of the respective dancers themselves. Another reason may be seen in the fact that there is much intercourse and interchange among the various schools now than was possible in the old days. Formerly, it was generally forbidden to study or imitate the dance of other schools, or to participate in programs with members of other schools.

The *iemoto* system, as we have seen, is now on the decline, but paradoxically, the number of *iemoto* masters is on the increase. This may seem at first glance to be opposed to the current trend; but it serves to show that the system still has a firm foothold. And it is due to the existence of this system that even today the lineage of the Japanese dance is comparatively distinct.

There are at present 45 or 46 different schools of Japanese dance, centered mainly in Tokyo in East Japan, and in Osaka and Kyoto in West Japan. Nagoya, in central Japan, has the Nishikawa school of dance, and other small cities may have a few more, but compared with those of Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka, they are few and minor in influence. In the Kyoto-Osaka region, there are the Inoue, Yamamura, Umemoto, Yoshimura, and other schools which are all in

the "kamigata" (west Japan) style of dance, differing from those of the Tokyo schools. These developed independently of the Tokyo schools and are still influential to this day. However, compared with the Tokyo schools, they may be said to be more conservative.

Among the more popular of the Tokyo schools of dance may be numbered the Shikayama school, which is the oldest. Then there is the Nakamura school, among which there are three groups, the Shikan, Toraji and Tomijūrō. The Mizuki school (the *iemoto* of which moved to Kyoto after the Great Earthquake), the Saruwaka school, the Nishikawa school (made up of three groups, the Senzō group, the legitimate group headed by Kishū, and the Koisaburō group of Nagoya), the Fujima school (of two groups, the Kanjūrō and the Kan-emon), the Hanayagi school, the Bandō school, the Wakayagi school, the Iwai, Matsumoto, Azuma, Kikukawa, Matsushima, Kashiwagi, Shichisen, Fujimura, Sawamura, Tomoe and others, making up a great number of separate schools.

Aside from these there are also schools of the so-called *shin-buyō* (new dance), such as the Fujikage school, the Gojō, the Nishizaki and others. Among these, many schools, with the greatest nation-wide influence are the fairly new schools of Hanayagi and Wakayagi, and the old traditional schools of Fujima, Bandō and Nishikawa.

History of the various schools of dance

The Shigayama school of dance is the one with the oldest tradition, having been transmitted to the present through the generations from the founder, Nakamura Denjirō (formerly known as Shigayama Mansaku). However, after the death of Shigayama Busen, the 14th head of the school, it declined. At present Busen's granddaughter is the 15th head of the school, and is known by Busen's former name Sei. Disciples of this school include Shimizu Waka and Horiuchi Keimei of Tokyo and Shigayama Seikaku of Osaka.

Within the Nakamura school of dance, as previously noted, there are three groups. The oldest is the Toraji division, belonging to the line that was founded by Nakamura Yahachi, a disciple of Nakamura Denjirō, founder of the Shigayama school. The current *iemoto* is Nakamura Toraji V. The *iemoto* post has been inherited generation after generation by a woman, and the group is no longer very influential, with Toraji's daughter Nakamura Kotora being the only very active member at present.

The Shikan group within the Nakamura school is the line founded by kabuki actor Nakamura Utaemon III. Currently, Nakamura Fukusuke, kabuki actor, is the *iemoto* of this group, with Nakamura Shiga being the most active member. The third group is the Tomijūrō group, named after kabuki actor Tomijūrō who gave the initial performance of the famous dance *Musume Dōjōji* about in 1919. The current *iemoto* bears the same name of Tomijūrō.

The Mizuki school is said to have been initiated by Yamanaka Heikurō (dec. 1724), kabuki actor of the Edo Period. Its first *iemoto* was Mizuki Tatsunosuke (dec. 1745) who was famous for his *yari-odori* (spear dance). The school still exists to this day, but due to the fact that the fourth *iemoto* (dec. 1956) moved to Kyoto after the Great Earthquake (1923), the school rapidly declined in Tokyo. In 1934 another Mizuki school, independent of the one in Kyoto, was re-established in Tokyo. Mizuki Kaei and Kakō are active in this group, while Mizuki Kazue is active in the new-dance circles.

In the Saruwaka school, the *iemoto* is Saruwaka Kiyokata (the seventh), formerly of the Hanayagi school. This Kiyokata had no former relationship with the Saruwaka school but inherited the name and re-established the school. Recently kabuki actor Nakamura Moshio, on the occasion of taking the stage name of Kanzaburō, was established as a member of the *iemoto* family, thus laying the foundations for future expansion of the Saruwaka school.

The Nishikawa school is an old school of dance, but is divided into three groups, as aforementioned. The main group is the

Senzō group, of whose former *iemoto*, the second and the fourth Senzō were famous choreographers. The current *iemoto* is the tenth Senzō. Several old masters of the school support the young *iemoto*, who is currently studying the dance under Fujima Kanjūrō for the purpose of re-establishing the influence of his group.

There are two other groups within the Nishikawa school. The Kishū group broke off from the Senzō group; its current head is Kishū, daughter of the first Kishū. Recently this *iemoto*'s second daughter was married to Kotosaburō of the Senzō group; this Kotosaburō, now called Kotojirō, will probably become the third *iemoto* of the Kishū group. Nishizaki Midori was famed for her activity in the new-dance, also began as a member of this group.

As for the Fujima school, this is divided into two groups, the Kanjūrō and the Kan-emon. The third Fujima Kanbei who was active in the Bunka Era, left the family for a time and took the name of Fujima Kanjurō, this being the first Kanjurō of the line. The current *iemoto* Kanjurō is the seventh to succeed the line, and was formerly an actor, disciple of Baikō (of the past generation). However, he was adopted into the family of Kanjūrō the sixth and became a dance artist who left many fine works, having been the special choreographer attached to famed kabuki performer Onoe Kikugorō (the sixth). He was also a fine dance artist, among whose disciples were the current Baikō (Fujima Kankurō), Hasegawa Kazuo (Fujima Kanske), Ōtani Tomoemon and other actors. The *iemoto* Nishikawa Koisaburō and Onoe Kikunojō are also disciples of Kanjūrō. Fujima Kansoga is another active dance artist who was one of Kanjūrō's disciples. Fujima Murasaki wife of the current Kanjūrō, is a leading dancer, with several other members of the family.

The Kan-emon group was founded by Kan-emon, disciple of the fourth Fujima Kambei. The second Kan-emon changed his name to Kan-ō, and was an influential figure in dance circles of the Meiji and Taishō periods. Their adopted son was the late kabuki actor Matsumoto Kōshirō who suc-

ceeded to the post of *iemoto* as the third Kan-emon. After his death, Onoe Shōrōku, kabuki actor has inherited the position as the fourth *iemoto*. This school, together with the Hanayagi school, is currently the most influential among the dance circles, with many active performers of top caliber listed among the school's adherents.

The head of the Hanayagi school is Jusuke (the second) and is the child of the first *iemoto*. The first *iemoto* was a disciple of Nishikawa Senzō. Founding the Hanayagi school, he was a prominent leader in the dance world from the end of the Tokugawa regime until his death in 1903. The current *iemoto* temporarily gave up the post to his cousin Hanayagi Tokutarō who is now the head of a branch of the Hanayagi school, while he himself became a kabuki actor as a disciple of the sixth Onoe Kikugorō. However, in 1918 he took the name of Jusuke and became the *iemoto*. Among the many dance *iemoto*, he is the most progressive, and is now acting as president of the Japan Dance Society. Due to his efforts in the new dance, many progressive-minded dancers have emerged from among his disciples.

The Bandō school of dance is headed by kabuki actor Bandō Mitsugorō. As Mitsugorō is the most venerable among the *iemoto*, and because he is famed for his artistry, the Bandō school holds an influential position. In this school, the third and fourth *iemoto* both became famed on the kabuki stage, bringing much popularity to the school during the Meiji Period. At present, it shows comparatively less development when compared with that of other popular schools, this perhaps due partially to the fact that each *iemoto*, up to the current Mitsugorō 8th, has been principally a kabuki actor. However, it is still very influential.

The Wakayagi school, when compared with the other schools, is of later origin, and was established by a faction of the Hanayagi school in 1905. Its founder Hanayagi Yoshimatsu changed his name to Judō after breaking off from the Hanayagi school, and took as the name of the line "waka" from his own personal family name

Wakabayashi, and 'yagi' from Hanayagi, thus creating the name Wakayagi. The Wakayagi school, unlike the Hanayagi and the Fujima schools, has no connections with kabuki, and is established mainly as the teacher of dance among the geisha world, being of undisputed influence in this field. At present, this school is divided into three rival groups.

The Iwai school was founded by actor Iwai Hanshirō; the current *iemoto* is Iwai Shijaku, but former actress Kobayashi, taking the name of Iwai Toshimatsu, is now acting as the temporary head. The Matsumoto school was started by actor Matsumoto Kōshirō, his disciple Goroichi taking it over, and is a sort of subsidiary line of the Fujima school. Its current *iemoto* is Matsumoto Kinshō. Another school descended from an actor line is the Azuma school which is headed by Azuma Tokuho, daughter of the late Ichimura Uzaemon kabuki actor. She was the fourth *iemoto*, but recently passed the post on to her son Bandō Tsurunosuke. Tokuho is a leading personality among the dance artists and has also been abroad, giving birth to the term *Azuma kabuki* for her dance performances.

The Danjūrō school is also a school founded by an actor, Danjūrō. The daughter of the ninth head, Suisen, was the *iemoto*, followed after her death by her husband Ichikawa Sanshō. The current *iemoto* is actress Ichikawa Kōbai, now known as Ichikawa Suisen.

The Onoe school was formed by Onoe Kikugorō the sixth, who installed his disciple Onoe Kotojirō as its head. The current Kikunojō is the second in this line. The Tachibana school was formed with the permission of the late Ichimura Uzaemon by former actor Bandō Utazō, renamed Tachibana Hōshū, as its head. He is active mainly as a choreographer.

As for the Kansai region (west Japan), there is first of all the famous Inoue school of Kyoto. This school is strictly limited to Kyoto, in particular to the Gion quarter of Kyoto, and taught only to women. The current *iemoto* is fourth in line, called Inoue Yachiyo. The dance of the Inoue

school is of a unique nature, and incorporates the quiet, refined dances of the *ji-uta* music, and dances taken from other sources such as the doll theater and the *kabuki*. The third Yachiyo lived to be 102 years of age and was highly influential in the Gion quarter, instituting the Kyoto *Miyako-odori* in 1872.

The various schools to be found in Osaka now all have their origin in Kyoto. The Yamamura school of dance is the most popular in Osaka, and has the oldest history. In recent years it split into several rival groups, and is headed currently by Yamamura Waka.

The Yoshimura school, headed by Yoshimura Yūkō is another old school, which has recently reached out toward the Tokyo region through rising dance master Yoshimura Yūkon. Another influential school is the Uemoto school, with Uemoto Rikuhei as *iemoto*. He is known as a talented choreographer, having created many works for the Takarazuka operettas and the Shōchiku musicales. He has also studied Western dance in Europe, and is now active in Tokyo as well as Osaka.

Aside from these, there are in Osaka the Otowa, Kamikata, Sakamoto and other schools of much later origin, forming a complex relationship with the various Tokyo schools which have expanded into the Osaka regions of late.

Meanwhile, in Tokyo, the elegant *kamigata* dances, that is, dance of west Japan, in particular the *jiuta-mai* came to be popular as dances to be performed at private parties in Japanese style guest rooms. An increasing number of people began to study this form of dancing. The center of this trend is Kanzaki Hide and Takehara Han.

There is another fairly influential center of Japanese dance, located in Nagoya. The Nagoya Nishikawa school holds sway here. The Nishikawa school was founded by Nishikawa Koisaburō, after whose death there was no *iemoto* for some time until the sixth Kikugorō established his disciple Onoe Shigeru, through his marriage to Nishikawa Shizu, as the second *iemoto* of the Nishikawa school. He is now called Nishikawa Koisaburō. Since then, the

school has established itself firmly in the geisha world of Tokyo, Osaka and other cities.

Besides these, there are in Nagoya, the Akabori, Kudō, Inagaki and other schools.

Now let us return again to Tokyo and to the so-called *shin-buyō* or new-dance movement. First of all there is in this class the Fujikage school, with Fujikage Shizue as the *iemoto*. Shizue was a disciple of Fujima Kan-ō, but in 1917, with the first public performance by the *Tō-en-kai* which she formed, she has been associated primarily with the new movement, establishing a separate school called *Fujikage*.

Gojō Tamami of the Gojō school was formerly of the Hanayagi school but entered into the new movement from 1930, and under the sponsorship of actor Kikugorō the sixth, she became the *iemoto* of an independent new school called the *Gojō*.

Nishikawa Midori, recently deceased, who was *iemoto* of the new Nishizaki school, was also a leader in this field, formerly a disciple of Nishikawa Kishū. Among other adherents of the new movement, although not exclusively so, there is Hayashi Kimuko, who founded the Hayashi school. Other influentials in this field are Azuma Tokuho, Fujima Kansoga, Fujima Kiyoe, Fujima Kanen, Fujima Setsuko, Hanayagi Kinno-suke, Hanayagi Mio, Hanayagi Tomiko, Hanayagi Tokubei, Mizuki Kakō, Mizuki Kazue and others.

Geisha dance

Aside from the above-mentioned main lines of the Japanese dance, there is another phase of the Japanese dance which cannot be disregarded. This is its relationship with the geisha entertainment world, which exerts a great influence in this field. The so-called *odori* which are performed by the *geisha*, was banned to some extent during the war, but is once again very popular today. One of the most famous public performances of the geisha dances is the *Miyako-odori* of Kyoto, which, as mentioned previously, was initiated by Inoue Yachiyo

in 1872, and is even known abroad for its brilliance, under the name of Cherry Dance.

The *Kamogawa-odori* of Pontocho gay quarters in Kyoto is another well known example, established also in 1872. Recently, another similar type of dance has been started in Miyagawa-chō of Kyoto.

Next to the *Miyako-odori* and *Kamogawa-odori* of Kyoto, the *Azuma-odori* of Shimabashi in Tokyo is well-known. Recently, this *Azuma-odori*, with geisha Marichiyo in the male roles, is immensely popular. This was initiated in 1925. In Tokyo there are also the *Midori-kai* of Akasaka, *Minoru-kai* of Akasaka, *Beni-kai* of Yoshi-chō, *Asaji-kai* of Asakusa. Aside from these there are the *Sanwa-kai* composed of geisha members of the three quarters of Shimabashi, Yanagibashi and Akasaka, and the Tokyo *Miyako-odori* which is made up of geisha from the other geisha districts exclusive of the above three.

In pre-war Osaka there were the *Hokuyō Naniwa-odori* of Sonezaki-shinji gay quarters which was initiated in 1882, the *Ashibe-odori* of Nanchi district (from 1888), the *Naniwa-odori* of Shin-machi (from 1902), the *Konohana-odori* of Horie (from 1914) and others, but all died out during the war and were not revived afterwards. In 1950 the *Osaka odori*, including all these districts, was initiated to replace the former groups.

In Nagoya there is the *Nagoya-odori* of the Nishikawa school. The geisha world in various minor cities, imitating the trend of Tokyo, and Osaka, *odori*; and the geisha dance is once again coming to attract a good deal of public attention.

History of the kabuki dance

The development of the kabuki dance parallels that of kabuki itself; in fact, kabuki was originally born from the dance. According to the records, a woman named *Okuni*, a medium of the Grand Shrine of Izumo, started the *kabuki-odori* in Kyoto in 1603. This was the period immediately after a decisive battle had ended the long feudal wars, and the commoners expressed their joy in the advent of a peaceful era

through various forms of dance. From all the provinces, groups of travelling players converged on Kyoto with their respective entertainment arts. *Okuni* was the leader of one such troupe, which specialized in the *nembutsu-odori*. The reasons for the popularity of *Okuni's* dance, which came to be called *kabuki-odori*, lay in the fact that she speedily incorporated the fad of the day into her performances, and also the fact that *Okuni* herself, dressed for male roles, created a highly sensuous effect. Presently, many similar troupes of female performers came into being, in imitation of *Okuni's* group. These women all being prostitutes by profession, the popularity of these troupes came to be a menace to social morals and in 1629 they were banned by the government.

Presently, boy troupes replaced the women performers, with pretty boys taking female roles. It was from this necessity that the so-called *onnagata*, the female impersonators, came into being. The boy troupes proved to be just as bad morally as the female troupes, and was banned in 1652.

The *wakashū-kabuki* followed, this being also made up mainly of dance, of whose repertory a group known as the *16 Komai* is still known today. With the ban on boy performers, the troupes came to be composed of adult men. And gradually, the performances changed from erotic dance shows to a mime performance with more of the dramatic element in it. The old dance element came to be retained mainly by the *onna-gata* performers; and the kabuki dance thus came to be their speciality, being refined and perfected in their hands. *Ukon Genzaemon* was a master dancer in this period, and is known as the perfecter of the *onnagata* art.

The great development of kabuki as a dramatic form came about at approximately the latter half of the 17th century. At about this time the dance was called *shosagoto* and *onnagata* performer *Mizuki Tatsunosuke* was famed as a dance performer. He created dances which were known as *onryō-goto*, and in which a female ghost would perform various kinds of acrobatics.

At this time, the *yari-odori* in which a decorative spear was twirled in the air, also came into popularity.

However, it was not until the middle of the 18th century that the dance truly attained a high degree of artistry, through the work of Segawa Kikunōjō (1693-1749) and Nakamura Tomijūrō (1719-1786). Famous dances created in this period are *Shakkyō* and *Musume Dōjōji*. At the same time, the *furi-tsuke-shi*, a sort of dance director and choreographer came into being, and produced the so-called dance drama, which made up one scene of a longer play, but which maintained its independence as a separate scene at the same time.

Heretofore the kabuki dance had been considered the special field of the onnagata performers, but by 1784 when the famous dance-drama *Sekinoto* came into being, performers of male roles also began to participate in dance scenes, this bringing about a great change in the dance, giving it wider scope in nuance and in variety. One of the performers influential in bringing about this change was Nakamura Nakazō (1735-1790), who created such still popular dances as *Shitadashi Sanba*, *Modori Kago*, *Futa-omoto* and *Sekinoto*.

This development parallels the development of the *jōruri* ballad music in Edo. The *tokiwazu*, *tomimoto* and *kiyomoto* ballads vied with the older Nagauta music as the accompaniment music for the dances, and entered a new phase of development. Whereas the old Nagauta songs had been lacking in a story theme, the later *jōruri* ballads developed a form of romantic storytelling, and the dances clearly took on the nature of dance-drama.

However, with the advent of the 19th century, the trend changed again, and a form in which several short pieces were strung together in a series became popular. This came to be known as the *nana-henge* (seven changes) or the *jūni-henge* (12 changes), in which one performer danced 7 or 12 different roles one after another. These roles included old and young, female and male roles, as well as animals and people of various occupations. The aim of the series of dances lay mainly in visual

pleasure. The accompanying music varied with each separate dance, and in some cases more than one type of music was used for alternate phrases within a single dance. This latter form was called *kake-ai*. The majority of kabuki dances in the repertory of today are individual parts taken from these "henge" series. The "henge" dances, due to the variety of roles, came to be a little more than the onnagata performers alone could handle, this adding impetus to the entry of male role performers into the dance field. Whereas the dance of the *onnagata* was performed with graceful movements displaying the beautiful flowing lines of the long sleeves and trailing hem of the gown, the *tateyaku* (male role) performers usually danced in a half-naked form.

With the encroachment of Western culture during the Meiji Period, a trend toward classicism was inaugurated within the kabuki, as a sort of resistance movement. This appeared in the form of the *matsubame-mono*, which were dance-dramas adapted from the *noh* drama. Opposed to this classic movement was Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935) who advocated a new dance-drama more in keeping with the modern times, and wrote libretto for many such as examples of what he had in mind. *Shinkyoku Urashima*, *Onatsu Kyōran* and others of his creation had elements in them which were unknown to the older traditional kabuki dances; and the current so-called new dance creations are all indebted to him as the inaugurator of the movement. This movement is one which utilizes the traditional techniques of the kabuki dance, and at the same time assimilates elements of the Western dance. The kabuki dance of today is thus composed of these two general categories, the old classic form of dance, and that of the latter new movement.

Structure and types of kabuki dance

The basic structure of the Japanese dance is composed of the three parts known as *Dewa*, *Nakaha* and *Iriha*. This is patterned after the *Jo*, *Ha* and *Kyu* divisions in the

old bugaku dances and the *noh* drama. However, in the later kabuki dances, these three parts are not so strictly observed. Of the *dewa* (entry or initial part) the *Tanzen*, and of the *iriha* (also called *hik-komi* in kabuki) the *Roppo* are still to be seen as special forms of entry and exit respectively.

In the dances of early kabuki, the numbers were generally performed as group numbers; but with the specialization of the dance in the hands of the *onnagata*, solo performances came to be the main form. Even when a large group came out for the performance, they seldom danced all at the same time, but took turns, coming out to the fore for their part, with the other performers lining up in the background or turning their backs in order not to intrude on the performers of the moment. The use of *tenugui* or towel and fans are another special feature of the dance of Japan.

In the performance of a kabuki dance number, the initial portion is called *oki* in which the stage is empty of actors, and the narrative singers with their music present the introductory part. Then the performer appears from the *hanamichi* passageway, and dances what is known as the *shinuki*, a solo introductory performance in which the character of the role is amply shown. The central or "nakaha" portion then follows; in cases when the role is female, this takes the form of a *kudoki*, in which the dancer acts out a woman's love passion, and when the role is male it takes the form of *monogatari* in which the performer recounts and mimes in dance a battle episode.

The final portion is a fast part called *chirashi*, after which follows the exit by way of the *hanamichi* passage, or the drawing of the curtain over the performer's picture-like immobile pose called *mie*.

There is also a category known as *michi-yuki* which depicts in dance form the travel from one site to another. The *michi-yuki* dances exist in such abundance that they form a category by themselves. The same term *michi-yuki* is also sometimes ap-

plied to a short phrase within a number during the performer's entry by way of the *hanamichi*.

The majority of classic kabuki dances can be divided into categories by their subject material. The kabuki dance tends to take the same subject matter and use it over and over again in different forms, thus resulting in the creation of a somewhat stereotyped form or category. For instance, at the beginning of a program of classic drama or dances, or at any ceremonious fete, it is the custom to present the *Sambasō* as the initial number. This *Sambasō* is one of the characters that appear in the *noh* *Okina*. This role was taken into the kabuki as an independent dance number, and became popular because of its light, humorous aspect. This gave rise to the creation of a rash of *sambasō* numbers; *Kotobuki Sambasō*, *Shitadashi Sambasō*, *Ayatsuri Sambasō*, *Ninin Sambasō* and others forming what is known as the *sambasō-mono* category. This is also known as the *Shūgi-mono* or felicitous numbers, in which case such numbers as *Tsuru-kame*, and *Matsuno Midori* are also included.

Dances derived from *noh* drama themes make up other categories, such as the *dōjōji-mono* which are based on the *dōjōji* theme, and *shakkyō-mono* which are based on the *noh* *shakkyō* and is a form of the lion-dance. Again there is the *kyōran-mono* which portrays the madness brought about by lost love, and which reflects the influence of the 'mad women' of certain of the *noh* drama. In this group there are such dances as *Onatsu Kyōran*, *Chūzō Kyōran*, *Yasuna*, *Wankyū* and others. The emphasis in these dances is not on the frenzy of madness but on the beauty of the world of fantasy in which the mad spirit is roaming.

Next there is the *onryō-mono* category which depicts a ghost or some other form of supernatural being. Again, in this case, the emphasis is on beauty. *Asamaga-dake*, *Dōjōji* and *Futa-omote* fall in this group and show ghosts of the human spirit; but aside from these there are also dances which

portray the spirit of the crane, of ducks, butterflies and other such creatures.

The *fūzoku-mono* is a sort of genre-picture dances which depicts the colorful street scenes of the era, and provides a sketch of the life and occupations of the townsmen commoners. Boatmen, candy-sellers, monkey-handlers, *manzai* players (a type of street entertainers) are examples. The

sairei-mono group depict the scene at the time of the gay shrine festivals, *Sanja-Matsuri*, *Kanda-Matsuri*, *Kioi Jishi* being outstanding examples.

Aside from the above, there are also many other groups or categories, such as the *matsukaze-mono*, *tanzen-mono*, *hyōshi-mono*, *yakko-mono* and others.

Folk Dance

In Japan, the terms "folk dance," "folk entertainment," "provincial arts" and such, are used to include a wide field, ranging from primitive forms of folk entertainment which were born directly from the daily life of the populace, to the corrupted forms of such city-theater genres as *bugaku*, *noh*, *kabuki* and the *jōruri* doll theater. Religious rites, festivals and annual holiday celebrations are included in this classification; and here, we shall take into consideration only such dances as were performed in farming and fishing villages as an extension of daily life, disregarding those derived from the city theater, and such miscellany as mere street-side entertainment shows.

Among such folk dances, the majority have some religious significance, and may be broadly classified as *jinji-mai* (shrine dances) and *butsuji-mai* (temple dances), that is, dances respectively of the Shintō and Buddhist religions. Later, certain forms developed from these formerly religious rituals, which took on more of the nature of pure entertainment.

Folk dances were performed as a part of the rites in observance of the annual holidays which formed an important phase in the life of the people, such as New Year's, Year's End, the midsummer all-souls day, festival days or worship days of the shrines and temples and other such specific dates, as well as on special occasions such as death and birth, weddings, the commencement of construction of a building, and other felicitous events. Among the former there are the *hayashi-mai* of New Year, the *ta-asobi*, *enburi*, *bon-odori*, *hōnen-odori*, *tairyō-odori*

and the like, while among the latter there are dances such as the *sakana-mai* and *jun-no-mai* which are performed within the house of the celebrator. There are also the *hashira-date*, *kiyari*, and *sansa-shigure* dances, as well as the *amagoi-odori* (rain-invocation dance), the *hōnen-odori* (harvest dance) and *tairyō-odori* (fish-haul celebration dance) which were performed both regularly and on special occasions.

These folk dances were performed both outdoors and indoors depending on the occasion. There are some instances such as the *Shichifuku-jin* (Seven Gods of Luck) and *ta-ue-odori* (rice planting dance) of Fukushima Prefecture, and the *shishi-mai* (lion-dance) which are performed outdoors at street corners, on the roadside or in the precincts of shrines or temples, followed by a parade through the streets and dancing indoors as well.

There are many forms of such folk dance. The *oneri*, *gyō-dō* and *neri-kuyō* take the form of a parade, while the *setsu-jō-e*, *teko-mai*, *shishi-mai*, *Awa-odori*, *Ise-odori*, *nem-butsumai* and the like move from one site to the next, repeating the performance. Dances performed at one specified site, with the performers dancing in a circle, is represented by the *bon-odori*.

The *kake-odori* is a term applied to an old custom in which one village may "challenge" a neighboring village by sending its performers there, in which case the second village must make a "return" performance. Again, there are instances when a dance is "sent off" in a similar manner from one village to the next in turn. In most cases,

these dances are of the *fūryū* dance category.

In some cases special stages are prepared for the dance performances; but there are also instances when any site will suffice. Sometimes the dances are performed on straw mats laid on the ground; and there are some cases in which a special site is made by enclosing a square space with bamboo marking the four corners and sacred ropes and paper festoons strung around the site, as in the case of certain of the *shishi-mai*. There are also examples of earth stages and stone platforms, while in Itoligawa a type of collapsible stage is used. There are also instances where movable platforms are used, such as the *dashi-butai* (float-platform) of the "oyama-bayashi" performance of Akita, or the boat-platforms.

The performers are for the most part male, the dances in this case reflecting old religious practices and the customs of the *wakashū-gumi* (young men's groups) of the old feudal period, and including such dances as the *Kashima-odori*, *Usudaiko*, *bō-odori*, *tachi-odori*, *yakko-odori*, *ara-odori en-buri*, *amagoi-odori*, *nembutsu-odori*, *shishi-mai* and the like. On the other hand there are some dances which are performed exclusively by women, as the *Ayako-odori* and the *Zenitaiko-odori*. The *Komachi-odori* and *Chakkirako* were performed by little girls, while the *Shiramatsu-odori* was performed by children. A special characteristic of the popular *bon-odori* dance is that young and old, men and women, all take part in it; but even in this, there are some instances when there are certain requirements, such as that the individual must be the eldest son, of a certain age, and unmarried.

Again there are certain dances which are performed only by people of specified occupations, such as *miko* (female medium), *negi* (Shintō priest) or *sōryo* (Buddhist priests).

As for the music, drums and various types of flutes form the core, with the *tsuzumi* (shoulder drum), *shamisen* (three-

stringed instrument) and the *shō* (gong) being added at times. Other special instruments as the *yotsutake*, *sasara*, *kikiriko*, *zeni-taiko*, and *suzu* are also used at times. For instance the *shishi-mai* (lion dance) utilizes the *sasara*, and the *shō* is used in the *nembutsu-odori*.

In some cases the dancers and the musicians are separate; in others, the performers play the instrument as they dance, this latter being one of the special features of the folk dance. The *Usu-daiko*, *Men-furyū*, *shishi-mai*, *Zenitaiko-odori* and the like are examples.

Some dances are entirely without song-words; but there are also some, like the *nembutsu-odori* which are accompanied by songs. Also, there are dances such as the *Yagi-bushi* and the *bon-odori* of *Shiraishijima* which are performed to the accompaniment of a *kudoki* type of ballad in the nature of a simple narrative.

Objects used by the performers during dances may be divided broadly into two types, objects which are taken directly from daily life, such as the *tenugui* (cotton towel), hoe, sedge-hat, basket, plates, scythe, the fan, wooden hand-tub and the like; and those objects which are specially prepared for decorative use during the performance, such as the folding fan, bamboo branches, flower-decorated straw hats, decorative parasols, swords, sticks and the like. Apparel also vary with each instance; in some, the rough field clothes or light cotton summer *kimono* of an informal nature are used, while there are also many cases in which the performers take out their holiday best for the occasion. In the latter case, hoods, headbands or sedge-hats may also be used. Again, there are some cases in which special costumes are used, with grotesque makeup or masks being applied.

Other types are dances in which youths dress up as women for the performance, as in the *Kashima-odori* of *Ōgōchi*; and the opposite in which women dress like men, as in the *Sōburen* dance of Kagoshima Prefecture.

Jinji-mai (Shintō ritualistic dance)

Broadly speaking, the so-called *jinji-mai* includes all those dances performed as Shintō rituals, and in this respect, almost all of Japan's public entertainment forms may be said to have originated as a form of *jinji-mai*.

The *kagura* is the most obviously ritualistic dance today, and include such dances as the *hōhei-no-mai* which is performed by the Shintō priest at the time of a ritualistic festival, and is a simple dance accompanied by drums which is performed immediately after the priest has intoned the *norito* prayer and made his offering before the altar. Another example is the *miko-mai* which is a dance performed by the *miko* (virgin shrine attendants). Examples of this may be seen in the performances at the shrine of Mionoseki in Shimane Prefecture, at the Grand Shrine of Izumo, and several other shrines throughout the country.

Among the *miko-mai*, there are a few with special features, such as the dance performed at the time of the *yutate* ritual, in which the *miko*, holding branches of the bamboo-grass in both hands, dances at a furious pace around a huge kettle of boiling water, to the accompaniment of the music of flutes and drums. The branches are dipped in the hot water, the water then being sprinkled in all directions, as a purification rite. There is also a type of *miko-mai* in which the dance is a sort of charm for appeasing the wrath of the fire-spirit.

The *azuma-asobi* and *yamato-mai* dances which are still performed at various shrines throughout the country, originated as native folk dances in the ancient era, and were later incorporated into the *gagaku* of the Imperial Court, thus taking on a more refined and elegant nature.

The songs which are sung as accompaniment for these various *jinji-mai* are known as *jinji-uta*. There are also *jinji-uta* which are sung without dances. The *jinji-uta* are generally chanted by priests of the

Shintō order, one of its characteristics being that the songs begin with a verse to greet the god's coming, and ends with a verse sending the god off.

When the *jinji-mai* is performed by the *miko*, it is customary for the *miko* to wear special apparel called the *omi-goromo* and *kata-dasuki*. A branch of the sacred *sakaki* is held in the hand, or perhaps a branch of the bamboo grass, or a wooden dipper. The movements of the dance include the *shihō-gatame* in which the performer circles the four corners, and also involve much stamping of the feet, these being of significance as charm rites.

The *tsurugi-no-mai* or *tachi-odori* which are also danced by the *miko* and are performed with the drawn sword in the hand, are not of a war-like nature, but are performed as magical performances to subdue evil forces, this also being a form of Shintō ritual. These ritualistic dances are performed in the shrine worship hall, or in special halls or stages within the shrine, or in the shrine grounds. But there are also occasions when they are performed from door to door in the neighborhood.

Similarly, the *shishi-mai* (lion dance) was performed as a charm against evil spirits. Some *shishi-mai* were performed only on special festival days; some took part in the festival parade; some were performed from door to door, as for instance the *shishi-mai* of the new year season. Actually, there are two general categories of the *shishi-mai*. One has its origin in a form of the *gigaku* masked dances which were transmitted to Japan during the Nara Period as a Buddhist ritual, and the *shishi* in this case referred to the lion, an animal non-existent in Japan itself. The other has its origin in a dance belonging to the native *fūryū-odori* dances, and in this case the animal represented is the deer or the boar. In the former, a lion-head form is worn over the head, with two or more performers under a length of cloth, forming the body of the animal; while in the latter, one performer represents one animal, three of such making up a group, with each performer dancing while beating drums.

In either case, the *shishi-mai* is performed both for Buddhist and Shintō rituals, and is to be found in wide distribution throughout the nation. Also, the New Year *shishi-mai* in which performers go from door to door begging alms, is a corrupted form of the ritualistic dance.

This was performed to the music of drums and flutes; and the lion-head was handled so that it wiggled its ears and opened and closed its mouth, this suggesting that the animal was biting and swallowing away all disease and evil. This type of *shishi-mai* was danced by street-side performers of the Edo Period, known as the *dai-kagura*.

Butsuji-no-mai (Buddhist rite dance)

The ritualistic dances which were performed at the Buddhist temples varied with the ages. In the 7th and 8th centuries the *gigaku*, in the 9th and 10th centuries the *bugaki*, and during the later mediaeval age the *en-nen* dances were performed. The *shishi-mai* is related to the *gigaku* of the eighth century, as is the *Nijūgo-bosatsu-raigō-e*, which is still performed today. In this latter ritual, 25 Bodhisattvas are represented, and they enact the welcome extended to men entering Paradise. The 25 performers wear special masks and costumes and parade through the streets. An example of this ritual is to be seen at Taima-dera Temple in Taima village of Nara Prefecture, performed annually on May 14th. Representatives from the sect organizations in neighboring villages are chosen to represent the 25 saints, who cross over a specially constructed bridge to symbolize their coming to this world from the other world. Then they return again to Heaven taking with them the spirit of Princess Chūjō-hime, whose legend is closely tied in with the history of the Taima-dera temple.

Similar rituals are to be seen also at Kongōsan Temple and Kume-dera Temple, both of Nara Prefecture, at Dainembutsu-dera and Konryū-ji Temples of Osaka Prefecture, at Seiren-ji Temple in Mie

Prefecture, and at Dainen-ji Temple in Nagano Prefecture. In Tokyo, the so-called *omen-kaburi* held at Jyōshin-ji Temple (also known as Kuhonbutsu), held once every three years on August 16th, 17th and 18th, is also a form of this same ritual.

In most of the other forms of the Buddhist ritual dances, the *oni* or demon appears in one form or another. The *Tsuina* is still performed to this day at various temples throughout the nation, these being dances in which the demon is vanquished. In the *oni-mai* performed at Kōsai-ji Temple in Chiba Prefecture, a stage is constructed before the main hall, to the left of which a tower is built to represent the mountain to which men go after death. The demon-gods of the under-world, *Enma-daiō*, *Gushō-shin*, *Aka-oni*, *Kuro-oni*, *Onibaba*, the god of mercy *Kannon*, and dead men are represented by masked performers who enact a scene of the nether world.

In the *hotoke-no-mai* performed at Henshō-ji Temple in Wakayama Prefecture, performers representing a priest, a Bodhisattva, the dragon princess, a canopy bearer, a jewel-bearer and the dragon king, make their appearance, and enact a portion of a legend in which the dragon king's daughter becomes a Bodhisattva.

In the *Ushi-matsuri* performed at Uzu-masa Kōryū-ji Temple in Kyoto in the night of October 12th, the god *Madara-shin* is represented as appearing together with four demons, and he reads incantations for driving away evil.

Aside from these, there are the *Hanaeshiki* of Yakushiji Temple of Nara, the *Dada-oshi* of Hasedera Temple in Nara, the *Oni-hashiri* of the Nembutsu-ji Temple of Ōtsu, the *Injyō-nembutsu* of Kami-dera in Echigo, all of which are rituals of a similar nature. One such ritual which is particularly well-known as a masked-dance is the *dai-nembutsu* of Mibu Temple in Nara, popularly called *Mibu-Kyōgen*. This is still performed today, as is a similar ritual at the *Enma-dō* of Senbon. Another similar dance was formerly performed at Saga Seiryōji Temple; but this is no longer to be seen.

Mibu kyōgen

The *Mibu Kyōgen* is a sort of pantomime performances. It was formerly performed from April 21st for a period of 20 days; but now it is limited to one week from the same date. The music is made up of the gong, drum, and flute, and is of a simple monotonous nature. There is no elocution, the entire performance being in mime, of which a portion is in dance form. It seems that at first the program consisted of monkey acts, in which trained monkeys crossed ropes strung across the front of the main hall; but later the *kyōgen* farce and *noh* dances came to be incorporated in the program. Miracles ascribed to Buddha, and various fairy tales and legends were enacted, and the performance was transferred to the Nembutsu Hall to the northeast of the main hall. The performers are Mibu villagers who are said to be the descendants of the famous priest Engaku-shōnin of the mediaeval age, together with others who came to the village later.

The repertory as it exists today is composed of thirty numbers, including the monkey performance, the *Oketori*, *Asahina*, *Kitsune-tsuri*, *Momijigari*, *Yutate*, *Gakizainin*, *Saru Zatō*, *Aoinoue*, *Nawanai*, *Gakiseme*, *Hama-ori*, *Gaki-zumō*, *Dōnen*, *Yamabana-tororo*, *Oharame*, *Kanidon*, *Dōjōji* etc. This *mibu kyōgen* exerted considerable influence on the pantomime *sato-kagura* which is still performed today at shrines in Tokyo.

The *bon-odori* is also a type of *butsu-ji-mai*, but is to be found in wide distribution as a popular folk dance.

Bon-odori

The *bon-odori* is a dance performed at the time of the *urabon* festival which is one of the main Buddhist festivals, playing on July 15th of the lunar calendar, now generally observed in August. Everyone, regardless of age or sex, joins in the dance which is held in the shrine grounds or a public square. In most cases, a high stage is constructed, on which the musicians take

their places, while the people dance around the stage in a ring. In some regions, elaborate costumes are used. Songs are often of a spontaneous nature, or in the nature of a chorus sung by the crowd. In the 17th and 18th centuries, ballads called *kudoki-bushi*, relating famous legends or stories, became popular. In this, the ballad leader on the elevated stage sang one long verse after another, with the crowd joining in for a rousing chorus section. Again, there was a custom called *nagashi*, *zomeki* or *bon-yatsushi* in which groups of people trooped to various quarters at their will, dancing as they pleased.

The *bon-odori* is generally thought of as being dances performed to entertain the spirits of the ancestors who are visiting the earth during the *bon* festival season, or as dances to send them off again to the other world at the end of the festival. However, the truth seems to be that they originated mainly as folk dances in which prayers or incantations were chanted, performed to the striking of gongs, drums and gourds, known as the *nembutsu-odori*, and later influenced by such folk dances as the *Komachi-odori* and the *Ise-odori*. There is also a controversial theory that it may have originated as a form of the *uta-gaki* in which men and women gathered at a certain site on a designated date and danced and made merry, often with sexual license. Although this is now disputed, there are some regional *bon-odori* which seem to retain such elements from a past age.

Ta-ue odori (rice planting dance)

The *ta-ue odori* is also known as *emburi*, *haruta-uchi* or *saotome-odori* depending on the region. This is an invocational dance for the purpose of praying for a good harvest of rice, Japan's staple food product. It is a rite based on the principle of sympathetic magic, and is the old *ta-asobi* (rice-planting rites) formalized into a dance form. It is to be seen most widely distributed in the Tōhoku region, and is

generally held in a room of the sponsoring house, or in the yard.

The *emburi* of a certain region in Aomori Prefecture is of a specially unusual nature, with the performance being centered around a group of three or five dancers who wear beautiful pictured head-pieces and carry clappers and plow-heads in their hands. In the other more orthodox form, the dance is centered around several *saotome* (rice-planting maidens) wearing flowered straw hats, and holding *sasara* (bamboo sticks rubbed together to mark the rhythm), fans or bells in their hands, with other performers including boy announcers and drummers. In some cases the entire routine of rice cultivation is enacted, while in others only the rice-transplanting by the *saotome* is enacted, but in either case, the ritual is carried out to the accompaniment of old rice planting songs and folk songs sung by the accompanists. In some regions, the *hayashi-mai* which is danced to the shouts and songs of the onlookers and is a comical mime, or the *manzai* which is generally performed from door to door at New Year's, or the *ji-kyōgen*, a sort of farce play, are performed between the actual rice-planting ritualistic dances.

Amagoi odori

The *amagoi-odori* is a dance performed among the agricultural folk at times of drought, as a prayer for rain. When the prayer is answered, an *orei-odori* or dance of thanks is offered afterwards.

In the *amagoi-odori*, the performers generally wear a drum strapped to their breast. The sound of the drums and gongs are used to represent thunder, this sound thought to be provocative to rainfall. The *shide* or the strips of colored paper that are hung from the headwear of the dancers represent rain, while the sound of the *sasara* or bamboo sticks rubbed together, represents the sound of frogs croaking for rain. This is also a form of the so-called sympathetic magic.

In regions of east Japan, the *amagoi-odori* is incorporated into the *shishi-mai*. In the suburbs of Tokyo, the *hō-ō mai* in

which the performers costume themselves as the imaginary *hō-ō* or phoenix bird, is a form of *amagoi-odori*, as are a number of the *fūryū* dances prevalent in many districts.

Again, the *ryū*, an imaginary dragon, was thought to be responsible for rainfall, and it was believed that dancing with the *bugaku* mask of the *Ryū* king would precipitate rainfall. Dances performed with masks of frogs, or dances performed circling around a captive crab, or feting certain stones and waterfalls were also believed to help bring rain.

Among these *amagoi-odori*, there are some which are performed only once in many years at the time of a specially bad drought. In such cases, the dance portion alone is enacted on a small scale at the annual festival, in order to retain the traditional form.

Hōnen odori

The *hōnen-odori* is a dance performed to celebrate a good harvest, and is conducted by the youths and maidens of the community, generally at some time near the bon festival, in connection with the village *yomiya* festival. In most cases, the event is celebrated by the dancing of the *bon-odori* of each respective village. The rites of thanks after a fall of rain following an *amagoi-odori*, is also called *hōnen-odori* in some cases, as is the dance of the autumn festival, which in most cases is tied in with the harvest celebration.

Again, there are *hōnen-odori* which are performed as a preliminary blessing to invoke a good harvest for that year. Such rites are generally held during the New Year season; and in old Japan, this preliminary rite was considered of more importance than the autumn festival. The autumn harvest festival is a practice which came into being after the 16th or 17th century.

Ainu dances

The Ainu dances are performed by the Ainu people who live mainly in Hokkaidō, at the time of their Bear Festival in which

a bear is killed and sent to Heaven, or at other festivals and celebrations, and at times of village calamities when the dances are held for the purpose of frightening away the evil spirits that caused the misfortunes. There are several forms of these dances:

Tapukaru

This is performed by the old patriarchs of the tribe at celebrations. The long-haired patriarchs stand in turn and weave back and forth while lifting their arms in a form of supplication or prayer, and emitting strange calls from time to time, called *sake-hau*. At times, spontaneous prayers or felicitous phrases are chanted.

This is performed by the old men in turn; but at times the men are followed by one or two old women who clap their hands, or who hold a wine cup in the left hand and a *higebera* (a carved piece of wood about 8 inches long) in the right hand, and scatter drops of *sake* around, shouting "Au'cho!" or "Au'ho!". This performance by the old women is called *Ie Tapukaru*.

The above are forms which are to be seen in Shiraoi and Chikabumi in Hokkaidō. In Kushiro Harutoku, the elderly patriarchs perform with the young men propping them up or taking their hands, this dance being considered one of the highest forms of the Ainu dance.

Upopo

The word means to sing lustily together. On festival night, the women gather in a corner of the meeting room and arrange themselves around two or three wooden box covers which they beat with the palms of their hands, in time to the music which is sung by all. At first the songs are sung in unison; later two groups are formed, and the songs are sung as a round. Sometimes a man of long experience acts as leader for the songs, the others joining in. There are several kinds of songs, some being merely exclamatory words in chorus, and some having words with such meanings as "The god has descended from the eastern sky to the top of the hill", or "A beautiful music is heard by the hill". Such short phrases

are repeated over and over until the leader introduces a new song. As the number of participants increase and enthusiasm mounts, the people stand up and circle leftwards, singing "Let's stand up!" "Start to dance!" and other such phrases, dancing in a manner similar to the *bon-odori*, but changing the hand gestures more in this case, instead of repeating the same series as in the *bon-odori*.

There are two general ways in which these hand gestures are determined. Two men within the dancing circle act as leaders, and during the course of a song, they go through many varied hand gestures, which the rest of the dancers imitate accordingly. The tempo is gradually increased, and then calmed down again, in time to the clapping of hands. This process is repeated. There are several groups of hand gestures, but there is no set order in which they must be performed, this being left to the discretion of the leader.

In the other method, a single set motion is performed over and over during the course of a single song, the dance gestures being changed when the song changes. The gestures themselves are in the main similar to those of the other case.

The portions which is danced in this manner is known as *Rimuse*.

Rimuse

In the Saru region of Hidaka the same is known as *Horippa*. However, in Chikabumi of Asahikawa and other regions in the northern half of Hokkaidō, this portion is not differentiated from the preceding part, and is known simply as *Upopo*. In Sakhalin, the entire performance is known as *Hechiri*.

Nyenapukashi

This is a name given to a parade which is conducted as a form of exorcism. When there has been a drowning, or some other accident or calamity, the village chief leads a group men all with drawn swords, shouting "Fuo! Fum!" The women follow behind brandishing sticks and shouting "Ho-i! Ho-i!" The group forms a single file parade and advances forward step by step,

each step being set with purposeful strength. This parade is said to be for the purpose of intimidating and defeating evil spirits.

Pantomime Dance

The Ainu of *Harutori* possess several pantomime dances in which a large group of people sit in a circle beating time, to which eventually one or two performers stand up and perform the dance. There are the fox dance, bird dance, crane dance and others among these pantomime dances.

Arafutsukun

This is a weird dance in which two groups of performers face each other, and bending their bodies backward and forward, they continue to dance furiously in time to the clapping rhythm of the onlookers, until someone or other on either side falls in a faint.

The Dances of Ryūkyū

The dances of Ryūkyū, this is, Okinawa, are rich in unique features, and moreover there is a wealth of such native dances. There are two general kinds, the classic dance and the folk dance. The former is called *kansen-odori*, and is a dance which was performed at the coronation of the Ryūkyū ruler as a welcome to the envoy that came for the occasion from China. A portion of the *kansen-odori* known as *kumi-odori* was created by Tamagusuku Chokun, who was the founder of the Ryūkyū national theater. The *kumi-odori* is in the form of the *noh* of Japan, and has as its themes, stories taken from the mythology of the Ryūkyūs. The separate dances within the *kumi-odori* are also sometimes performed as independent numbers. Such dances as *Nidō Tekiuchi*, *Mekarushi*, *Shūnen Kaneiri*, *Temizu no En* and *Banza Tekiuchi* are listed among the repertory. These *kumi-odori* are a form of dance drama.

As for the folk dances, these are dances which had later been developed and perfected by some fine dancer. In Okinawa, they are classified into the *rōjin-odori*, *wakashū-odori*, *nisai-odori*, *onna-odori* and *zō-odori*. Each group has several numbers

within its repertory. The *rōjin-odori* is performed by old men wearing a hood and holding a fan, to the music called *Kajatefū-bushi*. It is a ceremonious form of dance, and is always performed at the beginning of a program of a group of numbers.

The *wakashū-odori* is performed by boys wearing brilliant costumes, to the accompaniment of *Koteibushi* music. The *nisai-odori* is the dance of the youths, who wear ceremonial crested garments and pleated skirts, cloth leggings and headbands, and perform a spirited dance to the beating of drums. The songs for this dance are called *Nobori Kuzetsu* and *Sagari kuzetsu*.

The *onna-odori* is performed by women wearing elegant costumes, and holding in their hands *segde* hats, wooden clappers, spindles and the like, technically this is the most difficult dance in the group. Among the repertory there are *Inoha-bushi*, *Yotsudake-odori*, *Shodon-bushi*, *Kasekake-odori* and others.

The *Zō-odori* is a fast-tempoed dance based on folk songs. Among the more popular numbers in this group there are *Hatoma-bushi*, *Amagawa-odori*, *Tanchame-bushi*, *Hamachidori-bushi*, *Hanafū*.

The Ryūkyū dance is divided into three parts, *Dewa*, *Nakaha* and *Iriha*. The *Dewa* refers to the portion from the entry of the performer until the moment when he reaches his prescribed position. The *Nakaha* is the portion of the dance proper, and the *Iriha* is the exit portion.

Some of the dances are performed to songs, some to just instrumental music. The *odori* dances are performed to a set pattern of movements, but the *mai* dances are performed freely as the emotions dictate. The *jabisen* is the main musical instrument, with drums added. Also a type of harp may be played, and mouth-whistles may also be used.

There are great variety of folk dances, with each island having its own special forms. The occasions for dancing are village festivals such as the August dance, the seed-gathering festival, the *Mō-asobi*, *Sangatsu-asobi* and such in which the youths and young maidens of the village enjoy outdoor outings. Some of the dances

are mixed boisterous affairs, some are danced in pairs of male and female partners.

In Yaeyama, at the time of the October seed-gathering festival, a dance and song fete is carried on for two days and two nights. Again, at the *angama bon* festival, the entire village joins in a masquerade dance. The *Kuicha-odori* of Miyako-jima Island is performed by men and women of all ages, who sing as they dance. Hands are clapped in time to the songs, but no musical instruments are used.

In all the islands of the Ryūkyū group, dances are performed at village fetes. Particularly, the harvest festival held in

lunar August to pray for a good harvest and for peace, is joined in by all members of the village, with dance after dance being performed. The fan dances of children, the stick-weilding dance of the youths and adult men, the dance-drama, the *shishi-mai*, the *Miroku-odori* and others are performed.

The *bon* is celebrated too, called *Shichigatsu Eisa*. On this day, the young men and women dance together in groups and go from door to door. Aside from these, there are also the *amagoi-odori* (rain dance), and the *usudaiko* dance which is performed by groups of women.

Division of Drama in Japan

The history of drama in Japan covers a long period of over 1300 years, and may be divided into four general periods as follows:

First period: From ancient times to the end of the Heian Period (794-1191), in which the *bugaku* was perfected and formed the basis of the ancient drama.

Second period: The Kamakura and Muromachi periods (1192-1602) during which *noh* was perfected.

Third period: The Edo Period (1603-1867), in which the *Jōruri* doll theater and the *kabuki* were perfected.

Fourth period: From the Meiji Restoration to the present (1868-), a transitional period with a great number of theater genres in existence, both old and new.

As can be seen from the above each of the first three periods had its respective theater form, *bugaku* in the first period, *noh* in the second period, and *jōruri* and *kabuki* in the third period. But in the fourth period following the Meiji Restoration, there is no specific theater form which might be called the representative theater of the age. The sudden influx of Western culture brought with it the influence of the modern theater of the west; but although this new trend saw some development, it hardly forms a true core, and the age seems to be one of transition in which various

forms exist in confusion. The old traditional theater forms exist side by side with translated foreign drama productions, with the two genres sometimes to be found in a strange combination. Let us see then, how all these various theater genres as they exist today in Japan, came into being.

In the ancient age, drama as we know it today did not exist, being in the main primitive dances or mimed performances which had their origin in religious or ceremonial rites. Traces of these old forms may be seen in the *jinji-mai* and the folk dances that still exist in the various districts of Japan. These are all pre-drama forms.

From about the middle of the fifth century, intercourse was initiated between Japan and the advanced nations such as Korea and China culturally. From this association, the *gigaku* (a form of masked dance), *bugaku*, *sangaku*, and other various forms of dance and music came to be imported into Japan.

Gigaku was introduced into Japan by way of Pokche (present-day Korea) in the early part of the seventh century, and it is recorded that *bugaku* also was performed at the Japanese court in a period not much later. *Sangaku* too is believed to have been introduced to Japan at approximately the same time.

The music and dance forms which were in this way transmitted to Japan from the continent during the Nara Era were patronized by the ruling aristocratic class of the time; but during following Heian Period, due to the awakening national awareness, music, dance and the other arts, together with culture in general, began to take on more typically native characteristics. Among these principal was the Japanization of the dance in which both those of ancient native origin and those introduced from abroad were subjected to a general rearrangement, resulting in a classic refinement reflecting the elegance of the court culture of that age. This was called *bugaku*, and was established as part of the official rites of the court; hence it is retained to this day in almost the form it had at that time.

On the other hand, *sangaku*, being a more vulgar form of entertainment, lost the support of the court nobility and became popularized among the common people. It came to be called *sarugaku* from about the middle of the 11th century. This development shows that the *sangaku* too, had become entirely adapted to a Japanese form.

In the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, the power of rule passed from the hands of the aristocrats to the *samurai* or warrior class. This warrior class, in the latter part of the 14th century, perfected a stage art that was more in keeping with their own tastes; this was the *noh*. The *noh* was a poetic dance drama which had as its base the afore-mentioned *sangaku*, and also incorporated the dances called *en-nen* and *dengaku*.

The *noh kyōgen*, or *noh farce*, which is performed between two *Noh* plays, is a realistic and farcical dialogue-play, and marks the beginning of true drama as such. The *noh* and the *noh kyōgen* received the official patronage of the ruling warrior class, as a result of which these too, have been preserved to this day.

In the ensuing Edo Period, the warrior class continued to be the ruling class. However, a rapid change was occurring in the economy of the country; instead of an economy based on land ownership, a new

economy based on currency was being established. As a result, the actual power was slipping into the hands of the common people, in particular, the townsmen. Hence the taste of the townsmen became the influencing factor in the culture of the age. The theater too, felt this new influence, and from this were born the *Jōruri* doll theater and the *kabuki*.

The doll theater started out in the 15th century as a form of ballad called *jōruri*, accompanied by the *shamisen*. This *jōruri* proved immensely popular among the people, so that from approximately the end of the 16th century, the *kugutsu-mawashi*, a type of puppet play that had existed from before, was combined with the *jōruri* for the purpose of enhancing it through the addition of another visual dimension.

About 100 years later, during the Genroku period, Takemoto Gidayū (1651-1714) brought the *Jōruri* music to perfection, while playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1652-1724) caused a great development of the dramatic form, the work of these two men firmly establishing the doll-theater art. In the ensuing Kyōhō and Kanreki eras (1716-1763), the doll-theater saw its golden age; and doll handler Yoshida Bunzaburō, and playwrights Takeda Izumo, Namiki Sōsuke and others made their appearance at this time. The dolls, which had formerly been handled by one man to a doll, developed to the stage where one doll was handled by three men. Again, this same period saw the creation of the three great dramas which are considered the top three masterpieces in Japanese dramatic history, *Kanadehon Chūshingura* (1748), *Sugawara Denju Tenarai Kagami* (1746) and *Yoshitsune Senbon-zakura* (1747). The Bunraku-za doll theater of Osaka today, is the direct descendant from the doll theater of this age.

The *kabuki* has its origin in a vulgar folk-dance called *fūryū* which enjoyed great popularity about the latter half of the 15th century. Among the *fūryū* numbers were a sensuous dance called *nembutsu-odori*, to which a professional woman dancer named Okuni of Izumo added her

own innovations in the late 16th century. This became immensely popular.

Later, elements taken from the *noh* and *noh kyōgen*, adapted to fit the more popular taste of the people, were incorporated into these stage performances, and going through various subsequent stages as *yūjo kabuki* (women kabuki), *wakashū-kabuki* (youth kabuki), and *yarō-kabuki* (men's kabuki, which reached a fair level of artistry), over a period of a little over 80 years, it emerged as a realistic dramatic theater. In the Genroku Period (1688-1703) the great actors Sakata Tōjūrō (1647-1709) in Osaka, and Ichikawa Danjūrō (1660-1708) in Edo, brought *kabuki* to the height of its first period of development. Subsequently, with the additional incorporation of various elements taken from the doll theater and other stage forms, *kabuki* entered its second period of development during the Kansei and Bunka eras (1789-1829), this bringing *kabuki* to its acme of development. And until the beginning of the Meiji Era, *kabuki* held away as the major recreation of the populace, and it developed under the intimate patronage of the common people.

In 1868 the Meiji Restoration took place; and western culture began its infiltration into the country. The people, awakening to a realization of the outside modern world after 200 years of seclusion, began to advocate a general renovation of the national culture in keeping with the times; and a cry went up for the improvement of the theater forms also. Under the progressive leadership of scholars who had been influenced by their trips abroad, the theaters and the actors were induced to produce new *kabuki* plays which were in touch with the age. Thus, the wild plots and romanticism of the former *jidai-mono* or so-called history plays of the classic category, gave way to a new, more realistic form of history play which stayed closer to actual historic facts.

This new form of history play was called *katsureki* by the people. Also in the *sewa-mono*, or plays with plots laid amid the life of the common people, a new trend came to be seen in which the life of the new era was depicted. These came to be known as the *zangiri* plays.

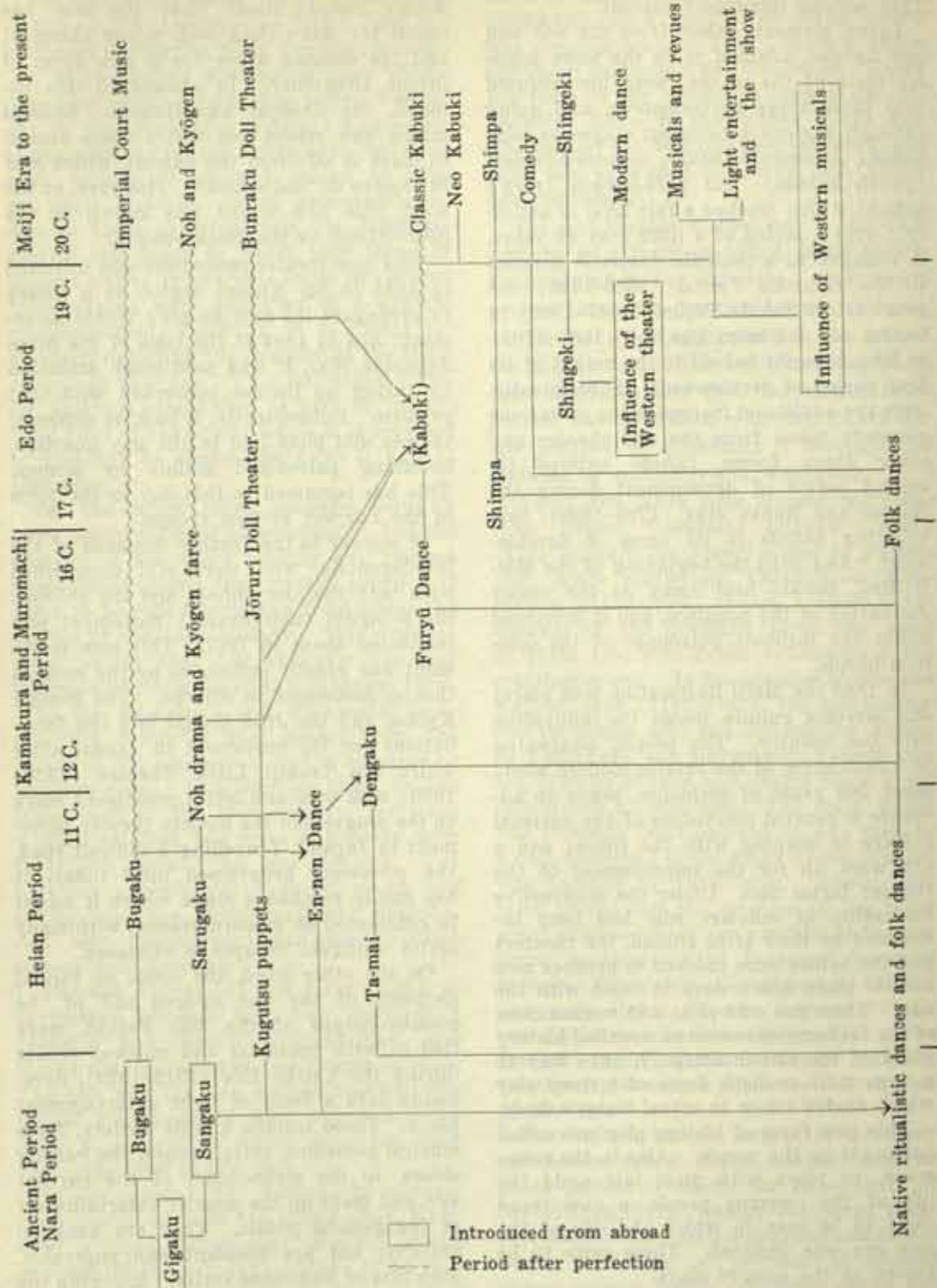
The above were changes which took place within *kabuki* itself. But the new age called for more than such minor changes; and the demand arose for a new form of drama altogether. In answer to this demand, the *Shimpa* was formed. *Shimpa* means new school and was a name chosen to mark it off from the *kabuki*, which was the *kyūha* or "old school". However, at the start, this new school was known as the *Sōshi-shibai* or the *Shosei-shibai*.

This new theater movement was initiated in 1888 in the Kansai region as a means to propagate the new people's rights movement; and in 1894 at the time of the Sino-Japanese War, it was paid much attention by taking up themes concerned with that problem. Subsequently, it took up domestic themes and plots laid in the gay quarters, becoming patronized mainly by women. This has remained to this day in the form of the current *shimpa* troupe.

In answer to the further demands of the intelligentsia, who were still dissatisfied with both the new *kabuki* and the *shimpa*, the *shingeki* (new drama) movement was instituted about in 1907. This new movement was greatly influenced by the modern theater movement in Europe. The *Bungei Kyōkai* and the *Jiyū Gekijō* laid the foundations for the movement in Japan, after which the Tsukiji Little Theater (1924-1930) took over and left a prominent mark on the progress of the modern theater movement in Japan. Travelling a difficult road, the movement progressed until today, it has finally reached a stage where it might be considered as 'modern drama', with many active 'shingeki' troupes in existence.

On the other hand, the comic or farcial elements of the *noh kyōgen* and of the *niwaka-kyōgen* of the Edo Period, were tied in with operettas and musical revues during the Taishō Era (1912-1925), developing into a form of light entertainment plays. These include a wide variety, from musical comedies, skits, revues, the variety shows, to the strip-shows of the current age, and make up the popular entertainment of the general public. They are weak on artistry, but are pleasant and enjoyable, with bits of humorous satire. Enjoying the

Development of Drama in Japan



support of the general public, this field of theater entertainment has bright prospects for the future.

As can be seen from the above, the period after the Meiji Restoration to the present is entirely one of transition, and in spite of the existence of many flourishing theater genres today, none is commanding enough to be named the representative theater of the age.

This then, in brief, is the history of the development of drama in Japan. (Details will be found in respective chapters elsewhere.)

As for the development of the form of the stage itself, the early entertainments were carried out on open lots outdoors, as may be seen in the folk dances still found in various regions in the country. In the case of performances held at shrines, the worship hall served as the stage.

The *bugaku* was the first form of entertainment to make use of a formal stage structure. The *noh* stage of the ensuing era was a development of the *kagura* and *bugaku* stages, making an addition of the *hashi-gakari* or bridgeway leading off from the stage, and also adding a roof over the stage, while at the rear end of the stage, curtains or board walls were set up, creating more or less the form we have today.

The *kabuki* which developed in the Edo Period at first made use of the *noh* stage form; but later an additional space of approximately 18 feet squared was appended, thus enlarging the stage space. The *hashi-gakari* passageway became wider; and with the development of plays which called for many scenes, the draw-curtain was invented.

At the beginning of the 18th century, the *hanamichi* or passageway came into being, and a roof was made to cover not only the stage but the entire area including the audience seats. With this, the form of the theater building came to be more or less perfected; and not much later, the revolving stage and other innovations led to the heights of *kabuki* stage development.

In 1878, the Shintomi-za Theater was built in Tokyo after the manner of the Western theater. In this, the stage which had formerly protruded into the audience pit, was made to recede behind the 'frame' of the modern stage, and such new devices as gas lamps were used.

And in 1911, the Teikoku (Imperial) Theater was built, with a thoroughly westernized form of stage, having a width of approximately 48 feet. The current *Kabuki-za* Theater has a width of approximately 90 feet.

Noh and Noh-kyōgen

Noh drama

History of Noh

The *noh* is a theater form which is descended from the *sarugaku* of the Heian Period (9th-12th centuries), which in turn was a combination of various earlier forms. In the early part of the Kamakura Period (13th century), the *sarugaku-no-noh* and the *dengaku-no-noh*, both mainly composed of primitive forms of dance, developed to a great extent, and later, in the early part of the Muromachi Period (14th century), these forms came to possess a fairly high level as stage drama. The *sarugaku* and

the *dengaku* of this period seem to have been forms fairly similar to each other; both maintained small troupes centered in regions around Kyoto for propagating their form of entertainment. Among these, the Yūsaki-za (later known as Kanze-za), which was attached to the Kasuga Shrine of Nara and which was numbered among the four leading troupes of the Yamato Area, was the most thriving. Kannami Kiyotsugu (1333-1384) of this troupe incorporated certain aspects of the *dengaku* and also the popular *kuse-mai* folk dance the *dengaku* into the *sarugaku*, causing a great development in the *sarugaku* and bringing it up to a high artistic level.

As a result, the *sarugaku-noh* of Kannami met with the favor of military regent Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and gained his patronage. Kannami's son Zeami Motokiyo (1363-1443) also showed a talent equalling his father's; and perfecting the aesthetic principles of *yūgen*, he further polished the works left by his father, creating a symbolistic stage form of the highest artistry.

After Zeami's death, other fine artists appeared in the Kanze-za; and the other *sarugaku* troupes of the Yamato Area, such as the *Komparu*, *Kongō* and *Hōshō* also acquired the patronage of the ruling warrior class, causing even further development of the *sarugaku-noh* and propagating it also among the common populace.

During the Edo Period (17th-19th centuries), the *noh-gaku*, as it came to be called, gradually became remote from the lives of the common people, and became the exclusive property of the warrior class. During the Genroku Era (1690's) the *noh* developed to a still higher artistic level, adding a dignity and solemnity to the former aesthetic elegance known as *yūgen*, thereby creating the *noh* art that we have today. If Zeami's contribution to this field is to be considered the first phase in the perfection of the *noh* art, the Edo Period must be considered the second phase. It was during the Edo Period that in addition to the *Kanze*, *Komparu*, *Hōshō* and *Kongō* groups of *noh*, the *Kita* group came into being, creating the five schools of *noh* as we have them today.

In 1868, the Meiji Restoration brought about the disintegration of the old feudalistic system, as a result of which the *noh* lost the patronage of the warrior class which had formerly been the ruling class, and went into a period of decline. However, subsequently, it managed to restore itself, and today, it enjoys the support of the intelligentsia as a classic theater art.

Noh Stage

The *noh* theater is made up of the stage, the *hashigakari* passageway to the stage, the audience section and the backstage rooms.

The *noh* stage is a platform approximately 18 feet square, constructed at a height of about 3 feet from the ground, and with four pillars, one at each corner. It is made of plain unvarnished timber and is of a very simple nature. In earlier days, the *noh* stage was an independent structure in itself, with the *hashigakari* and the dressing rooms adjoining, and the audience pit in another separate structure; however, at present, all of these sections have been consolidated under one roof, as a part of the same building.

The first things to strike the eye on entry into the *noh* theater are the *hame-ita* or backboard wall of the stage, and the roof over the stage. The roof is in the *hafu* (gabled) form of the *Irimoya* style of architecture, and is retained to this day as a relic from the days when the stage was composed of a separate structure from the audience pit. The back wall of the stage is called the *kagami-ita* (mirror-board) and has a single ancient pine painted on it, while the wall board to the right (facing the stage) has bamboo drawn on it. Adjoining the *kagami-ita* on its left is the long passageway known as *hashigakari*, with a curtain hung at an entrance at its extreme end, leading into the backstage dressing-room area. The length of the *hashigakari* is not definitely set, but is approximately three times the depth of the stage proper. As the *hashigakari* is often used by the *noh* actor to perform certain effective portions of a *noh* drama, it may be considered as an appendage of the stage rather than a mere passageway to the backstage area.

An important feature of the *noh* stage is the fact that it faces the audience on three sides; in other words, the stage thrusts itself out into the audience section. This is effective in establishing an intimacy between the stage and the audience. It may be said that in any form of drama, the ideal situation is one in which the member of the audience actually feels as if he were participating in the drama on the stage; and in many respects, the *noh* is most perfectly equipped for bringing about this ideal state.

Along the side of the *hashigakari* (on both sides when possible) are planted three small pine trees at set intervals, called respectively the first, second and third pines, counting from the stage side. The first pine is the largest, the others becoming successively smaller, this said to be an innovation to create the illusion of perspective.

The stage is separated from the audience seats by a strip laid with white pebbles. In former days the strip was an expansive area; but at present it measures a mere 2½ or 3 feet across.

Noh Stage Property

Various types of stage props are used in the *noh*. When classified according to usage, there are props which serve as background items, and others used by the performers as a part of his costume or held in the hand. These items are both of a decorative and a symbolic nature, and play a great part in the effective presentation of a *noh* play.

When classified according to form, there are the *kodōgu* which differ only very slightly from similar items used in daily life, and the *tsukuri-mono* which are of a highly symbolic and abstract nature.

The *kodōgu* are all hand articles, while the *tsukuri-mono* include such hand items as fishing rods and bows, as well as background items such as boats, palace buildings, mountains and the like. Almost without exception, *tsukuri-mono* are made of bamboo framework, wrapped around with strips of white cloth. Some few items are made partially of branches, flowers, straw, wood boards and silk. There are also several which are decorated with ribbons of a striped design mainly in red or blue. The simplicity, and the abstract, suggestive nature of these property items may be seen in the example of the cane. Whether the cane is for use by a blind person or by an aged man, the same thin bamboo stick is used, with the manner of holding and handling this stick being enough to show whether the holder is an old man or a blind man. Again, the fan plays a very important part in the presentation of a *noh* drama. Without exception, all performers

of the *noh* wear or carry a fan, and utilize it in a variety of effective ways. The fan is held whether the performer is moving or is in a stationary position. And this fan becomes at times a sword, at times an arrow, a wine cup, and countless other articles according to the circumstances.

Among the *tsukuri-mono*, the one which perhaps has the most wide usage is the *ichijō-dai*. This is a movable wooden platform of approximately 1×2 meters, and of a height of about 25 centimeters. A cloth of which the top portion and the portion hanging down the sides are of a different color or design, is used to cover the platform. When a single *ichijō-dai* is used, it may represent a royal throne, a bower, a bridge. When cherry trees or chrysanthemum plants or some such plants are stood on the four corners of the platform, it represents a mountain site; when the platform is surrounded by the *shime-nawa* or sacred rope festoons it represents a festival site; with the addition of pillars and a roof, it becomes a palace.

Another important *noh* stage property is the *kazura-oke* which is a lacquered and lidded cylindrical article, used for seating purposes. When a performer is called on to sit down during a performance, this *kazura-oke* is used in place of a chair, and it too, like the *ichijō-dai*, is used to serve a variety of other purposes.

Noh Costume

The *noh* costume, together with the *noh* mask, is an important factor in creating the symbolic elegance of the *noh* performance. The costumes are not merely 'costumes' but are actually works of art in themselves. The superb beauty of the rich costumes which we see on the *noh* stage today are patterned after those which were created during the Azuchi and Momoyama periods (16th century).

Among the *noh* apparel, representative garments are the *noshime* and the *atsu-ita* worn for male roles, and the *suri-haku* worn for female roles. Over-garments which are worn over the afore-mentioned, are the *kariginu nōshi* and *happi* among those used

for male roles, and the *chōken* and *maiginu* worn for female roles.

Other items of apparell include the *eri* (neckpiece), *koshimino* (sort of straw apron), *hachimaki* (headband) and others, all used according to established rules. As for the headpieces, there is first of all the wig which is used in the portrayal of a female character. Long black hair is divided from the center to fall to both sides, covering the ears and tied at the back. A beautiful ribbon called *katsura-obi* is used as a headband, tied at the back of the head with the long ends falling down the back. Among female wigs, there are the *naga-katsura* with long hair falling down the back, the *naga-kamoji* with long fore-locks, and the *uba-gami* for depicting an aged woman, made with a mixture of black and white hair. Among male wigs there are the *katsushiki-kazura*, representing the hair of a boy-child. It differs from the female wigs in that the *katsura-obi* ribbon is not used. There are also the *jō-gami* used for old men, made of yellowish white hair and tied into a large chignon.

Next there is the *tare* in which the hair is rather long, of two kinds, white and black. The black *tare* is used for both men and women, and the white *tare* for aged gods, and aged warriors. Then there is the *kashira* in which the amount of hair is much more abundant, of three kinds, the black, red and white, all of which are used to suggest supernatural beings.

As for the *noh* headgear, there are the *eboshi*, the *kammuri*, *bōshi*, *zokin* and others, each to be seen in varying styles.

The various articles of the *noh* costumery as mentioned above, are used in accordance with the type of drama and type of role being performed, with the manner of usage and the combination of articles to be used differing as established by complicated prescribed tradition.

Noh Mask

The *noh* mask is used by the *shite* (principal performer) and *shite-tsue* (companion of *shite*), and is called the *omote*. The *waki* or secondary performer does not utilize a mask. (The *shite* may sometimes

perform without a mask in certain numbers; this is known as *hitamen*). The *shite-tsue* utilizes the mask only when the role is that of a woman, a blind person, or some supernatural god or creature.

The *noh* mask is not merely an item in the costumery. The mask is so much a part of the beauty of *noh* that it may even be said to symbolize the *noh* art. Through the delicate movement of the *noh* mask, it is possible to create a superb and unique beauty. There are several special *noh* terms to describe the sensitive movements of the mask. For instance, *omote-o-tsukau* means that the mask is turned to left or right to indicate that the wearer is looking intently at some object. *Omote-o-kiru* means to turn the masked face sharply to one side, indicating attention focussed on same object, or suggesting a commanding attitude, or expressing anger. *Kumoru* means to turn the masked face down slightly to show pensiveness or sorrow. *Teru* means to turn the masked face slightly upwards, generally expressing elation or joy. In this way, the *noh* mask may be said to be the life of the *noh* art; hence, from early days, the *noh* masks have been art objects in their own right.

There are more than 100 different types or *noh* masks in use today, of complicated differentiation. Divided according to general usage, there are masks to portray the old man, the old woman, the man, the blind, the woman, gods, demons and the like.

Noh Kata

Kata is a term given in *noh* to the movements which accompany the words of the text and portray the meaning through the movements of the arms, feet and the body, and is a combination of acting and dancing. The *kata* is also performed to the musical accompaniment without text words. All the movements in a *noh* performance are highly formalized, so that each movement is a *kata* or 'form'. The *kata* for each *noh* drama has been established by long tradition, and no performer is free to change it at will. Nevertheless, the *kata* is merely the basis; and each performer must, while staying within the bounds of

the *kata*, also be able to overcome the restrictions through his own creative and artistic rendering.

The basic *kata* are those for standing, for advancing to right, to left, forward and backward. To get to the very essence, it might even be said that the upright standing position is the lone basic *kata*, the movements to either side or front and back all being transitions passing from the upright to the next upright stand. Various gestures and movements, all given special names, are combined to form the *kata*.

Noh Mai (Noh Dance)

The *noh* is made up of three parts, the chanted text, the dance and the musical accompaniment, each part being indispensable to a *noh* performance. These three elements combine to form the highly artistic achievement that *noh* exemplifies. The *mai* or dance, is therefore one element within the *noh* trinity.

The *noh* dance may be said to be a dance made up mainly of forward and backward movements. The bottom of the foot is generally placed flat on the floor, and in walking, the feet are not lifted off the floor surface, but slid forward or backward over the surface. Aside from this, and frequent stampings to mark or emphasize the rhythm, there are no other feet movements. The upper part of the body is held completely erect and immovable, and the arms maintain a certain determined position. The head, aside from infrequent sidewise or up and down movements, seldom moves from the set position. Which the pure white of the *tabi* footwear serving to heighten the visual effect, it is the above posture and movements which more than anything else creates the formal beauty of *noh*.

A movement of the arms is almost invariably accompanied with a backward or forward movement of the feet. In most cases, the movement of the feet alone serves to depict a variety of meanings. For instance, two steps backward may express disappointment, three or four steps forward may mean a heightening of excitement.

The second main feature of the *noh* dance is in its highly unique rhythm. Ordinarily, one thinks of "rhythm" as a repetition of evenly spaced accents. However, in the *noh* the rhythm is a greatly fluctuating movement, made up of uneven spacing between beats, which are nonetheless based on an orthodox evenly-spaced rhythm. The rhythm maintained by the instruments, verses and the feet movements of the dance, sometimes come together, and sometimes drift apart, and yet maintain a unity, creating a complex rhythm that is unique to the *noh*.

Noh Ji-utai and Hayashi

The *ji-utai* of the *noh* performance, that is, the chorus, perform a unique function in the *noh*. The *ji-utai* sings only certain specified portions of the text. The members do not wear costumes, neither do they enter the stage proper, but occupy a special narrow appendix to the right side of the stage, sitting there from beginning to end of the *noh* without moving from the site. They are always dressed, not in costume, but in formal crested *kimono* and pleated trousers. In other words, they do not take part in the actual depiction of the drama on the stage, but merely add to drama's effect from the sidelines.

The number of members in the *ji-utai* chorus is not set, but ordinarily about eight make up the group, sitting in two rows in their allotted section. One member who sits in the center of the rear row is the *ji-gashira* or the chorus leader. The *ji-utai* sings the narrative portions, and also much of the main portions of the entire text in which the beauty of the *noh* text achieves its height, the poetic effect being further enhanced by the musical quality of the *ji-utai*.

The *hayashi-kata* or the accompanists, like the members of the *ji-utai*, also are invariably attired in the formal pleated skirt and crested *kimono*. At a glance, the *hayashi-kata* seem to be placed outside of the stage performance. However, they are lined up at the rear end of the stage directly before the *kagami-ita* back wall, and actually form a sort of balanced background.

for the performance in the fore part of the stage.

The *hayashi* is made up of the *fue* (flute), the *ko-tsuzumi* (shoulder-drum) and the *ōkawa* (lap-drum), with an additional *taiko* (flat drum) on some occasions. The music is simple and rustic. Of these instruments, only the flute plays a tune, the other three being percussion instruments which provide a rhythmic beat but no melody. Consequently, the complicated and detailed harmonies of a kind similar to that of Western music is an impossibility. However, the simple monotony of the primitive instruments and the shrill vocal calls, are highly effective in enhancing the effect of the poetic passages of the text and creating the abstract symbolism that is peculiar to the *noh*.

Types of Roles

Noh performers are generally thought of as belonging to one of two groups, the *shite* and the *waki*. Aside from these, which may be called the first and second, or the primary and secondary proponents, there may be additional performers in a play, these being called *tsure*. The *tsure* who belong to the *shite* group are called the *shite-tsure*, while those subsidiary to the *waki* are called the *waki-tsure*. Child performers are called *ko-kata*. Aside from these, there are instances when the *kyōgen* farce performer makes an appearance between the first and second parts of a *noh* number to perform a sort of interlude portion. This completes the list of types of performers who appear in a *noh* play.

The *shite*, as afore-mentioned, is the main performer in a *noh* play. In a *noh* number which consists of two parts, the *shite* role is called *mae-shite* in the first part, and *nochi-jite* in the latter part. As a rule, both are performed by the same person.

The *shite* is not only the main performer, he is also the director and stage manager as well. The *noh* is an art that is centered entirely around the *shite* role, and all the other performers are subordinate to the *shite*, performing in such a way as to co-

operate in the creation of a harmonized unity.

The *waki* is the secondary role, the role opposite the *shite* role. However, it differs considerably from such a role in other forms of drama, due to the fact that in the *noh* the *shite* role is absolute, allowing no leeway for a truly antagonist role. Generally, the *waki* enters the stage first to await the entrance of the *shite*, and as soon as the *shite's* performance begins, the *waki* retires unobtrusively to a corner of the stage, to all appearances becoming a member of the audience, so far as participation in the performance is concerned. Consequently, the basic nature of the *waki* may be said to be in the fact that he represents the audience, and does not appear on the stage for the purpose of matching his performance against that of the *shite*. Therefore, it may be said that the *shite* is the sole unit, all other parts being subordinate to the *shite* and serving to enhance the *shite* role.

Another difference between the *shite* and *waki* is that whereas the *shite* generally utilizes a mask, the *waki* never employs one. This is due to the fact that the *shite* role may represent a god, a man, a woman, a mad person, a demon and various other roles, while the *waki* always portrays a realistic and ordinary human person. Another reason is that the mask is a highly superior element in the *noh* impersonation, and should the *waki* also make use of the mask, he would be in a position to vie with the *shite*, thus destroying the effect of the order centered around the principle of maintaining the superiority of the *shite* role.

Noh Performers

Each person, in whatever capacity, that takes part in a *noh* performance, is included among the *noh-yakusha*, or *noh* performers. They include seven specific groups; the *shite*, *waki*, *kyōgen*, *fue* (flute), *ko-tsuzumi* (shoulder drum), *ōkawa* (lap-drum), and the *taiko* (flat drum); and there is an unwritten rule that no group should intercede into the sphere of another group.

There are several schools within each of the seven *noh* capacities, each school possessing its special features.

The *shite* group provides the *shite* performer, the *shite-tsure* performer, the *kokata* (child role) and the members of the *ji-utai* chorus. Taking this *shite* group as an example, there are at present five different schools, the Kanze, Hōshō, Komparu, Kongō, and the Kita schools. The Kanze and the Hōshō *utai* or manner of singing the texts, lays great emphasis on the phrasing and the rhythm, while the Kongō, Komparu and Kita schools lay more stress in the creation of the *kata* movements, thereby being more interesting for the dance than for the music.

Two different schools within the same *noh* capacity, as for instance the Kanze and the Hōshō schools within the *shite* group, as a rule do not perform in the same number together. However, there is no restriction concerning the combination with other groups; that is, all the *shite* performers in a number must be from one *shite* school, but it does not matter which school of the flute is chosen for the performance.

As afore-mentioned, there are five *shite* schools. As for the other groups, there are three *waki* schools, two *kyōgen* schools, three *fue* schools, four *ko-tsuzumi* schools, five *ōkawa* schools and two *taiko* schools, so that any number of combinations is possible in giving a *noh* performance.

A *noh* performer becomes the disciple of a *noh* master while still a child, and studies his particular field in the *noh*. Once his professional capacity is determined, he is not free to change the school he belongs to, nor his capacity within the *noh* set-up.

Noh Repertory

It is an exception to the rule when only one *noh* number is performed at a program. From past ages, the custom has been to present a full program of five plays, in the order of (1) god play, (2) warrior play, (3) woman play, (4) the crazed person play and (5) the demon play.

The first play is the *waki-noh* play in which the *shite* appears as a god. In the *waki-noh* number, a priest enters a shrine

to worship, or stops by to visit a famous historic site, whereupon a god appears in some manifest form to relate the history of the shrine or the site. Presently the god reveals his true identity, and calls blessings of peace and prosperity on the people. At present there are 41 *waki-noh* pieces, of which *Takasago* and *Chikubushima* are particularly popular.

The second play on a *noh* program is the *shura* piece or warrior number, in which the spirit of a famed warrior of the past appears and relates battle scenes. Suffering from the fires of Hell, he comes to earth to plead with a priest to pray for him and release him from his suffering. The main point in a *shura* piece is the depiction of a battle scene, and yet in such typical *shura* plays as *Tamura*, *Yashima*, *Tadanori*, *Atsumori* and all the others within the 16 plays in this group, there is no sense of the horrible or of grizzliness, the text being in an epic style, rich in poetic delineation which creates not the horrible, but the beautiful, on the stage.

The third play is generally a woman-piece, and thereby called the *kazura-mono* (wig-play). This third play is the central number in the program, and forms the core of the performance, being composed of an elegant dance performed within the poetic atmosphere of the legend, with skillful touches of the realistic and the dramatic added. In other words, the *kazura-mono* is the category of *noh* play in which the dance and the song, the essence of the *noh* art, are the most fully utilized. The *shite* role of the *kazura-mono* plays may be a historic character or an imaginary heroine taken from classic literature, or a celestial being, or the spirit of some object. There are 39 plays in this group, of which *Hagoromo*, *Matsukaze*, *Yuya*, *Izutsu*, *Nonomiya* are among the most famous.

The fourth play on a *noh* program includes a variety of types, which do not fall in any of the other categories. In the majority of cases they are rich in dramatic features, with interesting themes which make them more readily understandable to the general audience.

Among this group are to be found several types, such as the *kyōran-mono*, *shūnen-mono*, *yūkyō-mono*, *genzai-mono*, *ninjō-mono*, and others, totalling 93 pieces, which constitute approximately one-third of the total *noh* repertory of 241 plays.

The *kyōran-mono* is a type of play in which the central character, male or female, who is suffering from a great prostrating grief, is drawn momentarily by the fleeting beauty of nature around him and dances in a half-mad state. Examples are *Sumida-gawa*, *Semimaru*, *Sotoba-komachi*.

The *yūkyō-mono* are *noh* plays of revelry in the dance, *Kagetsu* being a typical example. In the *shūnen-mono*, the main character is generally the ghost of a person who from an unrequited love or other surpassing emotion of love or hate, cannot rest in peace after death. Examples are *Kayoi-komachi* and *Motome-zuka*. In some cases of jealous love, the ghost is not that of a dead person, but the spirit of the living and passionately jealous person, as in *Aoinoue*. Sometimes a jealous spirit appears in the form of a serpent, as in *Dō-jōji*.

Ninjō-mono plays are those which deal with human emotions and pathos, and are generally of a dramatic nature, such as *Kagekiyo* and *Shunkan*.

In the *genzai-mono* the *shite* is a man, and in this particular case, the mask is *noh* used by the *shite*. He appears not as a ghost but as a living man. The theme is dramatic and tells a composite story, and unlike other forms of the *noh* play, both the *shite* and the *waki* are people who live in the same age. In other words, the *genzai-mono* does not relate an incident of the past through the lips of a ghost, but tells the story in the present tense. Examples are *Ataka* and *Kogō*.

The last number, that is the fifth number, on a *noh* program, is called the *kiri-noh-mono*. Demons and gods, the long-nosed *tengu*, sprites and spirits, ghosts and apparitions, make their appearance in the *kiri-noh-mono*. There are also some *noh* in this group which present the dance of a nobleman or by a female Buddha. The *kiri-noh-mono* is far removed from the

elegance and refinement generally associated with the *noh*, and is presented in a fast tempo, the entire effect being one of gaiety. The movements are strong and vivid and the play is created in such a manner as to hold the interest of the audience to the end. There are 51 *kiri-noh-mono* in the current *noh* repertory; *Shakkyō*, *Funa Ben-kei*, *Momiji-gari*, *Tōru*, and *Ukai* are examples.

Aside from the plays in these five categories, there is one special number which is called *okina*. This is a number which is performed on special auspicious occasions such as the New year, for the dedication ceremony for a new *noh* stage, for special congratulatory programs and the like. On such occasions, the *okina* is performed at the very beginning of the program before the other five plays. It is a ritualistic dance performed as a prayer for peace, prosperity and a good harvest. Due to this nature, it hardly is possessed of a dramatic theme; and in some parts, even the meaning of the words is unknown. It is a combination of old, felicitous dances and songs that existed at the time of *noh's* origin.

The above mentioned are all classic *noh* plays, mainly created during the Muromachi Period. After the Meiji Restoration, *noh* came to be regarded as an ancient and uninteresting theater form entirely out of touch with the modern world. As a result, there was some talk of 'improving' the *noh*, which led to the movement toward the creation of new *noh* plays. In 1916 haiku poet Takahama Kyoshi wrote *Tetsu-mon* which was a *noh* play based on a theme taken from Maeterlinck, this being one of the first artistic attempts along this line. In 1942 Kita Minoru of the Kita school, together with tanka poet Toki Zenmaro, created "Wakeno Kiyomaro" and subsequently they have produced several other successful new *noh* plays.

Noh-kyōgen

History of the Noh Kyōgen Farce

The *sarugaku*, a form of comic entertainment of the Heian Period, gradually lost its comic elements and developed into

various dance drama forms. Meanwhile, the comic elements of the *sarugaku* developed independently into another form, acquiring a polish in the process, and eventually became the realistic and comic *noh kyōgen* farce, as opposed to the abstract and elegant *noh* drama proper.

The *kyōgen* farce is performed on the same stage as the *noh* drama, and there are two general types, the *hon-kyōgen* and the *ai-kyōgen*.

The *ai-kyōgen* is performed in the middle of a two-part *noh* play; the *kyōgen* performer comes out and makes answers to queries put by the *waki* performer, usually in the role of a villager describing some feature or legend connected with the site. This type of *ai-kyōgen* is called the *katari-ai*, meaning a story-telling *ai-kyōgen*. Among the *ai-kyōgen*, there are also instances in which the *kyōgen* performer carries on a dialogue with the *shite* or *waki* performer during the drama, or in which the *kyōgen* performer accompanies either the *waki* or *tsure* performers on stage to take roles of subservience. In any case, the *ai-kyōgen* is possessed of a comic touch without the solemnity of the regular *noh* drama, and is effective in providing a contrasting lightness to offset the tragedy that forms the basis of almost all *noh* plays.

The *hon-kyōgen* is a full number in itself, performed independently between two *noh* plays. As a rule two or more *kyōgen* performers appear in these *kyōgen* plays, with some numbers calling for as many as ten performers. However, the important roles number between one and three, the others being minor roles. The *kyōgen* is a comedy or farce made up mainly of dialogue, the theme being a satire on actual society, the dialogue and the costume all being of a realistic nature. The avarice and ignorance of the large and small *daimyō* lords of the day, the depravity of the priests, the bribes and vice of the government officials...all such are brought up for satiric comment.

The portrayal of the woman in the *noh kyōgen* differs greatly from that of the *noh* drama in which the woman is depicted as being a great beauty. In the *kyōgen*

farce, the woman's character is thoroughly mundane and down-to-earth. She is a woman of the common class, acting freely as her emotions dictate. She is neither the chaste wife nor the wise mother so extolled in other drama forms.

The characters who appear in a *kyōgen* farce are simple and practical, and unendowed with too much learning or intelligence. Therefore, the *kyōgen* makes for a rustic form of humor, which due to the artistry in the presentation, escapes vulgarity, and has a special refinement of its own.

The manner of performance is simple, and realistically portrays the commoners' life, whereas the *noh* drama requires accompaniment by the flute and three types of percussion instruments as well as the *ji-utai* chorus, the *kyōgen* relies almost entirely on dialogue and mime. The text too, unlike the descriptive poetry of the *noh* drama text, is made up entirely of colloquial dialogue.

In this manner, the *kyōgen* farce is thoroughly plebian in nature, and realistic in manner of presentation, these two characteristics being its essential features. The *kyōgen* farce is often referred to specially as the *noh kyōgen*, in order to differentiate it from the *kabuki-kyōgen*, the *Teruha Kyōgen* (a form of farce which is a combination of elements taken from the *noh kyōgen*, the *kabuki* and impromptu comedies) and other such forms.

In short, the *kyōgen* is a theater form which provides a light, laughable form of popular entertainment, of a satiric or farcical nature.

Stage Props used in the Noh-kyōgen

The *noh kyōgen* stage props are generally identical with those used in the *noh* drama, although used less frequently. Moreover, there is not such a great differentiation between the *kodōgu* and the *tsukuri-mono* as in the *noh* performance. The *kodōgu*, which are small items of a realistic nature, include some which are not used in the *noh*. In some cases where almost identical *kodōgu*, such as the fan, is used, the item differs slightly in design

from that of the *noh* item. However, the difference is very small; and so far as the stage properties are concerned, there is not to be seen such a great difference between those of the *noh* and *kyōgen*, as there is in the case of the costumery and the masks.

Noh Kyōgen Costumes

Whereas the *noh* costume is rich and elaborate, those of the *kyōgen* are simple. And whereas the *noh* is aristocratic, *kyōgen* is plebian, this being mainly due to the fact that the *kyōgen* took its themes from plebian life. The *kyōgen* costumes are patterned after those of the common people of the Muromachi Era (mid-fourteenth century); however, the costumes in use now show a further refinement and stylization of the formerly purely realistic form.

Tarō-kaja, a familiar character who makes his appearance in almost every *kyōgen* farce, does not wear a mask. He wears a *noshime kimono* (material with horizontal-stripe pattern at one portion, the rest being without pattern), *kata-ginu* (sort of sleeveless over-garment with wide stiff back and shoulders) and short trousers. He carries a fan which has a design of a big turnip or other plebian and familiar object.

Another important role in the *kyōgen* plays, the *daimyō* lord, also wears a *noshime kimono*, with slightly different stripe pattern from that of *Tarō-kaja*, long trailing skirt-trousers and an *eboshi* type of headgear. The demon of the *kyōgen* farce also differs from the *noh* demon in costume; and the depiction of the *kyōgen* woman is in a particularly unique manner, with the head being wrapped in white cloth.

Noh Kyōgen Masks

The mask is not used so frequently in the *noh kyōgen* as in the *noh*. In the *noh*, a female character invariably wears a mask, but in the *kyōgen*, except for very special roles, the mask is not used for portraying women. Ordinarily, the mask is used in the *kyōgen* only for portraying non-human beings, as for instance, gods or demons, beasts such as the ox, horse or dog, or some

supernatural spirit, each of which is depicted through the use of special masks. Among human roles, only the very old man or an aged nun, or perhaps such roles as *otafuku*, which calls for specially comic features, make use of the mask.

The characteristic of the *kyōgen* mask is its realism and its touch or humor; and herein can be seen its essential difference from the mask of the *noh* drama.

Noh Kyōgen Roles

In the *noh kyōgen*, there are the *shite* and the *ado* roles. The *shite* of the *kyōgen*, similar to that of the *noh*, is the principal role, and is also called *omo* at times. However, whereas in the *noh*, the *shite* is indisputably the center of all action, the nature of the *shite* in a *kyōgen* performance is generally not so clearly differentiated from that of other lesser roles.

The *ado* role approximates the *waki* role of the *noh*, and is the secondary propo-
nent in a *kyōgen* play. Roles other than the *shite* role are referred to as the *ado* or sometimes as *tachi-shū* and when there are more than one *ado* on the stage at the same time, they are referred to as the first *ado*, second *ado*, third *ado*, and so on. At other times, characters other than the *shite* are referred to by their types, as the *shūto* (old man), *tarō-kaja* (first servant), *onna* (woman) and so on, these terms being used in place of proper names.

The term *tachi-shū* is used when an exceptionally large group appears on the stage, and refers to what is generally written as "and several others". There is no set rule as to how many *tachi-shū* may appear at one time, but the number is always uneven, and all appear dressed identically.

Tarō-kaja is the role of a servant or a member of a lord's retinue. When there is only one such role, he is called *tarō-kaja*, but when there are more, the second is called *jirō-kaja*, the third *saburō-kaja* and so on. In *kyōgen* plays with only the two characters of the lord and his servant, the *tarō-kaja* role is a very important one, and often supercedes that of the lord, becoming the *shite* role. In such a case, the role of

the lord becomes the *ado* role, but is generally referred to instead as the *shū* role.

Tarō-kaja is generally depicted as full of wit, performing comic mime and antics. Sometimes he cleverly makes a fool of his master; sometimes he is depicted as a comically timid soul, sometimes as a rough-neck or as a foolhardy or a simple-minded person, and he is a very important and representative character in the *kyōgen* plays.

Kyōgen Schools

In the *kyōgen*, there are at present two schools, the Ōkura school and the Izumi school. Formerly there was another, called the Sagi school, but this died out at the beginning of the 20th century. The Ōkura and Izumi schools of *kyōgen*, in the same manner as the five schools of *noh*, maintain certain characteristics unique to respective school. Speaking very generally, the former is of a comparatively somber and dignified manner, the latter of a gayer and lighter air.

Kyōgen Kata

When compared with the *kata* of the *noh*, the *kyōgen kata* seems at first glance to be much less restrained. However, the *kyōgen kata* too enforces a good deal of limitation on the allowable movements in the performance of a *kyōgen* number. The *kyōgen kata*, that is, the prescribed patterns of movements, possess a charm and interest of their own, quite different from that of the *noh*. The *kata* for praying before a shrine, for receiving a gift, for serving and drinking wine and other such acts, are of course depicted with a certain amount of exaggeration. Nevertheless, as the *kyōgen* was the "modern" stage entertainment of the Muromachi Era (c. 14th century), the *kyōgen kata* serves to provide a glimpse into the manner of living among the common folk of those days.

Kyōgen Repertory

There are approximately 260 numbers in the current *kyōgen* repertory. This may be divided in various manners, for instance, according to types of characters that make

their appearance, as the *waki-kyōgen*, *daimyō-kyōgen*, *shōmyō-kyōgen*, *muko-onna-kyōgen*, *oni-yamabushi-kyōgen*, *shukke-zatō-kyōgen* and others.

Waki-Kyōgen: The *waki-kyōgen* is a *kyōgen* play which is performed after a *waki-noh* number, and is generally of a felicitous nature. For instance, *Suehiro-gari* is a representative number, in which *tarō-kaja* is sent by his master to the city to make some purchases, but comes back with the wrong thing, and is berated for his mistake. However, he sings a popular ditty that he picked up in the city, and thereby wins his master's favor again, master and servant dancing merrily together to the tune.

Daimyō kyōgen: The *daimyō kyōgen* are so called because of the appearance of a *daimyō* lord as one of the roles. Examples are *gan daimyō* in which a *daimyō* pilfers a goose from a fish store; *hagi daimyō* in which a *daimyō* who makes a false show of refinement comes to grief; *futari daimyō* in which the *daimyō* is cowed by an itinerant merchant into mining a dog and then has his clothes stolen in the bargain.

Shōmyō kyōgen (*Tarō-kaja kyōgen*): *shōmyō kyōgen* is a name given by the Ōkura school to the *kyōgen* plays which deal with lords of lesser houses than the *daimyō*. However, in the Izumi school, similar plays are referred to as the *tarō-kaja* numbers, and the servant instead of the master is the *shite* or principal role. Examples are *Bō Shibari* in which two servants with their hands tied manage nevertheless by their wits to steal drinks of their master's wine, and *Kane no Ne* in which a servant is told to go to find out about the *kane no ne* (price of gold) in Kamakura, but misunderstands the order and goes to hear the *Kane no Ne* (sound of the gongs) there instead. He returns and reports to the master by imitating the sound of the various gongs in the temple town of Kamakura.

Muko-onna kyōgen: These are the plays in which a *muko* (son-in-law) or *onna* (woman) is one of the characters. *Dontarō* is an example in which a love triangle comedy

is skillfully handled; *hanago* is a number treating with jealousy and fickleness.

Oni-yamabushi kyōgen: These are plays which deal with the *oni* (demon) or with the *yamabushi* (warrior priests). Among plays dealing with an *oni* there are *Kaminari* in which a quack doctor administers aid to the *kaminari* (thunder) that has fallen and broken its hip bone, and *Asahina*, in which the intrepid warrior Asahina dies and goes to the gates of hell, where he fights with the frightful *emma*, guardian of the Hell gates, and vanquishes him.

Among plays with *yamabushi* roles, an example is the *Kaki-yamabushi* in which someone who made fun of the *yamabushi* is meted out a punishment for his laughter.

Shukke-zatō kyōgen: These deal with the *shukke* (bonze) or the *zatō* (a blind masseur). Whereas all the priests or bonze that appear in the *noh* are invariably of great wisdom and high rank, the bonze who appear in the *kyōgen* are of a comically corrupt nature. *Fuse-Nai-Kyō* tells of a bonze who is brought to shame when he

attempts to take alms on false pretenses. *Naki Ama* tells of a bonze who is hired for services by a country farmer. The bonze hires a nun to come along and weep at certain points in his talk, in order to increase the effect; but the nun dozes through the crucial moment.

Examples of plays dealing with the *zatō* include *Saru Zatō*, *Kikazu Zatō* and others.

Other *kyōgen* performances: Aside from the above regular *kyōgen* plays, the *kyōgen* performers also perform the *Sanbasō* and *Kyōgen Fūryū*. These, together with the *noh okina* are performed at special auspicious occasions, and are considered as sacred numbers.

Besides the manner of dividing into categories as listed above, there is a manner of division of *kyōgen* farces to correspond with the five categories of *noh* plays. In this manner, the *waki-kyōgen* follows the *noh shura* category, the third category of *kyōgen* follows the third category of *noh* and so on, in the schedule of a full *noh* program.

Jōruri Doll Theater

Its history and characteristics

The first puppet dolls in Japan were those handled by roving beggars known as *kugutsu*, and are thought to have been transmitted to Japan at about the tenth century from Central Asia. The *kugutsu* were transient bands of beggar performers who travelled the countryside, the men making hunting and the handling of the puppets their trade, while the women performed dances and songs, and also sold themselves as prostitutes. In later years, these bands settled down under the custody of various shrines and temples, and it became their profession to spread the faith through the medium of their puppet plays. The most famous of such bands was the one centered at Nishinomiya (Hyōgo Prefecture). The performers carried a box suspended from their necks in which the dolls were contain-

ed, and on top of which the puppet plays were performed. These puppet handlers travelled the country with their dolls; and it is from this crude beginning that the doll theater gradually developed to the fine art that it is today.

In the early part of the 16th century, a new form of balled narrative music called *jōruri* came into being, and in the middle of the same century, the three-stringed instrument now known as *shamisen* came to be introduced into Japan by way of the Ryūkyū Islands (Okinawa). The combination of the two produced a new genre which proved immensely popular. Another forty or fifty years later, this new form of narrative music was combined with the puppet plays, creating the *jōruri* doll theater, which developed with amazing rapidity.

With its spreading popularity, the *jōruri* doll theater, which had seen its start in Kyoto at the end of the 16th century, came

to be seen also in the rising town of Edo (Tokyo) by the beginning of the 17th century, and the doll theater thrived in the three bustling towns of Osaka, Kyoto and Edo. Each town sprouted its own great ballad singers who each established his own school of the art, giving rise to innumerable rival groups. Eventually Takemoto Gidayū (1651-1714) consolidated the best qualities of all the schools and created the so-called *gidayū-bushi*, which became the accepted *jōruri* form. Consequently, the *jōruri* of the era prior to this consolidation is now referred to as the old *jōruri* as opposed to the *gidayū-bushi*.

During the Genroku Era (latter part of the 17th century to the early part of the following century), the merchant class came to dominate the scene economically instead of the ruling warrior class. As a result, the doll theater, which was the creation of the merchant class, developed as a theater of the populace, and made great strides both in content and in technique. Particularly, the dramatic form saw great advancement under the inspired work of librettist Chikamatsu Monzaemon and *jōruri* singer Takemoto Gidayū. Chikamatsu created more than one hundred fine plays which Gidayū gave skillfully effective rendering, thus paving the way toward the doll theater's subsequent great popularity.

Later, the Takemoto-za group organized by Takemoto Gidayū, and the Toyotake-za established by one of his disciples, came to rival each other. Out of this rivalry was born further development of the medium, with added variety being achieved both in content and manner of presentation. The somber style of the Takemoto singing and the brilliant style of the Toyotake group, with their contrast and their blending, have served to mold the *gidayū-bushi* into the highly-developed form in which we have it today.

In spite of the great strides made in the libretto and the music, the puppets themselves remained at first quite crude objects. The puppets of those days were manipulated by one handler to a doll, in one of two manners the *tsukkomī* in which the handler moved the doll by means of his two hands

inserted under the skirt of the doll, or the *katate-tsukai* in which one hand was thrust into the doll from its back. The puppets themselves were comparatively small in size, and simple in structure. It was not until a later era that the dolls were to be developed to a more artistic form.

After the death of Chikamatsu in 1724, the custom developed in which a group of playwrights collaborated in the creation of a single play. It was during this period that the trend developed of giving precedence to the stage performance rather than to the libretto itself as a literary work. As a result, attention was turned to stage technique, and much development was seen in the field of stage sets and costumes as the doll theater became primarily interested in the presentation of a spectacular show. The structure of the puppets, and the manner of manipulating them, also saw great advancement during this period. Dolls which were capable of moving their eyes or eyebrows, of moving their fingers, and other such innovations came into being; and in 1734, a new manner of doll manipulation in which there were three handlers to a single doll, was instituted by Yoshida Bunzaburō. This was truly an epoch-making development in the history of the doll theater. These dolls were much larger in size than the earlier ones, being of the size of those in use today.

The techniques of staging also saw great development, with the *seri* (lift device for lifting sets to stage level from below) and the *hiki-dōgu* (props equipped with wheels to facilitate quick use or removal from the stage) being installed at about this time. *Chūshingura*, *Sugawara* and *Senbon-zakura*, popular to this day as the Three Great Plays of the classic theater, were all created at this time; and the period from 1716 to 1763 was the *jōruri* doll theater's golden age, during which it effectively overwhelmed the popularity of the *kabuki*.

However, this golden age eventually gave way again under the pressure of the rising popularity of *kabuki*, which was quickly incorporating the *jōruri* plays into its own repertory, and showing results which often

exceeded that of the original doll play. The doll theater had already attained the limits of its own possible development, and now entered into a period of decline. The Takemoto and Toyotake groups which had formed the core of the doll plays, both dispersed in 1765. Subsequently, few outstanding plays appeared from this genre, and the doll theater fell to repeating from its old repertory of former masterpieces. Efforts were turned toward a further refinement in details and in the heightening of the artistry of the medium, so that the doll theater rapidly fell into the state of becoming a museum piece, a classic theater genre.

The Bunraku-za, which is the only troupe now maintaining the old traditional *jōruri* doll theater, was formed in Osaka at the end of the 18th century by a *gidayū* singer named Bunraku-ken. The troupe took its current name of Bunraku-za in 1875, after which it has been the center of the doll theater art. Currently, the appellation Bunraku is almost synonymous with "doll theater".

In 1949, due to internal dissention, the Bunraku-za divided into two groups known as the *Chinami* and the *Mitsuwa*, holding independent performances. However, there is a strong voice calling for a reunion of the two groups, in the interest of future preservation of the traditional Bunraku art.

Outstanding artists in this field in the post-restoration period were *gidayū* performer Settsu-dayū, *shamisen* player Tsurusawa Dampai, and doll handlers Yoshida Tamazō and Yoshida Eiza. Today, the best-known performers are *gidayū* singer Toyotake Yamashiro-no-shōjō who is known for his highly artistic rendering, and doll-handlers Yoshida Bungorō and Kiritake Monjūrō, both known as expert handlers of female dolls.

Structure and types of dolls

The dolls of the doll theater are made up of separate parts constituting the head, the body, the arms and legs, and the costume.

Head

In former days, a new head was made for the characters of each new play; but later, as the characters came to be stereotyped patterns, appropriate heads were chosen from the stock accordingly. At present there are approximately 40 types of heads which are used in this manner, and about 20 more which are special heads used only for the portrayal of a single character.

Among the male heads, there are eight types for portraying old men, such as the *Kiichi* and the *Shūto*; eighteen types for men in their prime, such as *Bunshichi* (used for depicting warriors), *Kebiishi* (for roles like *Genzō* in *Terakoya*), *Kōmei* (an intellectual character), *Danshichi* (a ruffian or scoundrel), and other types; and five types for youths, such as *Genta*, *Waka-otoko* and others. Among female heads there are three types for portraying old women, four for the middleaged woman, and seven for young maidens such as the *musume* (young maiden), *shinzō* (young matron) and the *keisei* (courtesan's head, with highly decorative headdress). The female heads are provided with a needle-like point beside the mouth, for allowing the doll to strike poses with its sleeve held to its mouth.

Body

The body of the doll is composed merely of a tubular bamboo frame with cloth applied to the back and the front portions. *Hechima*, the dried meshy fibers of the gourd are placed at the top to form the shoulders, and a wooden slat is placed at top center to form a platform for the doll head. The arms are suspended from the *hechima* shoulder pads, and the legs are suspended from the body frame. Through the manipulation of a bamboo lever called *tsuki-age* attached to the side of the trunk, the doll is made to assume the desired posture. In the body of the female doll, the *hechima* padding is used also, but the arrangement is somewhat different from that of the male doll.

Arms and Legs

The arms are hollow, with levers inserted inside to allow free movement of the wrists and the fingers. There are several types of hands for the male dolls, some in which all five fingers move together as a unit, some in which the wrist is not movable although the fingers can be moved, and some in which the wrist only may be caused to move. These are used in accordance with the type of character being portrayed.

The female doll hands are so fixed that the four fingers move independently of the thumb, these four fingers moving as a unit, and capable of being bent at three places; the wrist too is made so as to be able to move. This is the most usual form of the female doll hand; but there are also specially constructed hands such as the one which is made with a *shamisen* plectrum attached to allow the doll to 'play' the *shamisen*, or the hand which is made so that a writing brush may be inserted. The doll's left hand is provided with a lever called *sashi-kane* to which strings are attached, allowing for the movement of the wrist and the fingers.

As for the feet, only the male dolls are provided with feet. As a rule, the female dolls do not have legs; the manipulator for the doll's feet handles the skirts of the doll in such a manner as to make it appear that the feet are hidden therein. As for the feet of the male dolls, these are jointed at the knees. They are provided with handholds behind the ankles, allowing the handler to move the feet at will. There are several types of feet also, the appropriate one being chosen in accordance with the character being portrayed.

Costumes

The costumes of the doll theater vie with those of the *kabuki* theater in lavish brilliance. However, those of the dolls are not so strictly regulated by the types of roles as in the *kabuki*. On the other hand, the costumes of the dolls play a much greater role in the effect of the presentation, with the full use of the movement of the trailing skirts and the flowing sleeves being in-

dispensable in the depiction of the dolls' inner emotions, and in the creation of a certain beauty of form which is entirely unique to the doll theater.

As for the types of dolls, the main dolls are constructed as outlined above. However, there are also dolls for minor roles called *tsume*, which are handled by one handler instead of by three as in the usual doll. The left hand of these dolls is stationary, being sewn to the sash. The head is simple and crudely made, and the eyes and the eyebrows are not moveable. However, they possess a strangely captivating expression. These dolls are much smaller than the regular dolls.

Manipulation of the dolls

The unique dolls of the Japanese doll theater, requiring three handlers to a doll, made their first appearance in 1734, and constitute a remarkable development which has nothing to compare with it in the world. The main manipulator handles the doll's head and upper portion of the body, and the right hand. His first assistant handles the left hand, and a second assistant the legs.

The training of a competent handler requires many years. First a trainee must spend several years learning the *gidayū* narrative songs, the main movements of the dolls as well as the handling of the stage props. Then there is a ten year period of apprenticeship to learn the handling of the legs, and another ten years for the left hand. Then, if all goes well, he is finally ready to become a full-fledged main-handler. It is said that in the past, a handler might spend his entire life just handling the left hand of the dolls.

In the handling of the dolls, the chief manipulator inserts his left hand into the doll's body from the back, and handles the levers which controls the doll's head. The levers have strings affixed to them leading to the doll-head's eyes, mouth, eyebrows and other movable portions. With his right hand, he handles the doll's right hand.

The first assistant, that is, the left-hand manipulator, takes his place on the left of the main handler and handles the doll's left

hand through a lever held in his right hand. The third handler takes his position approximately between the two and somewhat to the rear, with his right arm placed squarely against the hip of the chief manipulator. He provides the movement of the (non-existent) legs of the doll in coordination with the movement which he catches from the chief manipulator's body, through his arm's close contact with the other's hip. With the perfectly coordinated movements of these three handlers, the lifeless doll is suddenly transformed into a remarkable semblance of a living being.

It is necessary from the standpoint of effectively controlling the composite movement of the doll, for the chief manipulator to stand higher than his assistants. Hence, he stands on huge clogs which are on an average 1.1 feet high. Moreover, he wears a *hakama* (formal pleated trouser-skirt) of a bright color, while his assistants are garbed in black, and cover their faces with black hoods. There are also occasions when all three handlers are garbed in black and hooded. When a handler performs with his face uncovered, this is called *de-zukai*.

The dolls are handled from a position behind a front board standing 1.6 feet high from the stage floor. The top edge of this board is the height which is the "floor level" for the dolls. Consequently, the lower half of the handlers' bodies are hidden behind this front board.

The dolls' movements are made to correspond with the accompanying musical narrative, and due to the small size of the dolls, exaggerated movements are used to make possible the portrayal of various emotions. In the *gidayū* song-narrative, there are certain portions which are known as the *sawari* or the *kudoki*. This is the place where a woman expresses her love for a man, eloquently disclosing her emotions through movements exquisitely coordinated with the plaintive sentiments of the song. Always, the dolls move with this delicate relationship to the narrative music, and the result is often of an emotional nature which may be considered unique to the art of the doll theater.

As mentioned previously, the female dolls with only a few very special exceptions, are not provided with legs. To create the illusion of the existence of the feet, the foot-manipulator inserts his hands under the skirt of the doll, and moves the hem with his fingers. The material of the trailing garment's skirt portion is caught from the inside, between the second and third fingers of the right hand, while the right hand also catches the material between the thumb and the index finger. With this grasp on the inside of the doll's hem, the material is dexterously handled to perfectly suggest the doll's feet movements.

The perfect coordination that creates the illusion of a living doll, is often given a chance for special display in many plays. For instance, one superb example is a scene called *Akoya*, in which the courtesan *Akoya* plays several musical instruments one after another. The doll actually appears to be playing the instruments, so that the viewer is apt to forget that it is the handlers behind the doll that are providing the doll's movements.

The stage sets and manner of staging also take on some unusual aspects in the doll theater. An example is a scene where a large group of people is to be suggested as moving along a tree-lined highway. Background props of the trees are painted on two long board strips, and while the dolls mark time in the center of the stage, the props are gradually slid off to the right or to the left, creating the illusion that the dolls are moving along the highway. A back-drop showing an inn is lowered from the ceiling, and it is understood that the travellers have now arrived at an inn. In this manner, the staging is both simple and effective.

Narrative singer,
shamisen player and
doll handler

Tayū or Narrative Singer

There are two schools of the *tayū* (*gidayū* singers), the Takemoto and the Toyotake. All performers take one or the other

family name as their professional surname. During the performance, the *tayū* is seated with his accompanist at the right side of the stage, and gives a dramatic rendering of the musical narrative, almost as if he were enacting the role himself, in a deep resonant voice which effectively describes the passions and the pathos of the plays. Sometimes the singer and the instrumentalist perform in full view of the audience; sometimes they are hidden behind a bamboo screen. The former manner of presentation is called the *de-gatari*.

There is a form of ranking among the *tayū*, and it is not an easy matter to be allowed to inherit a famous stage name. A singer who has attained a very high level of artistry is sometimes honored by the suffix *jō* at the end of his professional name. At present, there is only one performer so honored among the 30 *tayū* attached to the two *bunraku* troupes, this one being Yamashiro-no-Shojō.

Shamisen Player

The instrumental accompaniment for the *gidayū* narratives is supplied by the *shamisen* player. He must not only provide an accompaniment but must be able to create a special quality of music himself. Among the *shamisen* players too, there is a sort of rank system as well as hereditary professional names. Ordinarily, a *tayū* and a *shamisen* player of an equal ranking are grouped together to insure a complete accord between the two. Among the professional family names of the *shamisen* players there are Tsurusawa, Toyosawa, Takezawa, Nozawa and others.

Doll Manipulator

There are three types of doll-handlers, as detailed previously. Among the *omo-zukai* or the main handlers, there are those who specialize in the handling of female dolls, and others who specialize in male dolls. Yoshida Bungorō handles only female dolls, and is known for the elegance of the roles that he creates. However, he is now quite aged, and does not appear very often on the stage. Kiritake Monjūrō is active now as the leading female-doll handler. Counting

the doll handlers of both the now existing troupes, there are about 40 in all.

Doll-play Stage (*Bunraku-za Theater*)

The doll-play stage differs from the regular stage in that it is made with special features to accommodate the movement of the doll-handlers on the stage, together with their dolls. The stage itself is somewhat smaller in size, and the stage sets are made very simply. The width of the stage is approximately 34 to 35 feet, and to the right, facing the stage, there is a rectangular platform at an angle to the stage called *yoko-yuka*, which is the platform for the *gidayū* singer and his *shamisen* accompanist. In the front part of the stage, there is a black board about 1.5 feet high, separating the rest of the stage from the audience. This is called the *san-no-te*. Behind this board, leaving only a space wide enough for the dolls to pass, there is a railing about 1.6 feet high. This is called the *ni-no-te*. The doll-handlers move behind this *ni-no-te*, so that the lower part of their bodies are not seen from the audience seats. The portion of the stage behind the *ni-no-te* which is used for the doll-handlers' movements is known as *funa-zoko*. At both ends of the *funa-zoko* are the entrance and exit openings for the dolls, called *agemaku*. Beyond the *funa-zoko* space, there is another railing; this is called the *hon-te*. When the scene takes place within a house, the prop depicting the house is attached to this *hon-te* board, and the doll-handlers move in the space behind the *hon-te*. In other words, the top edge of the *ni-no-te* board serves as the ground level, the surface of a grassy plain, and such, while the top edge of the *hon-te* serves to indicate the floor level of a house. These three boards or railings form the basic foundation of a doll-play stage presentation.

The middle *ni-no-te* is in a different color at times depending on the scenery to be shown. When it is to be used as a road or path, it is of brown or gray. Gray with white dots signifies a gravelly site. When the board is to represent a bank, it is green.

The house is generally depicted in a very simple manner. At the left end of the *hon-te* board (the *hon-te* is usually placed only on the right half of the stage) there is a pillar which is used as the house pillar, and serves to separate the interior of the house from the outside. At times, depending on the play, the roof, the house pillar and the *hon-te* are all suspended from above.

Unlike the practice in the *kabuki* theater, the doll-play does not make use of a revolving stage, or darken the stage during the process of making scene changes. The scene is changed openly before the audience. Because of this practice, there are times when the props, in particular the backdrops, for several scenes are all placed on the stage together, with the backdrops placed in front being pulled away one by one as the play progresses.

Plays

There are almost no new doll-theater plays, so that the repertory consists almost entirely of the classic works. Although countless plays have been written in the past, only 50 plays in the historical-play category, and 45 or so in the *sewamono* (plays treating with lives of the common people) category are still performed. Some representative numbers are listed below.

Umekawa-Chūbei (Chikamatsu Monzaemon; 1711)

Courier Chūbei falls in love with courtesan Umekawa. Being humiliated before a full company at a geisha house by Hachiemon, who accuses him of having misappropriated fifty *ryō* belonging to Hachiemon, Chūbei takes out a packet of fifty *ryō* entrusted to him in his capacity as courier and angrily hands it over to Hachiemon. Then Chūbei and Umekawa flee to the country home of Chūbei's father. They are captured as they are trying to leave the father's home and escape by a back road.

Chūshingura (1748).

This is the story of the 47 loyal *rōnin* of *Akō* who avenged the death of their lord by killing his enemy. This actual historic incident caught the sympathy of the people

of Edo at the time, and many plays on the theme resulted. *Chūshingura* is a combined and perfected form incorporating these various plays, and is the representative play today on the subject.

The *daimyō* lord *Enya Hangan* is so humiliated by *Kōno Moronō* that he draws his sword against him. In accordance with the ruling, he is sentenced to die for having bared his sword within the military ruler's castle. Subsequently, *Enya's* faithful retainers led by *Ōboshi Yuranosuke*, overcoming many difficulties, take revenge by killing *Moronō*. The play is centered around the vendetta conspiracy, with the tragic love story of young *Okaru* and *Kampei* woven into it.

With succeeding scenes skillfully contrasted against each other, and with fine delineation of personalities, the play is an epic drama treating with the traditional theme of loyalty and duty, and their relationship to human love.

Chūshingura is performed both in the doll theater and in the *kabuki* to this day in its entirety, and is one of the most often performed numbers in the *kabuki* repertory today.

Sugawara (or *Terakoya*) 1746.

This is a play in the historical-play category, centered around the characters of the three triplet brothers, *Matsuō-maru*, *Umeō-maru* and *Sakura-maru*, *Takebe Genzō* and his wife, and other characters in their relationships to the exiled *Kanshōjō*. The scene known as *Terakoya* falls in the fourth act of the play, and being the best scene, is frequently presented as an independent number. *Takebe Genzō*, teacher of a small private school, is harboring *Kanshūsai*, the child of his former master *Kanshōjō*. One day *Genzō* is ordered by the enemy to behead *Kanshūsai*, and *Genzō*, in order to save the child, substitutes one of the pupils of the school for him. *Matsuō-maru*, in the employ of the enemy, comes to check the severed head and announces it to be unmistakably that of *Kanshūsai*. Afterwards, *Matsuō-maru* reveals that the substitute child killed by *Genzō* had been *Matsuō-maru's* son, and weeps at the stern code of loyalty that calls for such a sacrifice.

The climax of the scene is where Matsuōmaru gazes at the severed head, knowing that it is that of his own child, but proclaiming it to be that of Kanshūsai.

Sakaya (1772)

Although Hanshichi, son of a prosperous *sake* dealer, is married to beautiful and chaste wife, Osono, he has an affair with a *geisha* named Sankatsu. Hanshichi murders a man by chance, and he and Sankatsu commit suicide together. The play depicts the emotions of Osono, her father, and her father-in-law during the trouble caused by Hanshichi's indiscretion, and expresses the attitudes and emotions of the merchant class people of that time.

The scene in which Osono sadly reminisces about her sad relationship with her husband is an important part of this play, in which the doll of Osono is made to perform many eloquently expressive gestures and poses describing her unhappiness. The *gidayū* narrative of this portion is the so-called *sawari* portion, in which the musical element is strongly stressed, bringing out the pathos of the scene.

Jusshu-kō and Kitsune-bi. (1766)

These are both scenes from the play *Honchō Nijūshi-kō*. In the former, the important scene is the one in which Princess Yaegaki makes love to a noble youth, Katsuyori, revealing her infatuation with both coquetry and boldness, to the narrative-music ac-

companiment which is in the *kudoki* manner.

In the *kitsune-bi* scene, the princess, learning of Katsuyori's impending danger, borrows the magic powers of the fox-god to fly to warn him. The supernatural effect is achieved through stage tricks and through beautiful movements and gestures. The scene is also performed in the *kabuki*, and is known for the fact that human actors in performing this scene, present it in the *ningyō-buri* style, that is, with the actors moving as if they were being manipulated by the "handlers" who accompany them.

Oshichi (1773)

Oshichi, the greengrocer's daughter, because of her great desire to meet her lover Kichiza, climbs up a fire-lookout tower and strikes the gong there, an act which constitutes a serious crime as a false alarm. With the sounding of the alarm, all the closed city gates are opened, allowing her to slip through to meet her lover.

The scene where Oshichi makes her ascent up the tower, dressed in brilliant garments, is the main part of the play. The doll of Oshichi makes the ascent with her back to the audience; but the three doll handlers continue to face the audience, that is, they face their doll instead of standing behind it as in the usual case. The sight of the doll struggling up the ladder and striking the gong, can be much more effective than the same scene performed by a human actor.

Kabuki

Its development

Origin

The word *kabuki* was originally derived from the now obsolete *kabuki*, which meant "to slant" or "to incline", *kabuki* being the noun form. The term was used to imply something strange or out of the ordinary; and eventually came to refer exclusively to a form of folk entertainment of that day, the ancestor of our present-day *kabuki*. Later, Chinese word-characters in an

arbitrary phonetic usage were applied in writing the word; and the characters chosen meant respectively "song" (*ka*), "dance" (*bu*) and "artistry" or "technique" (*ki*). These characters, being highly appropriate, are still in use to this day.

The origin of *kabuki* itself is generally attributed to the *fūryū-odori*, a form of folk-dance which was immensely popular at about the end of Japan's mediaeval age. At that time, there were roving troupes of professional women performers, among whom was Okuni of Izumo, generally credited with being the originator of *kabuki*.

Okuni was a performer of the popular folk dance called *nembutsu-odori*; but later, adding male members to her troupe, she originated a new dance which depicted tea-house mistresses flirting with *kabuki* men, that is, men of "out of the ordinary" tendencies. This sensuous dance came to be known as the *kabuki* dance; and from this originated the *kabuki* of today.

Following in Okuni's footsteps, courtesans of the gay quarters organized troupes for performing the *kabuki* dances. This came to be known as the *yūjo-kabuki* (courtesans' *kabuki*) or *onna-kabuki* (women *kabuki*), and gained tremendous popularity. However, it is likely that the popularity of these troupes lay more in the sensuality of the performances and in the licentious nature of the troupes themselves. The Tokugawa Government, looking askance at the moral depravation wrought by the troupes, banned the *onna-kabuki* in 1629. The producers immediately re-organized the troupes to add the women to male troupes, but the government made this subterfuge impossible too, by a further ruling that there were to be no troupes with mixed male and female members. In this way, women were banished from the *kabuki* stage, and the situation still exists to this day.

In the wake of the *onna-kabuki*, the *wakashū-kabuki* made up of boys came into being; but these youngsters too, soon became the source of moral depravity in the form of homosexuality. Once again the government stepped in, and in 1652 the *wakashū-kabuki* was banned. However, the *kabuki* already had a strong hold on the populace, so that it was impossible to stamp it out altogether. Presently, under the conditions that adult male actors (with front hair-locks shaved off in the manner of the adult instead of left long as in the boy) be used, and that the plays be of a pantomime-drama nature, the *kabuki* was permitted to reopen. The style of adult male hairdress with the front locks shorn off, was called *yarō-atama*, and making use of this term, this male *kabuki* came to be known as *yarō kabuki*.

With the ban on *onna-kabuki*, the art of the *onna-gata* (male actors impersonating female roles) came to be developed; and

with the ban of the *wakashū-kabuki*, the *kabuki* was driven to the necessity of putting artistry above sensuality, and of putting more emphasis on realistic plot-plays rather than on mere dance. These developments greatly affected early *kabuki*, and served to start it on the road toward becoming true theater art.

Development

During the Genroku Period (end of the 17th century), the development of a new economy based on currency brought the townsman class into prominence as a new influential factor, and a townsmen culture came into being. Under their patronage, *kabuki* made spectacular progress, and the *Genroku Kabuki* marked the *kabuki* theater at its golden age. In Kyoto and Osaka, the playwrights Tominaga Heibei and Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1724) made their fame, while actors Sakata Tōjūrō (1647-1709) and Yoshizawa Ayame (an *onna-gata* actor) (1673-1729) vied with Ichikawa Danjūrō and Nakamura Shichizaburō (1662-1708) of Edo (Tokyo) in their stage-craft. The *aragoto* style of acting with its bold manliness and romantic stylization, created by Danjūrō, and the *wagoto* style, in a realistic tempered vein, created by Tōjūrō, together came to form the basis for *kabuki* artistry.

During the ensuing Kyōho and Hōreki eras (1720-1750) *kabuki* saw a brief period of stagnation as its popularity waned with the increasing influence of the *jōruri* doll theater. However, even in this period, gifted actors such as the second Danjūrō (1688-1758) and Sawamura Sōjūrō (1689-1756), and *onna-gata* actors Segawa Kikunojō and Nakamura Tomijūrō (1719-1786) flourished; and also in this period, the *shosa-goto* or pantomime dance was developed as an art belonging to the *onna-gata* actors. Also, *kabuki* at this time actively assimilated the fine plays and the polished stagecraft of the doll theater, then at the peak of its golden age.

Final Period of Development

After its first peak in the Genroku Era, *kabuki* entered its second golden age during the Hōreki and Kansei periods (1750-

1800), the period of its second and final development. During this period, the center of the nation's cultural influence shifted from the Kansai (west Japan) region to Edo; and *kabuki* too, came to be centered in Edo.

Assimilating many elements from the *Jōruri* doll theater, *kabuki* came to take on the aspect of a drama with musical narrative and accompaniment. The plots and the techniques of staging also came to be much more elaborate. The *jōruri* narrative ballads of the doll theater were adapted into the *kabuki* to become the *gidayū* ballads; and even in many new plays created specifically for the *kabuki*, much use was made of such doll-theater features as the *chōbo* (narrative singers) and *ningyō-buri* (stiffly exaggerated movements reminiscent of those of puppets in the doll theater), thus furthering the trend toward the tie-up of drama with musical narrative accompaniment.

At the same time, the *shamisen* (three-stringed instrument) made rapid progress through the *kabuki* stage. The three types of *jōruri* ballads known as the *Tokiwasu*, the *Tomimoto* and *Kiyomoto*, all were perfected in this era, as was also the *nagauta* music. Consequently, this made the age also the golden age of the dance-drama. The *kabuki* of today is in the main the *kabuki* of this age, polished in ensuing years to a greater artistry and beauty.

It was also during this period that such stage techniques as the *mawari-butai* (revolving stage), *seri-dashi* (stage lift), *hiki-dōgu* (moveable props) were developed and added greatly to the stage effect. Among the playwrights of this age were Sakurada Jisuke (1734-1806) who created dance-dramas and plays in the *sewa-mono* (themes laid among life of common people) plays; Namiki Shōzō (1730-1773) who invented the revolving stage; and Namiki Gohei (1747-1808), also creator of *sewa-mono* plays. Among actors there were Nakamura Nakazō (1736-1790), the fourth Matsumoto Kōshirō (1737-1802), and Nakamura Utaemon (1714-1791) among others.

Period of Ripening and Decadence

The ensuing period, through the Bunka and Bunsei eras and the Keiō Era (1800-1870) marked the peak of *kabuki*'s age of extravagance, already harboring seeds of its eventual decadence. This was the age when the internal disintegration of the feudal system was reflected in an unstable society in general. The uneasy populace thus took to material and temporal pleasures to offset the hopeless outlook of the age *kabuki* too felt the influence of the age, and a style of realistic plays depicting the dark life of the people came to be developed, called the *kizewa-mono* plays. Notable in this age was the predominance of highly sensuous or erotic love scenes, and scenes of ghastly killings.

Among the playwrights of this era were Tsuruya Namboku (1755-1829) and Kawatake Mokuami (1816-1893), the former writing many *kizewa-mono* plays and ghastly ghost plays, the latter also specializing in *kizewa-mono*, in particular the category which came to be known as *shiranami-mono* (plays with thieves as the central characters). Noted actors of this age were the fifth Matsumoto Kōshirō (1764-1838), the seventh Ichikawa Danjūrō (1791-1869), the third Onoe Kikugorō (1784-1849), *onna-gata* actors the fourth Iwai Hanshirō (1747-1800), the fifth Iwai Hanshiro (1776-1847), and the third Segawa Kikunōjō (1750-1801).

Post-Meiji Era

In 1868, the Meiji Restoration ushered the modern age into Japan; and *kabuki* too was faced with great changes. From about 1890, a movement was born to adapt *kabuki* to the new era. The ninth Ichikawa Danjūrō (1838-1903), together with leading intelligentsia of the day, criticized the traditional *kabuki rekishi-mono* plays (history plays) for their romantic disregard for facts, and created and produced many plays which laid emphasis on historical accuracy. These were called *katsureki* plays. On the other hand, in the field of the *sewa-mono* plays too, the new trend came to be seen in the form of the so-called

zangiri plays, which depicted the common people's life among the new modes of living which had been initiated with the introduction of the western world into Japan. Actor Onoe Kikugorō the fifth, was active in presenting plays of this nature.

In response to the demands of the new age, the *Shimpa* drama (from 1888) and the *shingeki* (from about 1906) came into being, and *kabuki* in turn became a form of classic theater which to this day commands a wide circle of fans.

Characteristics of kabuki

Music, Color and Form

Among the many special features of *kabuki* artistry, its music, color and form must first of all be taken into consideration.

The actor's speech in *kabuki* is invariably rhythmical and musical. For instance, in the long *tsurane* speech, it is the rhythmic beauty of the speech that captures the audience's fancy, whether it understands the meaning of the words spoken or not. Even in the more or less realistic presentation of the *sewa-mono* plays, this musical rhythm of speech is retained to a great extent. In almost all instances when the speech takes on this special musical quality, there is a musical accompaniment.

This musical accompaniment is played offstage and is called the *geza* music (ref. section on *geza*). The opening and the closing of the curtains, the entrances and exits of the performers, each of the movements on stage are set by this music. Needless to say, except in the case of dance-drama, the music is a secondary facet of the production; but nevertheless it is of such a nature as to be indispensable to *kabuki* staging.

As for the color factor, effective and beautiful use of color in *kabuki* has been developed to a fine artistry. Minute attention is paid to the harmonizing color effect of the background, the stage set, the costumes, so that each instant during the progress of a play creates a beautiful color tableau on the stage. Needless to say, the movements and the positions taken by the

actors too, form part of this tableau.

Finally, the beauty of form is another important facet of the *kabuki* stage. Originally, *kabuki* was of a realistic nature; but depending on the nature of the role and on the mood of the play itself, certain stylized and abstract postures and movements came to be utilized to enhance the effectiveness of that particular role or mood. For instance, in a *tachimawari* (fight pantomime) it is the quality of dance-like beauty which is emphasized over realism itself. Even in falling, a beauty of form is demanded in the movement. And this beautified and formalized manner of movement is of course enhanced by the accompaniment of the music.

The afore-mentioned are the fundamental facets of *kabuki*; and it is the combination of these three that make possible the entity that is *kabuki* art.

Yakugara (types of role)

In *kabuki*, the roles are divided into several categories as young or old, man or woman, wise or foolish, rich or poor, and the actors are classified into these roles according to their special character and individual abilities; each actor specializing in his special type of role. Eventually an unwritten law came to be mutually observed, in which one actor refrained from imposing himself into the domain of another actor. This tendency helped in creating some of the special features of the *kabuki* art.

This division of roles into formal categories had the disadvantage of tending to produce stereotyped roles and to strait-lace the construction of the drama itself, but on the other hand, due to the increased attention expended on details within each of the categories, the artistry and techniques of stage presentation saw much progress.

Speaking very broadly, the roles may be divided into two groups, the *tate-yaku* and *onna-gata* roles, that is, male and female roles respectively. But with the passing of time, roles came to be varied and complex, the categories numbering some 40 odd in all. Eventually, however, the strict observance of remaining strictly within one's

own category declined, and it became customary for *tate-yaku* actors to perform female roles at times, and for *onna-gata* to appear also in male roles. Today, the concept of role-categories no longer exists in the strict sense that it used to in former days, but there are still certain general types, such as the *tate-yaku* (hero roles), *kataki-yaku* (enemy or evil roles), *dōke-gata* (clown roles), *oyaji-gata* (old man roles), *wakashū-gata* (youths), *koyaku* (child roles), *onna-gata* (female roles) and others.

Tate-yaku. Formerly, the term *tate-yaku* referred to all male roles; but later the scope included within the term was narrowed to mean male roles exclusive of the old-men roles and the *kataki-yaku* roles, and generally of a handsome and dashing nature. This was a representation of the ideal man, learned and wise, strong and brave, and moreover handsome in features.

Kataki-yaku. The *kataki-yaku* or enemy roles have an important function as the opposition to the *tate-yaku*, thus playing a great part in the progress of the plot. The *kataki-yaku* is divided into several types, such as the *jitsu-aku* or such out-and-out evil roles as rebels or criminals, the *kuge-aku* or evil noblemen, generally conspirators, the *ha-kataki* or minor enemy underlings, the *han-dō-kataki* or half-clownish enemy roles, and others.

Due to the need of making the *kataki* as detestable as possible, special exaggerated makeup was devised, making use of blue paint lines on the face, or painting the entire face a red color. Special hairdress are also used for some of the *kataki-yaku* roles.

Dōke-gata. The *dōke-gata* are clown roles, causing laughter through the performer's comic actions or punning speech. Examples are the role of *Yodarekuri* in *Tera-koya*, and *Ban-nai* in *Sembon-zakura*. Due to the spot on the billing, which was on the third page, these clown roles came to be referred to as *sammaime* (the third sheet). Clownish roles which also have enemy-role traits are often referred to as *sammaime-kataki* roles.

The term *sammaime* has now been absorbed into the daily language of the people, and

is used to refer to people of scatterbrain or comic nature.

Oyaji-gata. The *oyaji-gata* is the old-man role, and is known these days also as *rōnin-yaku*. Such roles are usually taken by performers who have had a long experience in the *tate-yaku* and the *kataki-yaku* roles.

Ko-yaku. The *ko-yaku* are roles taken by child actors, generally the children of professional actors. Utilizing special manner of intonation and movement, the *ko-yaku* are often used to wring the tears of the audience in some tragic scene.

Wakashū-gata. The *wakashū-gata* roles are those depicting a handsome youth. These roles retain a touch of the flavor of the old *wakashū-kabuki* (boy-kabuki), and are of a gentle sensual nature conducive to male lust. They wear their hair in the *wakashu* style with forelocks unshaved, wear garments of bright colors, and elocute in gentle tones somewhat similar to those used by the *onna-gata* in portraying female roles. *Rikiya* in *Chūshingura*, and *Hisamatsu* in *Osomo* and *Hisamatsu* are examples.

Onna-gata. As mentioned previously, actresses have no place in *kabuki*, all female roles being played by male actors. These actors are called *onna-gata* or *oyama*. For more than two hundred years, efforts have been applied to the creation by men of a female stage personality, which reveals both the spiritual and physical characteristics and beauty of women. The result is a "created" form of female beauty in which every tiny detail is born from deliberate application of artistic principles governing the way of walking, the manner of speech, even the way of breathing, to achieve a highly complex form of beauty.

The *onna-gata* is a highly important factor in the *kabuki*, constituting one of its main special features. It is even said that the lack of great *onna-gata* during an era causes a decline in the *kabuki* during that period.

The *onna-gata* is divided into two general categories, the *waka-onna-gata* and the *kasha-gata*. The former refers to the female roles of the *shite* that is, a leading role caliber. *Waka* means literally young,

but is not used in this restrictive sense. This *waka-onnagata* is divided again into several types, as the *keisei* (high-ranking courtesan), *musume-gata* (a maiden of the townsman class or a young princess), *sewa-nyōbō* (the chaste wife of the merchant class), *onna-budō* and others.

The *onna-budō* are such roles as the wife of a warrior, being a perfect wife and mother, wise and loyal, and of an age and character in keeping with that of the leading male role, that of her husband. This, together with the *sewa-nyōbō* represent the personification of the ideal Japanese woman. Examples of *onna-budō* roles are Masaoka of *Sendai Hagi* and Tonase of *Chūshingura*. Due to the fact that such characters wear their hair in a style known as *katahazushi*, the roles are often referred to now as *katahazushi-no-yaku* or *katahazushi* roles.

The *kasha-gata* as opposed to the *waka-onnagata* is the *tsure* or secondary female role, having its origin in the *kaka-gata*. The middle-aged *nakai* or supervisor at the call-houses, and the middle-aged townsmen wives fall in this category. An example is the madam of the Yoshidaya house in "Kuruwa Bunshō".

Through the use of these various categorically conventionalized roles, a symbolic form of stage art is born, creating the special atmosphere that is peculiarly *kabuki*.

Kabuki Stage and Stage Techniques

From the 20th century, the *kabuki* stage retired behind the proscenium in the manner of the theater of the west, but previous to that, the *kabuki* stage was made to protrude out into the audience pit, so that it could be viewed from three sides. The *hanamichi* or passageway running vertically through the audience pit was constructed both to the left and the right sides (at present, there is only one on the left side), with an affinity with the audience being effected through actions performed on the passageway. As a natural consequence, the action, instead of tending to face one front only, took on a rounded, three-dimensional quality.

The stage of today is separated from the audience by the proscenium, and moreover it is much more extensive in area than the stage of the Edo Era. For instance, the stage of the *Kabuki-za*, known as the home of *kabuki* is approximately 84 feet across and 60 feet deep, while the theater has a seating capacity of 2,600.

The early *kabuki* stage was patterned after the *noh* stage and was approximately 18 feet square, but in later years, it was expanded and became much larger. In the latter part of the Edo Era, many new stage innovations were created, the *hanamichi* or passageway and the revolving stage being the most notable inventions.

The revolving stage was first used by the Osaka playwright Namiko Shōzō in 1758. A circular center portion was cut out in the stage, and revolved by means of an axle underneath. Two or three stage settings were made at the same time on the circular stage, with the stage being revolved to effect a quick change from one scene to the next. At present, the circular stage is revolved by means of electric power, but in the old days, it was turned by men under the stage.

The *hanamichi* is a passageway through the audience pit, leading from the *agemaku* curtain at the rear of the theater to the front left of the stage. It is said that the name *hanamichi* (literally, flower passage) came into being because the passageway was once used in delivering gifts of flowers to the actors. At first they were constructed at a slant to the stage, but later came to be at right angles with the stage front, as it is today.

The main *hanamichi* ran down the audience pit to the stage on the left (facing the stage), and in former days, a secondary passageway ran opposite it on the right side. However, this secondary passageway is no longer to be found in the modern theaters. The *hanamichi* is an indispensable factor in *kabuki*, being the place where the emotions of the actors and the audience find a strong point of fusion.

The *seri* is a lift device in which a rectangular portion of the stage is cut so as to allow that section to be lifted or lowered

independent of the stage floor proper, and is used for lifting or lowering from one to several performers grouped together in an effective and picturesque pose. The *seri* on the *hanamichi* is called the *suppon*, presumably because when the actor's head portion becomes visible from below, he resembles a snapping turtle (*suppon*) with his head poking out of the shell. The *suppon* is used primarily for the appearance of such apparitions as ghosts and other supernatural beings, or of sorcerers and magicians.

As for lighting, gas lamps and electricity came to be used only after the 20th century. Prior to that, light was obtained by means of light-openings in the upper portion of the theater during daytime, and by rows of large candles placed before the stage after dark. In certain cases when a special effect was desired, lighted tapers on the end of a long handle were held out by stage hands to light the figure of the performer, this being known as *tsura-akari*, and performing the function of the modern spotlight. Nowadays, all lighting is by electricity, with nuances of day and night being produced. However, in the old classic plays, differentiation in lighting between night and day is not a requisite.

Ô-dôgu is a *kabuki* term used to mean the stage sets, and is now used in other theaters besides *kabuki* in the same sense. The *ô-dôgu* of the old days was simple, but with the invention of the revolving stage, the sets came to take on more complexity, and particularly after the Meiji Restoration, highly elaborate details on a grand scale came into being.

The *kabuki ô-dôgu* is made in a uniform, stereotyped pattern which eliminates waste, saves time and labor, and moreover is possessed of qualities which make possible a special type of artistic effect. Basic pieces include the *niijû* (a platform laid over the stage floor, in three different heights), latticed doors and sliding paper doors, and special flooring for dances. These items are always on hand at every theater, being used both for palace scenes and for scenes laid in the homes of commoners.

As for special stage effects, there are elaborate scenes in the nature of a grand spectacle, in which the revolving stage, the *seri* lifts and movable props are cleverly utilized to show a great full-stage mansion come crashing down in an earthquake, or to cause a back-drop showing the gate of a mansion to recede to the rear, thus creating the illusion of a long-shot, or of moving the scenery and the props in such a manner that the actor, centered on the stage, appears to be moving from one site to another.

Another common piece of stage decoration is the *tsuri-eda* or hanging branches of flowering cherry or plum, which are hung along the proscenium arch over the stage to help in the creation of the needed atmosphere.

The *ko-dôgu* or moveable stage property includes, in *kabuki*, not only the *mochi-dôgu* (items used by the actors in their roles, such as pipes, swords, fans, etc.) and the *de-dôgu* (furniture and other articles placed on the stage), but also carriages and palanquins, and animals (performed by costumed actors). The use of fire on the stage as well as all the sound effects, fall under the supervision of the *ko-dôgu* men, whose work thus includes a wide field. In general, everything that is not under the supervision of the *ô-dôgu* falls under the *ko-dôgu*, but at times the line of demarcation is vague. For instance, trees fall under *ô-dôgu*, but a branch which is to be cut or removed from a tree falls under the *ko-dôgu*.

These days, real objects are used rather than substitutes when possible; but in the Edo Period, most of the small stage properties were made of papier-maché. Hence the boast of the actors that they ate cotton rice from paper rice bowls, and made both look real through the strength of their acting ability.

Due to the fact that the *ko-dôgu* calls for a vast variety of items differing in style and shape with each age to be portrayed, special houses exist, dealing with this exclusively. Each theater contacts these special *ko-dôgu* suppliers before their performances, to obtain the needed articles.

The *maku* or curtain of the *kabuki* stage is patterned with wide vertical stripes of black, red and green, this curtain being called the *jōshiki-maku*. This is not lifted and lowered in the manner of the western stage curtain, but is drawn sideways across the stage, with a member of the *ō-dōgu* corps being responsible for pulling it across. The drawing of this curtain across the stage signifies the end of the scene; but there are special cases in which, after the curtain is drawn across the stage proper, the actor is still posed on the *hanamichi* to enact a special show known as *maku-soto* or 'outside the curtain'.

Besides the *jōshiki-maku*, there are the *asagi-maku* and the *kuro-maku*, the light-blue curtain and the black curtain, named respectively for its color. The former is used for day-time scenes, the latter for night. These curtains are used for the purpose of creating a special effect, being hung from above the stage to hide the scene behind it. They are dropped in a flash movement to provide a sudden sight of the scene, creating a spectacular effect with its sudden removal.

Categories of Kabuki Plays

Due to the fact that *kabuki* has incorporated elements from many preceding stage forms, it is rich in a variety of categories within its repertory.

Jidai-mono. The *jidai-mono* plays are those whose plots are laid in a period previous to the Edo Era, and which deal with the retainers of famous generals and lords of history. In the main, they are tragedies involving the complex relations between lord and retainer, between father and son, and between relatives and friends, brought about by the peculiarly Japanese feudal code of loyalty and sacrifice.

Due to the fact that the Tokugawa Government banned plays treating unfavorably with the regime, some incidents were treated as having occurred in the past. For instance in *Chūshingura*, treating the vendetta of the *Akō* retainers which took place in the Genroku Era under the Edo regime, is laid far back in the Kamakura Era in the play.

Oie-mono. The *oie-mono* plays deal with certain famous scandals which occurred within the households of *daimyō* lords or leading retainers. This category may also be included within the *jidai-mono*.

These plays generally picked up the topic of the times and dramatized the event. *Sendai Hagi* is an outstanding example of this category. Being based on actual, often contemporary incidents, the plays possessed both romantic and realistic qualities, and the portrayal of the lives of warriors and of lords, and the delineation of the conflict between the loyal party and the conspirators, provided much entertainment for the general public.

Sewa-mono. The *sewa-mono* are plays which depict the complications of love and duty among the common people, as opposed to the *jidai-mono* which depict the warrior class. Among the *sewa-mono*, those which possess a certain amount of the old formalized style, are sometimes referred to as *jidai-sewa*, while those of predominantly realistic nature are known as *ki-sewa* plays. *Benten Kozō* is an example of the former, and *Kirare Yosa* of the latter.

In the *ki-sewa* plays, the stage sets, the costumes and the speech are all of a realistic nature, and reveal in detail the way of life, the custom and manners of the common class during the latter Edo Period. Especially to be noted is the large number of *kaidan-mono* (ghost plays) and *shiranami-mono* (plays with robbers as its heroes) to be found in this group, reflecting the decadence of the age.

Kawatake Mokuami, a prolific playwright of this period, wrote many successful plays in the *shiranami* category and came to be known as a *shiranami* playwright. This talented playwright succeeded in fusing the musical and rhythmic quality and the formalized beauty of the old classic *kabuki* into the realism of the newer *kabuki*. Creating speeches of a rhythmic quality, his plays were infused with an eloquent lyricism.

Denden-mono. The so-called *denden-mono* is also known, perhaps more properly, as *maruhon-mono*, and are plays that have been adapted to the *kabuki* from those

originally intended for the doll theater. The term *den-den* seems to have come from the heavy strum of the thick-stringed *shamisen* of the *gidayu* ballad chanters in the doll theater.

With the incorporation of the *maruhon* plays into *kabuki*, the *kabuki* repertory was hugely enriched. Both in quality and quantity, these plays still form the core of the *kabuki* plays which are still in existence. The three plays which are known as the big three of the classic *kabuki*, *Kanadehon Chūshingura*, *Sugawara Denju Tamarai Kagami* and *Yoshitsune Semon-zakura* are all *maruhon* plays.

Katsureki-mono. The *katsureki-mono* are plays which were written for the *kabuki* subsequent to the Meiji Restoration, in which historic details were followed more fastidiously than in the old *jidai-mono*. Playwright Kawatake Mokuami and actor Ichikawa Danjūrō (the ninth) were responsible for the creation of this genre, in which the old fantasy and romanticism gave way to realistic details. However, they did not leave many outstanding numbers in this category.

A great number of the plays in the so-called *Shin Kabuki Jūhachi-ban* (New Selection of 18 Grand Kabuki Plays) is of the *katsureki* group. *Shigemori Kagen* and *Omori Hikoshichi* are examples. The *katsureki* plays greatly influenced the staging of *jidai-mono* subsequently.

Zangiri-mono. The *zangiri-mono* are plays which were created after the Meiji Restoration, depicting a new phase of the life of the common people, showing the influence on manner of living brought about through Western influence. During this era, the *chonmage* style of men's hairdress gave way to the hair cut in a western style, this new style being called *zangiri-atama* colloquially. Because the characters in the new plays wore their hair in the *zangiri* style, the plays came to be called *zangiri* plays.

However, although the appearances of the characters may have changed, the plots and the general construction remained much like those of older plays, without leading to the creation of any new form of realism. *Shima-chidori* and *Shimoyo-no Kane* are

plays of this group which are still presented once in a while.

Nō-tori mono. These are plays which have been adapted to the *kabuki* from the *nō* drama or from its companion *kyōgen* farces. While they often follow the original quite faithfully, they are fully adapted to the *kabuki* form. Examples taken from the *nō* are *Kanjinchō* and *Funa Benkei*. Those taken from the *kyōgen* include *Tsuru Onna* and *Ninin-bakama*.

Shosa-goto. These are the *kabuki* dance numbers. Nowadays, these dance plays are generally presented as an independent one-act number, but formerly, they were often a single scene taking place in the course of a much longer dramatic play. (cf. Kabuki dance)

Kabuki Dramaturgy

In *kabuki* representation, there are many special types of scenes and stage techniques involved. Although 'types of scenes' may be considered as belonging under the category of stage representation, it will be discussed here as a separate independent item.

Types of scenes.

Nureba: The *nureba* is a love scene, generally of a somewhat erotic nature, in which the woman is usually the more aggressive, the man passive. In most cases the *nureba* scene is of a formalized, dance-like nature, and is designed to allow a full display of the beauty of sensuous femininity. Often the *kami-suki* in which a woman combs and smooths the hair of her husband or her lover, is utilized to emphasize the tenderness of her love. Among the *nureba* scenes, *Honchō-Nijū-shi-Kō* in which the princess Yaegaki-hime makes love to handsome young Katsuyori, is particularly famous.

Shuraba: This is a scene depicting fighting with the sword, in battle scenes or in duel scenes. Wooden clappers and stage music are used effectively to create the atmosphere of the fight scene, with the *tate* (acrobatic fight-mime) also being employed.

Enkiri: This is a stereotyped situation occurring in *sewa-mono* plays, in which a man and woman who mutually love each

other quarrel, and the woman, pretending to despise the man, forces a separation against her own will, due to varying circumstances, generally to save her lover in one way or another. After the cold words of separation, the lover kills the woman in anger, only to discover her true heart too late.

The depiction of the torment of the woman who is forced to give up her lover and pretend to hate him, and the tragedy brought about by her lover's misunderstanding of her intentions, is the aim of the *enkiri* scene, with emphasis also on the irony of fate. *Godairiki* and *Ise Ondo* are examples.

In such *enkiri* scenes, the wailing music of the *kokyū* (ancient stringed instrument played with a bow) and the *shamisen* are used to help create the necessary effect.

Koroshi-ba: This is a scene of killing, a blood scene. In the *jidai-mono* it generally takes place in the form of a vendetta, and in cases when the revenge is unsuccessful, with the enemy again getting the upper hand and killing the would-be revenger, the scene often takes on an added brutality.

In the *sewa-mono*, the *koroshi-ba* is often tied in with the *enkiri* scene, with the crazed lover killing many people in his mad rush to attack his former sweetheart. In the play *Ise Ondo*, a young samurai named Mitsugu suffers *enkiri* at the hands of his sweetheart, the *geisha* Okon, and in a mad fit, he kills many innocent bystanders. The scene is one of horror and yet charged with a strange formalized beauty, with *tate* (mock acrobatic fight) performed to the accompaniment of music that creates an air of pathetic tragedy.

Again, in the play *Natsu Matsuri*, a man named Danshichi kills his despicable father-in-law in a highly interesting scene from the standpoint of *kabuki* dramaturgy. *Chi-nori* (a red paste used to represent blood), actual water and mud are used in the staging of this number to create a realistic effect; but at the same time, the performance is one which utilizes to a high degree the stylized formality and exaggerated beauty typical of classic *kabuki*. The sight of *Danshichi*, posed with the

sword in one hand, his bare arms and shoulders covered with elaborate tattoo, is a grandly effective sight, very typically *kabuki*.

Yusuri-ba: This is an extortion scene, in which ruffians make some excuse to coerce money from a wealthy household. Such scenes came to be presented frequently, with the increasing popularity of the *shiranami* plays (plays with robber heroes). It may be said to be a scene glorifying the deeds of the lawbreakers, and is carried on with a rhythmically lilting dialogue which gives the *yusuri-ba* a special attraction. The *Hama-matsuya* scene of *Benten Kozō* and the *Genya-dana* scene of *Kirare Yosa* are two famous scenes in this category.

Semeba: This is a scene in which a presentable young man or a beautiful young woman suffers oppression for a deed of which he or she is actually innocent. In some cases, the victim is shown as being tortured to death, or being subjected to *yuki-zeme* (being beaten in the cold in a snow-covered yard) or *hebi-zeme* (threatened with snakes) and other forms. Especially in the case when the victim is a beautiful young maiden, the scene takes on a touch of eroticism, this giving birth to a sort of abnormal, neurotic beauty typical of a decadent age.

An unusual form of *semeba* is one known as the *koto-zeme* which is to be seen in the play *Dannoura Kabuto Gunki*. This is a form of questioning to which the courtesan Akoya is submitted. Under ordinary circumstances she would have been tortured into giving information, but due to sympathetic intervention, she is 'tortured' by means of three musical instruments, the *koto*, *shamisen* and *kokyū*. As she performs on each without a mistake, she is judged to be telling the truth when she says that she knows nothing.

Shūtan-ba: The *shūtan-ba* is a sad scene calling for tears, in most cases depicting some kind of parting between parent and child, husband and wife, or lord and retainer. The scene progresses through long speeches of reminiscence, confession or the telling of the story. A typical example is the *sushiya* scene in *Yoshitsune Sembon-*

zakura in which Gonta, after he is fatally stabbed, delivers a long confession speech asking his parents' forgiveness for his past sins. Another example of the *shūtan-ba* is to be seen in *Sendai Hagi* in which Masaoka, loyal nurse-governess of the lord's young son, weeps over the dead body of her own son who was killed in place of the lord's son. In this scene Masaoka voices her grief, while the *jōruri* ballad singers, called *chobo*, sing their plaintive narrative to increase the tear-drawing effect. This *chobo* is an important factor in all *shūtan-ba*, playing a great part in the scene's sense of grief.

Monogatari: The *monogatari* (story-telling) is a means used as a sort of flashback to introduce an incident apart from that of the scene itself. A warrior hero tells the story of a battle in which he took part in the past, and to the narrative sung by the *chobo* he goes through the motions of the battle just as if he were living through it at the moment, while reciting his own part.

Each specific *monogatari* is generally known by the name of the character that relates the tale, as for instance, *Sanemori-monogatari*, which is a battle tale recounted by the warrior Sanemori.

Again, there is a form of *monogatari* in which a messenger comes dashing from the battlefield to report to the lord or general and then hurries back again to the scene of battle. This, too, is similarly a means of creating a flashback effect within the scene on stage at the moment.

Hanamichi entries and exits: The *kabuki*, in making use of its unique *hanamichi* passage-way, employs many special techniques in the entry and exit of the main characters, to create the greatest possible effect. In entries by way of the *hanamichi*, the actor stands at the spot on the passage-way which is called the 7-3 point, that is, three-tenths of the length of the passage-way from the front edge of the stage, and seven-tenths of the length from the back exit curtain. Here he makes a pose or delivers his part in such a manner as to make a striking impression on the audience. There are also occasions when the same

spot is used for the delivery of his words, or for a long speech known as *tsurane*, in *Shibaraku* and in *Sukeroku*.

In exits by way of the *hanamichi*, the actor stops once at the 7-3 point to create an effective *mie* pose before continuing on his way down the passageway to the exit curtain. Again, in the case when the character making the exit is of a heroic stature, his exit is made in a special *tobi-roppō* style which symbolizes his bold and valiant manner of walking. Particularly the exit which is made as a *maku-soto* (outside the curtain, that is, after the curtain has been drawn across the main stage) performance, is considered of special importance in providing an effective closing scene, and many forms have been created for such exits. A fine example is the exit of Benkei in *Kanjinchō*, which expresses Benkei's joy and relief, as well as his valiant nature, and is one of the superb examples of such exits.

Special kabuki conventions. *Aragoto:* This is a type of role which was created by Ichikawa Danjūrō in the Genroku Period (1688-1703), and is a special feature of *Edo Kabuki*. This role represents a hero of superhuman properties who exhibits his great magical power. His face is made up in a grotesque *kuma* with heavy red, blue and black lines painted to emphasize the facial lines. He wears a strange costume and a huge sword; his voice and manner of speech, as well as his actions, are all highly exaggerated and formalized. It is often said that the *aragoto* role should be performed with the soul of a child, this revealing the simplicity and uncomplicated nature of the direct-minded character. Roles to be seen in numbers listed among the so-called *Kabuki-Jūhachi-ban* or "18 Grand Plays of Kabuki", such as *Sukeroku*, *Yanone* and *Benkei* in *Kanjinchō* are representative examples of *aragoto*.

Wagoto: The *wagoto* is a type of role which was perfected by Sakata Tōjūrō in Osaka during the Genroku Period, and is a special feature of the *Osaka Kabuki*. The *wagoto* is an effeminate male role who makes love to a maiden, creating a sensuous scene through special gentle manner of

voice and speech. A feature of this type of role is that it is quite effeminate, and also has a slight degree of the comical within it. For instance, the sight of *Jihe*, coming staggering down the *hanamichi*, his mind entirely blank after a thrilling encounter with a beautiful courtesan, is a typical *wagoto* type. Chūbei of *Umegawa-Chūbei* and Iemon of *Kuruwa Bunshō* are also examples of the *wagoto*.

Ningyō-buri: As has been mentioned previously, *kabuki* incorporated many plays and mannerisms from the doll theater. The form of acting in which an actor moves as though he were a puppet of the doll theater, is known as *ningyō-buri*. In such cases, another actor dressed like the doll handler, takes his place behind the main actor, to go through motions as if he were handling the 'doll' and causing it to move. This form is often used to enhance the feminine beauty through a type of 'deformation' as it were, and is often used for the role of Princess Yaegaki-hime in *Honchō Nijūshi-kō* or Princess Kiyo-hime in *Hidaka-gawa*.

Mie: This is a pose which is struck in the midst of an action, at the moment when the dramatic tension reaches its peak. The actor stops, peels his eyes wide open in a grimace, and strikes a dramatic pose which is etched into the audience's memory with its impressive beauty. Almost every scene ends in a *mie*. The curtain is drawn with the characters posed in a picture-like *mie* which captures in immobility one balanced moment in the action.

Tate: The *tate* is the form in which a fight scene is portrayed. The fight scene in its entirety is known as *tachi-mawari*, while each of the means employed in the course of the *tachi-mawari* is called *tate*. This is used even in the case of dance scenes, where it is performed in time to the music. An example is one which takes place during the dance scene of *Okaru* and *Kampe*, in *Chūshingura*.

Dammari: The *dammari* is a scene in which the characters on stage pretend to grope around in the dark for each other, this being carried out in a formalized dance pantomime, in the midst of which the char-

acters strike several picturesque poses. The *dammari* may be classified broadly in two types, depending on the type of play in which it occurs, as *jidai-dammari* or *sewa-dammari*.

Keren: The *keren* is a scene in which the creation of an eye-catching spectacle is the main aim, with unusual stage setting and other techniques being employed. Examples of the *keren* are the *hayagawari* which is explained in the next paragraph, the *chū-nori* in which a character is shown to swish through the air by means of special stage devices, the *shikake-mono* or trick scenes such as the one in which a lantern is split open to reveal a ghostly apparition coming out of it, or the use of real water on the stage.

Hayagawari: The *hayagawari* is the so-called 'quick-change', in which one actor takes two or more roles in the course of a single scene, making the changes in an incredibly short time. A stage-hand is on hard back stage with wig and costume to help the actor change from one role to the next in the short moment between exit and next entry; or in some cases, another actor may be used very briefly as a substitute to allow the change. In the play called *Osome no shichi-yaku*, a single actor is called on to take a total of seven roles representing both male and female, young and old, and brings gasps of amazement from the audience because of the astonishing quick-changes.

Chobo: This word refers to the *gidayū-shamisen* player and the narrative singer who are seated to the right (facing the stage of the stage). In the doll theater, the *gidayū* music and narrative is used throughout the play, supplying both the spoken words and the narrative. However, in *kabuki*, the *chobo* is restricted to describing the action or the emotions of the roles portrayed on the stage. The word *chobo* is thought to have originated from the fact that the narrative parts in the *gidayū* were marked with red dots alongside the lines. These dots were called *chobo* and it seems that the current term originated from this usage.

Kōjō: The *kōjō* is a ceremonious special announcement made from the stage by an actor or by a representative of the theater. This is used to announce an actor's having inherited the stage name of his father or some illustrious predecessor, or in cases when the occasion is a special memorial program for some great deceased actor.

In some cases, a special short curtain-call is arranged for the *kōjō*, but in other cases, the *kōjō* may be held in the midst of a regular play, with the play being halted for a few moments during the announcement, which is made by actors on the stage who step out of their roles for that short time. In either case, the *kōjō* serves to increase the feeling of intimacy between the actors and the audience.

Tsurane: This is a long eloquent speech which is made by an actor in an *aragoto* role, generally from the *hanamichi*. Full of rhetoric and rythmical beauty, the *tsurane* was popular in the Genroku Period when the *aragoto* role saw its perfection. An example is the *tsurane* of the play *Shibaraku*.

Tombo-gaeri: This is a sort of acrobatic tumbles and falls which form a part of the *tate*. It is used by minor actors to enhance the show of grandeur of the hero, so that with a mere show of throwing or of kicking, the hero appears to have thrown or tossed his adversaries at will.

Tobi-roppō: This is a form of exit used by the actor in an *aragoto* role. It is an exaggerated walk, made into a formalized, impressive style. The *tobi-roppō* used by Benkei in his exit after the dance drama *Kanjin-chō* is the most famous.

Tsuke: This is the sounding of two wooden sticks against a flat board laid on the stage floor to the right (facing the stage). It is used in fight scenes, at moments when an actor strikes a *mie* pose, when an actor comes running in haste down the *hanamichi*, when objects are thrown or broken, and other such moments when great excitement or acceleration in the pace of the drama takes place. The *tsuke* at the moment of a *mie* is called *battari* (representing the one resounding stroke at the exact moment the pose is struck), *bata-bata*

(representing repeated strokes) when struck to accompany an actor's hasty running, and other such onomatopoeic names depending on the way the board is struck in accordance with the situation.

Impersonation

In creating the outer appearance of his role, the actor relies on three factors, the costume, the wig and the make-up.

Costumes. The costumes in *kabuki* have been taken from actual clothing as they were seen in daily life, but they have been treated freely for the greatest artistic effect and are used without a too strict regard for accuracy as to the corresponding period. Particularly the latter is true in the case of *jidai-mono* plays.

During the Edo Period, the actors bore the expenses of their costumes themselves, so that they spent lavishly to create the most effective costumes for their roles. As a result, the art of costume designing saw much development, and often the costume as designed by the actor became the base for the fashion mode of the day.

Today, many of the costumes used by the actors are determined by the roles, with the design, color and pattern following a form prescribed by tradition. In other words, they are the forms which were created by the actors of a past age.

Among special costumes, there are some which are specially designed to allow a quick instantaneous change on stage, such as the *hikinuki* and *bukkaeri*. In the *hikinuki*, the costume is made in such a way that the outer layer can be slipped off in an instant, leaving the sash intact. In the *bukkaeri* the upper part of a costume is made so that it can be turned inside out over the sash, effecting a complete change in appearance. Both are used to symbolize a sudden change in the nature or character of the role. In the latter, the style of hair too is changed at the same time, by a quick switching of wigs.

Wigs. The various types of hair styles used in *kabuki* serve not only to help create the character visually, but also serve to symbolize the type of role being portrayed. Among the hair styles, there are some

which are highly exaggerated and formalized, some which are of a symbolistic nature, and others which are highly realistic. All in all, they make a total of several hundred styles.

A woman of noble heroic character or of specially high virtue, in generally portrayed wearing her hair in a *katakazushi* style. A hero of the *aragoto* type wears the *kuruma-bin*. An important *kataki* (enemy or villain) role wears the *ōji* style. An intelligent level-headed warrior wears the *namajime* style; and other types of roles too are provided with wigs thought appropriate to the nature of that role.

The wig of the *onna-gata* is of a realistic nature, in the majority of cases being the hair-styles used by women during the Edo Period. For instance, a maiden of the townsman class wears the *yuiwata* style, a matron the *marumage*, the courtesan the *murasaki-tenjin*. A woman serving in a warrior lord's household wears her hair in the *bunkin* style; a princess in a *jidai-mono* play wears the *fukiwa*. The wigs of the *onna-gata* also make use of the *habutae*, a square of purple silk over the forehead, to increase the feminine appeal.

Kumadori (Makeup)

Among the makeup techniques used in *kabuki*, the *kumadori* is the most unique and effective. This is the method of painting various strong lines on the face, creating an effect which is now an indispensable feature of the *kabuki*. This is said to have been originated in the Genroku Era by famous actor Ichikawa Danjūrō (the first), who devised the *kumadori* in imitation of the makeup used in the drama of China.

The *kumadori* is used mainly in *aragoto* roles or other roles which have much of the characteristics of the *aragoto* roles. It developed mainly in the romantic, imaginative *Edo Kabuki*, and at its height, there were some sixty or seventy different types of *kumadori*. However, only ten or so are still to be seen in general use today.

The *kumadori* is created by heavily emphasizing the natural lines of the face, with paints of red, blue and black being the basic colors. The red lines symbolize passion,

righteousness and valor. The blue lines represent the evil or the supernatural. Among the red *kuma* there are the *suji-kuma*, the *hon-kuma* and the *mukimi-kuma*. Among the blue *kuma* are the *tsuchigumo-kuma*, *kijo-kuma*, and *hannya-kuma*.

In *aragoto* roles, the *kuma* lines are drawn on the hands and feet also.

Geza-ongaku (Stage music)

The music used in *kabuki* may be divided into two categories, that used for dance-drama, and the other for spoken drama in which the music serves as background accompaniment. The former is called *degatari* in the case of *jōruri* music, and *deba-yashi* in the case of *nagauta* music. These musicians are seated on platforms on the stage, to the right (facing the stage) or to the rear. The *gidayū*, *tokiwazu*, *kiyomoto*, *shinnai* and other types of *jōruri* ballad music, and the *nagauta* music are included in this group. As for the latter category, this is called *geza-ongaku*, and the musicians are placed to the left side of the stage, hidden from sight. They provide background music to help create the atmosphere needed for the performance.

The *geza-ongaku* is effectively utilized at the opening and closing of the curtain, at the entrance and exit of a performer, or as background music for the action or speech taking place on the stage. The *shamisen* is the main instrument in the *geza-ongaku*, with various percussion instruments, the flute, and songs being added when thought appropriate. There are several types among the *geza-ongaku*, such as percussion instruments only, which is used for the purpose of creating the sound illusion of rain or of wind. The gong struck to suggest the time of day also falls in this group. Then there is the 'unaccompanied song' group, of which the boatman's song and the horse-leader's song are examples. Another is the "shamisen only" group. These various types of *geza-ongaku* are woven together in an intricate manner to create the desired effect.

The most unique instrument among those used in the *geza-ongaku* is the *ō-taiko* or the big drum. By merely changing the

manner of striking this drum, it is made to suggest the sound of rain, wind, the flow of a river, the fall of snow. Again, it is used together with the flute and the *shamisen* to create a sense of the supernatural at the appearance of a ghost or apparition, and in many other effective ways.

Kabuki plays

In the *kabuki* repertory, plays which have been taken from works originally written for the doll theater make up a prominent portion, together with those which were written specifically for *kabuki* itself. In this chapter, we shall discuss only the purely *kabuki* plays. (See "Jōruri Doll Theater".)

Narukami (1742)

This is one of the older of the purely *kabuki* numbers, said to be the creation of actor Ichikawa Danjūrō (the first). However, the *Narukami* which is performed today is a revised version. A sorcerer priest named Narukami stops the rainfall with his incantations and causes a drought. The princess *Kumono-taema-hime* is sent by the ruler to subdue the sorcerer. She comes and causes his moral downfall, after which, while he is asleep, she breaks the magic spell and causes rain. Narukami chases her in anger, but in vain. The manner in which the priest Narukami is gradually tempted by the beautiful princess is a skillful portrayal of human nature. This, and the naive eroticism of the princess, make the play one worthy of presentation even now. It is one of the so-called 18 Grand Plays of *Kabuki* (plays established by actor Ichikawa Danjūrō the seventh, as the specialties of the house of Ichikawa), of which only 6 or 7 are still performed.

Shibaraku (1697)

This is also an old *kabuki* number, and is included in the 18 Grand Plays of *Kabuki*. An evil nobleman orders his underling, who is represented by a man with face painted an evil red, to kill a group of innocent people. At this point, a command-

ing call of *Shibaraku! Shibaraku!* ordering a halt in the proceedings is heard, and a grand hero makes his appearance to kill all the evil men at one stroke of his great sword. He restores the treasure stolen by the evil men to its rightful owner, and saves the innocent people from death. The costuming of all the characters is surrealistic, as is the action also, which is in the old *aragoto* style of *kabuki*. This number is one of the representative examples of *Edo Kabuki*.

Sendai Hagi (1785)

Sendai Hagi is a play which is made up of a combination of plays written for *kabuki* itself and for the doll theater, and handles the scandal involving the house of the lord of Sendai. In the household the evil retainers are in power and the life of the young son of the lord is in danger. Masaoka, nurse to the child, prepares his food herself in order to protect him from being poisoned. (This scene is known as the *mamataki* scene.) The wife of the evil conspirator tries to poison the child, but the child is saved through the sacrifice of Masaoka's own child, who dies in his stead.

Meanwhile, one of the conspirators, Nikki Danjō, making use of magic, takes the form of a rat to steal back the list of conspirators which had fallen into the hands of Masaoka. But faithful guard Otokonosuke realizes the true identity of the rat and wounds it with his iron fan. The wounded Danjō runs off. (This scene is called the 'yukashita' scene. Otokonosuke, with a huge rat underfoot, is lifted up in this pose by the *seri* lift to the stage. The rat runs away and disappears down the *suppon* opening on the *hanamichi*, after which the figure of Danjō, with a wound on his forehead where the iron fan had struck the rat, appears holding the scroll of the conspirators in his mouth.)

Subsequently, the loyal and the evil factions face each other at a trial, and Danjō's conspiracy comes to light. Danjō puts up a resistance in which he kills the loyal Geki, but he is finally subdued. (This is called the 'Talketsu-Ninjō' scene.)

This play, possessing a more or less consistent plot, and presenting many spectacle scenes as well as a portrayal of human nature, is quite popular and very often presented.

Hōkaibō (1783)

A rogue-priest turned begger, Hōkaibō is infatuated with Okumi, daughter of a second-hand goods dealer, but Okumi loves the clerk at her father's shop, Yōsuke. This Yōsuke is in reality a young man of high birth, in disguise, and his real name is Matsuwaka. Matsuwaka has a fiancée, Princess Nowaki, who comes in search of her lover, but is killed by Hōkaibō. Hōkaibō in turn is killed by a faithful retainer of Matsuwaka. The spirits of these two, Princess Nowaki and Hōkaibō, enter into a single form, and this form is in the shape of the girl Okumi. This dual-personality ghost in Okumi's shape, comes to harass the real Okumi and Matsuwaka who are trying to flee by crossing the Sumida River. Matsuwaka is surprised at the sight of two Okumi's, but presently the ghost Okumi disappears, dragging away with it the gong that the rogue Hōkaibō always used to carry around with him.

This latter portion, laid on the bank of Sumida River, is principally a dance number, with the dances of the two Okumi's forming the main part. The play as a whole is a humorous *sewa-mono* number.

Ise Ondo (1796)

Mitsugi is investigating the whereabouts of a certain sword and the certificate that accompanies it, for the sake of his former lord. Through the efforts of his aunt, he manages to retrieve the sword. Next, his courtesan sweetheart Okon, learns that one of her patrons has the certificate in his possession, and pretending to make love to him, contrives to steal it for Mitsugi's sake. However, Mitsugi is unaware of this, and meeting with Okon's pretense of coldness (the other patron is there), he goes into a sudden mad frenzy in the belief that Okon has betrayed their love, and kills a score of people one after another.

This play offers representative examples of the *engiri* (severing of relationships) and the *koroshi* (killing) scenes. The spiteful old woman at the teahouse, the loyalty of the cook, the love of Mitsugi's fiancée Sakaki, the enmity of the rival patron of Okon...all of these are woven together skillfully. In the *koroshi-ba* scene, Mitsugi performs a group of highly stylized forms.

Yotsuya Kaidan (1825)

Iemon kills his father-in-law Yotsuya-samon who has learned of his bad deeds. Meanwhile, his wife O-iwa loses her beauty due to the hardships of poverty and childbirth; and Iemon begins to detest her. When he is asked to marry the rich daughter next door, he gladly complies. When he returns home, he finds that meanwhile his wife O-iwa has been poisoned by the neighbor, as a result of which she is now cruelly disfigured. Iemon treats her coldly and in the resulting frenzy, O-iwa is accidentally killed. A servant named Kohei, who witnessed the incident, is also killed by Iemon. Iemon ties both the bodies to a wooden door and throws them into the river.

However, O-iwa's vengeful spirit wreaks havoc, and both the new bride and her father are doomed to die by Iemon's hand. And one day, the wooden door to which he had tied the bodies drifts down the canal to the place where Iemon happens to be fishing. The decomposed bodies of the two assume a horrible form and torment Iemon.

Finally, Iemon, almost driven mad by the tormenting of O-iwa's angry ghost, is killed. To this story of Iemon and O-iwa another story telling of O-iwa's younger sister and her relationship with another Iemon-like scoundrel named Naosuke, is added. The entire play reflects the decaying society of the age, and the character of Iemon may be said to represent a member of the unemployed warrior class who falls into evil ways through the stress of poverty. O-iwa may be considered the representative of the passive, somber woman of the age. Her revenge after death may be interpreted as the execution in a super-

natural sphere what was actually impossible in real society.

The sight of O-iwa, carrying a newly-born child, with her features gradually changing due to the poison, is one of the sensational scenes of the play. Her eyes become swollen, her hair comes out in bunches, and when she grasps her hair, blood oozes out. All these effects are created by special stage techniques. The hair-combing scene has a special musical accompaniment known as *meriyasu*.

Scenes depicting brothel hovels, or showing the maltreatment of a small child selling clams, all reflect the hopeless darkness of the society of that period.

Another of the spectacular effects is made in the scene of the wooden door, when it floats down to Iemon. The actor portraying O-iwa makes a quick change to appear as Kohei when the board is flipped over to the other side. Then, in the immediately ensuing scene, the same actor appears this time as O-iwa's sister, to take part in a *dammari* pantomime together with actors in the roles of Iemon, Naosuke and others.

Again, there is another effective scene in which the ghost of O-iwa appears at Iemon's home, coming out through a lantern, and disappearing into the altar. Many other complicated stage techniques are utilized throughout the play to create ghastly and supernatural effects.

This play is a masterpiece among the *kaidan* (ghost) plays, and is often performed on the summer program.

Sukeroku (1713)

Sukeroku is another number included among the 18 Grand Plays of *Kabuki*. This too is an old number, but it attained the form in which it is seen today quite recently.

Sukeroku, in reality Soga-no-Gorō, is searching for a lost sword. For this purpose he frequents the Yoshiwara *geisha* quarters, where he has a courtesan sweetheart named Agemaki. Here he provokes evil old Ikyū, a rival for Agemaki's affections, into drawing his sword, and thus is able to ascertain that Ikyū's sword is the one he is seeking.

Sukeroku makes his appearance on the *hanamichi* dressed in a black silk *kimono* showing a pale blue garment underneath. He wears a brocade sash and a purple silk headband. He carries an oiled paper umbrella open over his head, and has a bamboo flute stuck into his sash. He strikes a dashing pose on the *hanamichi*, and proceeds to show the gallantry of the Edo townsmen, which is set off to advantage against the high-handed warrior class, represented by Ikyū. *Sukeroku* is a skilled swordsman, eloquent of speech, manly in nature, and enough of a gallant to be the beloved of a proud, high-ranking courtesan. In short, he might be said to be a Cyrano de Bergerac turned into an Edo hero.

The extravagant brilliance of the Yoshiwara quarters, the splendid costumes worn by the *onnagata* in their roles of the beautiful and talented courtesans, the dashing fights by heroic gallants, *Sukeroku's* elegant dance on the *hanamichi*, the sensational scene in which *Sukeroku*, clothed in white silk, jumps into a huge barrel of real water, all make for a grand show. The appearance of Ikyū, of the soba-seller, of *Sukeroku's* mother and brother and other characters, add to the color scheme of the whole; and the number is a fine combination offering all the elements of *aragoto*, *wagoto* and of the *sewa-mono*.

Sukeroku is one of the plays in a group known as the *soga-mono*, which treat with the vendetta of the Soga brothers. The Soga brothers, after 18 years of effort, finally managed to gain revenge for their father's murder. This story is handled in many *kabuki* plays, and these plays are called *soga-mono*. *Sukeroku*, as mentioned previously, is supposed to be Soga-no-Gorō, one of the Soga brothers.

The *Soga-mono* plays are generally of a showy nature, so that they are often utilized as New Year numbers. *Taimen* in which the brothers manage to come face to face with their enemy Kudō, *Yanone* in which Soga-no-Gorō dreams that his brother Jūrō is held captive by Kudō and runs off to Kudō's mansion to save him, are examples. The latter number shows him sharpening

the tip of a huge man-size arrow, which has given the play its name of Yanone or arrow-tip.

Benten Kozō (Shiranami Gonin O-toko) (1862)

This is a five act play of which the latter three acts are still performed to this day. Five robbers make a pledge of brotherhood, and vow that though they may steal, they will never work an injustice or act in cruelty or inhumanity.

Benten Kozō does his work disguised as a beautiful maiden. One day he goes in this disguise to Hamamatsuya, a silk goods store, but he is exposed as a man. The climax in which Benten Kozō upon his exposure, brazenly throws off his *kimono* and strikes a defiant pose, is famous for the color effect and the striking picture it creates, as well as for the rhythmic beauty of the spoken lines.

In the ensuing scene, the five robbers appear together for another spectacular display in which all five are dressed in colorful garments, each appropriate to his nature. This is a typically *kabuki* scene, a brilliant show in which the color and the lyric rhythm of the speech are perfectly blended in such moments as when all five line up on the *hanamichi* carrying oilpaper umbrellas with identical lettering on them, or when they line up on the stage to deliver in turn their rhythmic self-introductory speeches.

In the next and final scene, the stage shows the top of a tiled roof, where Benten Kozō, in fighting his pursuers, performs a series of typically *kabuki mie* poses. The roof is pulled up out of sight, and then on the stage floor level, the head of the robber gang, resplendent in a garment of silver and gold embroidery, is revealed.

One after another the spectacular *kabuki* conventions are shown in the play, and Benten Kozō is an outstanding number among the *shiranami* plays.

Kōchiyama and Naozamura (1881)

This was a *sewa-mono* play of seven acts, of which the third and sixth acts alone are

still performed, as Kōchiyama and Naozamura respectively.

Kōchiyama is a rogue, but possessed with the bold courage to defy the authority of the corrupt and tyrannical rule of the time. Hearing that the lord is trying to seduce the daughter of a money-lender against her will, he disguises himself as a high priest and goes to demand her release. The corrupt lord is cowed into agreement; but Kōchiyama's identity is exposed just as he is about to leave. However, he makes a fine show of bravado, exposing the lord's wrongs in a strong rhythmical speech, and boldly walks off unharmed.

As for Naojirō, or Naozamura, this is one of Kōchiyama's henchmen. He is being sought together with others of Kōchiyama's group for their misdeeds. One snowy night he comes to say farewell to his courtesan sweetheart Michitose. To the accompaniment of melancholy *kiyomoto* music, they speak of their unhappy love. But due to betrayal on the part of a fellow-member, Naojirō is caught that night.

Centering on the rogue Kōchiyama's bravado show in face of the oppression of the lord, and on Naojirō and Michitose's tender love scene, the play is one of the masterpieces in the *sewa-mono* field.

Kanjinchō (1840)

This is one of the numbers among the 18 Grand Plays of *Kabuki*, and tells the story of the warrior general Yoshitsune on his flight north. Accompanied by Benkei and four faithful retainers, he reaches the barrier of Ataka. Here the entourage encounters danger of discovery, but due to Benkei's loyalty and barrier-keeper Togashi's sympathy, they are able to pass safely.

The form is patterned after the *noh* original; and *nagauta* music is used for the accompanying narrative. Benkei's oratorical eloquence, his performance in *aragoto* style, and the ensuing dance form the highlights of the number. With its spectacularism and lyricism, it is easily one of the outstanding numbers among the *kabuki* dance-drama.

Popular Theater

In present-day Japan, there are, besides the classic *noh*, *kabuki* and the *jōruri* doll theater, and the so-called *shingeki* or modern drama with its Western style of presentation, several genres which may be termed as the popular theater.

Shimpa

Among the earlier of such is the *Shimpa*. This is a form of theater presentation which lies midway between the *kabuki* and the modern theater. It was promoted in 1887, and was named the *Shimpa* or New School, as opposed to the *kabuki* which was considered to be the Old School. At the time of its inception, the *Shimpa* was active as a factor in the political movement calling for popular franchise, and was mainly a troupe formed for the purpose of propagandizing this movement. The plays were performed by politically-minded young men, and the performances were therefore also referred to as *sōshi-shibai* or *shosei-shibai*.

Even today, male actors appear on the *Shimpa* stage as female impersonators in a manner similar to the *kabuki*; however, actresses also appear on the same stage, and it was in the *shimpa* performances that women performers were seen for the first time in the modern age.

In the earlier plays, artistry was lacking and the scripts poor, but they were characterized by the quality of always handling current and timely topics. Particularly during the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), *Shimpa* actor Kawakami Otojirō (1864-1911) gained great popularity through his dramatizing of war news, so much so that the *Shimpa* practically overwhelmed the *kabuki* drama. One of the reasons for this success was the fact that the *shimpa* presentation of soldiers created a more realistic and compelling picture than that of the *kabuki*. Moreover, *kabuki* had just lost through death two of its leading actors of the age, the ninth Ichikawa Danjūrō and

the fifth Onoe Kikugorō, leaving it in a weakened condition. *Shimpa* leaped into the breach, to win great acclaim with dramatizations of popular novels of the day, such as *Konjiki-yasha*, *Onoga Tsumi*, *Chikyōdai*, *Hototogisu* etc., creating the so-called *shimpa* melodrama.

Kawakami Otojirō is recognized as the man who led *Shimpa* to its first great success; travelling to France with his actress wife, he later became an introducer of modern theater methods to Japan. The golden age of the old *Shimpa* plays was centered around 1907, after which time the rise of the *shingeki* or modern theater movement led the *Shimpa* to incorporate more of the elements of the modern Western stage. With the brilliant competence of such actors as Ii Yōhō, Kawai Takeo, Kitamura Rokurō and others, the *Shimpa* Troupe reached its height about 1932, with its performance of *Futasuji Michi*. However, the troupe showed no fundamental progress or development after that and fell into stagnation; moreover, it fell into disintegration within itself. In postwar years, the troupe once more joined hands and it now occupies an important corner of the theatrical world. Its polished performances are highly lauded; and particularly its depiction of the world of the geisha is such that it has no peers among other troupes in this field.

Shinkokugeki

The *shinkokugeki* troupe was formed in 1917 by Sawada Shōjirō (1892-1929), formerly an active member of the *Bungei Kyōkai*, a new theater movement initiated by Tsubouchi Shōyō. The aim of the newly established troupe was the formation of a new popular theater, which would bring the theater closer to the populace than the *shingeki* or so-called modern theater, which was mainly a dramatic genre maintained by an intellectual minority. Aiming always at popularization of the theater, the troupe

chose plays first of all for entertainment value, and gained much popularity with its interpretations of the warrior world of feudal Japan. It incorporated the techniques of both the *kabuki* and the *shimpa*, and eventually created its own special genre of *kengeki*, the sword-fight plays. Through its performance at the Meiji-za Theater in Tokyo in 1921, it captured the Tokyo theater fans, and the name of Sawa-Shō (derived from Sawada Shōjirō) and his *kengeki* came to be known throughout the nation.

Due to the sudden and early death of Sawada, the *shinkokugeki* declined for a while; but with the rising competence of his successors, the troupe has recovered its popularity and achieved a special theater style of its own.

Zenshin-za

The Zenshin-za is a troupe which has as its aim a progressive-minded popularization of the classic *kabuki*. In 1931, Kawarasaki Chōjūrō, Nakamura Kan-enmon and other *kabuki* actors defected from the orthodox *kabuki* with its feudalistic structure, and formed a new troupe with the purpose of creating a midway medium between the classic *kabuki* and the modern western style theater, much as the *Shinkokugeki* Troupe had done. However, its characteristic lay in the fact that whereas the *shinkokugeki* was composed of amateur actors turned professional, the Zenshin-za was made up of actors who had been brought up to be professional *kabuki* performers. Over-riding many obstacles, the troupe established in Kichijōji in 1937 a special Zenshin-za Training Center, where the members of the troupe lived together in a communal center which was the first of its kind in Japan. It thereafter came to be of a strongly political nature tending to the extreme left; however in recent years there has been a reconsideration of this policy, and after a period of performing mainly in rural districts, they are now making a comeback to Tokyo and the large cities. Their performances point toward new possibilities based on the classic *kabuki* tradition.

Comedy

During the Edo Period, a form of comedy play known as the *niwaka* developed. This was a vulgar amateur show of improvisations; but later this developed into a legitimate theater when Soganoya Jūrō and Gorō established a troupe in 1904. This came to be known as the *Soganoya-Geki*. The two men themselves wrote all the material for the troupe's plays, as well as taking part as performers and acting as directors. The troupe presented comedy plays. Their manner of presentation was an imitation of the *kabuki* style. After Jūrō's death, Gorō (1887-1948) continued to shoulder the troupe alone, and it came to be called the *Soganoya-Gorō-Geki*.

From this comedy troupe, there emerged the *Soganoya-Katei-Geki* and the *Shōchiku Shin Kigeki* troupes.

Light entertainment

The public, tiring of the old comedy in the Osaka *niwaka* tradition, began to seek entertainment in the form of the opera comique and light musicals which had Western music as their backbone. The postwar period has brought about a golden age for musical and vaudeville shows. In line with this new trend, the Koma circular theaters in Osaka and Tokyo were constructed in 1957. As these theaters are especially suited for the presentation of musical comedies, they should serve to further the trend to an even higher degree.

Revue

The revue was introduced into Japan from the West after the World War I. A most uniquely Japanized form of the revue is the *shōjo-kageki* (girl operetta). In 1913, the first of such was established at Takarazuka, near Osaka, as the "Takarazuka Girl Opera". This was a revue troupe made up entirely of young girls. Later, in 1920, the *Shōchiku Girl Opera* was formed in Osaka, and in 1929, another *Shōchiku Girl Opera* Troupe was

formed in Tokyo. These troupes, made up exclusively of girls, was more operetta or revue groups than opera, in spite of the appellation applied to them.

At present the Takarazuka troupe is centered in the Takarazuka Theater of Takarazuka, while the Shōchiku group is centered at the Kokusai Theater in Asakusa, Tokyo. They have their enthusiastic fans among the young teen-age maidens of Japan, who make the girl opera the object of their romantic dreams.

Show

The term "show" is applied to a variety of entertainment forms, the popularity of the term apparently stemming from the Marcus Show from America which once put on performances in Japan. It is used mainly to refer to light shows with a mixture of music, dance and light skits. The Casino Follies held at Asakusa in 1930 is a particularly well remembered example of the so-called "show."

In later years, light comedy, stage attraction shows and revues came to be called "show" or "varieties". In the post-war era, the Nichigeki Dancing Team, making the Nihon Gekijō (Nichigeki Theater) its home,

made up of both men and women dancers, has attained a wide popularity as a midway medium between the all-girl opera and the light musical show.

The strip show which found its way into Japan after the end of the World War II, was immensely popular for about three or four years, but has declined greatly since.

Onna-kengeki

As mentioned in the paragraph on *shin-kokugeki*, the *kengeki* or sword-flashing plays inaugurated by the *shinkokugeki* troupe met with much popularity, which led to the creation of several other independent troupes offering this category of plays. The *kengeki* also became popular in the movies as the so-called *chambara* plays, while in the Asakusa entertainment quarters, numerous *kengeki* troupes came into being one after another. Among these is the *onna-kengeki*, which is *kengeki* plays performed by women. This offers the thrill of the *kengeki* coupled with a subtle eroticism, with women performers putting on a dashing display of fencing against villainous men. The *onna kengeki* is a genre which is now meeting with much popularity.

Shingeki Drama

Its development and characteristics

The movement toward the creation of the *shingeki* (new or modern theater as opposed to the classic theater) treating with themes taken from modern life, to contend against the influence of the older already established forms of theater, started about 1900 and was formally inaugurated with the organization of the Jiyū Gekijō in November of 1909, at the Yūaku-za Theater in Tokyo. Recognized as the theater form most capable of capturing the modes and emotions of modern life, it now forms an independent theater genre, and although it has not yet reached the stage where it

can replace the *kabuki*, *shimpa* and other established groups as the central force in the Japanese theatrical world, it nevertheless is influential in the advancement of theater art in Japan. Hence, the *shingeki* is apt to be considered in Japan as a genre that is in a Western tradition and opposed to the traditional native forms. In one sense it may be considered the modern drama of Japan.

Development

The early 20th century was the time when Japan had just emerged victorious from her wars with China and Russia, and had left the ranks of the backward nations to become a ranking member among the leading capitalist states of the world. The

young intelligentsia of this period were fired with the passion and the ideals of a new world opposed to the old feudalistic order; and the *shingeki* movement represented one of their efforts to present the new ideals. Herein lay its fresh appeal.

In the theatrical world of the early 20th century, such great actors as Danjūrō and Kikugorō of the Meiji Era had already passed away, and the *kabuki* was in a period of decline. The popular *shimpa* drama was at its height, but it held no appeal for the youthful intelligentsia. In addition to these factors, the modern theater movement which was fast taking hold in the various countries of Europe, gave added impetus to a similar movement in Japan. The first concrete organizations formed under this new movement were the Bungei Kyōkai, under the leadership of Tsubouchi Shōyō, and the Jiyū Gekijō centered around Osanai Kaoru and Ichikawa Sadanji.

The new theater movement of this era was composed of two main trends, one being the moderate group with the aim of improvement of the old theater forms (Tsubouchi Shōyō), the second being the more radical group, more directly and strongly under the influence of the modern theater movement abroad (Osanai Kaoru, Shimamura Hōgetsu). These two trends can be seen in the fact that the Bungei Kyōkai from the first performed mainly such numbers as Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and "Julius Caesar", whereas the Jiyū Gekijō specialized in the presentation of works by such controversial modern (at the time) playwrights as Ibsen and Gorki. As the general trend was overwhelmingly in favor of the modern plays, the Bungei Kyōkai too, eventually came to present plays by Ibsen, Zuderman, Shaw and other modern playwrights.

Characteristics

The principal features of the *shingeki* movement during its early stage were not much more than reflections of the movement in Europe; but there were some special characteristics in keeping with the

circumstances in Japan at the time, as follows:

(a) In order to cope with the degrading influence of the commercial profit system in the theater, the *shingeki* movement took the attitude of putting artistry above profit. As a result their attitude was more earnest and more experimental; and the *shingeki* performances were generally of a non-profit, experimental nature.

(b) Not only from the aim of introducing modern European drama to Japan, but due also to the utter lack of high caliber realistic plays of Japanese origin, the early performances of the *shingeki* were made up almost entirely of plays translated from European works. As a result, the *shingeki* in its earlier period was approximately synonymous with translated drama. It was during this period that foreign plays came to be presented in a version closely faithful to the original form, instead of in Japanized adaptations as in the past.

(c) A new trend came into being in which the plays came to be regarded as works of literature in themselves, and thus freed them from their former position of subordination to the stage.

(d) The *shingeki* movement encouraged the system of having directors for stage performances, in order to insure an appropriate interpretation of a drama. Thus, for the first time in Japan, the stage director came into being. At first this new occupation consisted mainly of experiment and imitation; and it was not until the formation of the Tsukiji Little Theater that the stage director finally came into his own in Japan.

(e) The director gradually came to be the central figure in the process of creating a new play on the stage, replacing the *zagashira* or leader of the troupe in that capacity.

(f) In order to effectively produce the modern plays, it became necessary to acquire various new techniques. Consequently, study and experiments in the fields of acting, stage scenery, illumination, sound effects and others began to be carried out. In this manner, the *shingeki* movement

constituted an epoch-moving development in the history of drama in Japan, and was enthusiastically supported by the intelligentsia of the day.

History

The history of the development of the *shingeki* movement may be divided for convenience's sake into the following periods: (a) The period of development (1907-1916), (b) period of decline (1916 to Great Earthquake in 1923), (c) The Tsukiji Little Theater period (1923-1929), (d) The period of proletarian drama (1929-1934), (e) The period of reorganization (1934-1941), (f) The war period (1941-1945), and (g) The postwar years up to the present.

Period of development. This was the period when the *shingeki* movement established the two afore-mentioned troupes and won wide and enthusiastic support among the intelligentsia. However, the new techniques necessary for stage presentation of modern plays still remained to be acquired, and due to this lack, the new movement failed to gain a firm foundation in the society of the day. As a result, in spite of its rapid development at the start, it quickly fell into decline. Among other troupes which were active during this period were the Shin Shakai Gekidan (troupe leader, Nakamura Kichizō), Shin Jidai-geki Kyōkai (Inoue Masao), and the Doyō Gekijō (made up of graduates of drama school established by *shimpa* actor Fujisawa Asajirō).

From about 1912, the number of *shingeki* troupes increased rapidly. The Kindai-geki Kyōkai, a federation made up mainly of such troupes as Toride-sha, Kōshū Gekidan, Bijutsu-za and Sōsaku Shien-kai, represents one group; there were also the Geijutsu-za, Butai Kyōkai and Momyōkai which were formed after the split-up of the Bungei Kyōkai in 1913. Among these, the Geijutsu-za, with actor Shimamura Hōgetsu and actress Matsui Sumako was particularly active in the propagation of the *shingeki* movement, and attained the most popularity as a troupe.

Period of decline. Following the confused disintegration of earlier troupes at

about 1915 and 1916, new troupes led by young *kabuki* actors were organized, these being Morita Kanya's Bungei-za and Ichikawa Ennosuke's Shunjū-za. During this period, the influence of the earlier period was to be seen in the field of new plays, with a great number of such being performed. Such writers as Nagata Hideo, Akita Ujaku, Yoshii Isamu, Kume Masao, Yamamoto Yōzō, Kikuchi Kan, Kubota Mantarō and Mushakōji Saneatsu were active in this field from the preceding period through this period, and opened the way toward a realistic style in the Japanese drama. During this period the Butai Kyōkai also continued to be active, and the Shingeki-za, centered around the leadership of *shimpa* actor Hanayagi Shōtarō, as well as the Shingeki Kyōkai, Kenkyū-za and other troupes existed; however, when compared with the preceding period, this period lacked enthusiasm and energy, taking on the aspect of a period of general decline.

Tsukiji Little Theater period. The establishment of the Tsukiji Little Theater may be said to have initiated the second period in the development of the modern theater movement. In 1924, the year after the disastrous Great Earthquake, the Tsukiji Little Theater was formed by Osanai Kaoru and Hijikata Yoshi. As this group maintained its own theater and also had sufficient capital, it was able to give continuous productions, and actively produced both original plays and the masterpieces of the Western stage. This group specialized in the study of new theater techniques, and established the basis for the later *shingeki* productions along the line of stage direction, manner of acting, stage sets, lighting, sound effects and so forth. Other troupes active during this period were the afore-mentioned Butai Kyōkai, the Kokoro-za (leader, Kawarazaki Chōjūrō), Geijutsu-za (Mizutani Yaeko) and others.

Period of proletarian drama. In 1929 the Tsukiji Little Theater split into the Gekidan Tsukiji Shō-gekijō and the Shin Tsukiji Gekidan, and the *shingeki* movement rapidly took on a radical tendency. From about 1925-6, the proletarian movement had been evident in the formation of

such troupes as the Senku-za, Trunk Gekijō and Zen-ei-za. In 1928 the Sayoku Gekijō was formed, and the following year a national federation of leftist drama troupes was formed. All the other *shingeki* troupes which were outside of this leftist movement were dissolved, and the leftist theater, centered around the Sayoku Gekijō and the Shin Tsukiji Gekidan troupes gained the enthusiastic support of the young intelligentsia, the students, and the newly organized laborers, giving the age a general leftist aspect. Although the leftist drama may be considered as lying outside of the main current of the real *shingeki* movement from one standpoint, it cannot be denied that this nevertheless marks a phase in the history of the *shingeki*. However, due to the fact that this leftist drama laid emphasis not on stage technique but on political content, and not on artistry but on the propagandizing of leftist ideology, it soon came to a stalemate. With the start of the Manchurian Incident in 1931, the oppression of the Government made such leftist theater activities practically impossible, and the movement quickly lost impetus and fell into decline. The *shingeki* modern theater movement was left in a state of arid confusion.

Period of reorganization. A period of confusion and impasse ensued. Non-leftist troupes such as the Shin Tōkyō, the Theater Comedie and the Tsukiji-za barely managed to carry on activities in the face of an unsympathetic society. One after another the Bijutsu-za, the Kinyō-kai and the Tsukiji-za groups split up, and formed the Sōsaku-za and other groups. In 1934, in answer to the call for more solidarity among *shingeki* personalities, the Shinkyō Gekidan was formed. This Shinkyō together with the Shin Tsukiji attempted a moderation of the leftist tendency, putting more emphasis on artistic presentation. These troupes, centered at the Tsukiji Little Theater, gradually rallied under the new policy. Meanwhile, however, in 1937, groups which were dissatisfied with the leftist theater, formed the Geijutsu Shō-gekijō and the Bungaku-za troupes. In 1940, as the beginning of the World War II drew near,

the Shinkyō and Shin Tsukiji groups were ordered by the authorities to dissolve, and some 90 odd members of the two troupes were arrested. Moreover, the Tsukiji Little Theater was ordered to change its name to the Kokumin Shin Gekijō (People's New Theater).

Period of World War II. As the war years progressed, almost all *shingeki* activity became impossible. Stage programs were limited to itinerant performances in line with the war effort, and with the exception of those *shingeki* actors who were conscripted into the army or whose freedom of movement was restricted, the majority of the *shingeki* performers joined these itinerant troupes.

Period of post war

With the end of the war, scripts were freed from government censorship, and *shingeki* performers and technicians whose activity had been limited by the Government, regained their freedom of action. Public attention came to be focussed on the *shingeki* as the theater representative of the new democratic era. In December of 1945, the year of the surrender, a *shingeki* performance of "The Cherry Orchard" was presented, with an audience of 120 percent of the theater seating capacity. Among the *shingeki* performers, there were some who favored the formation of one consolidated *shingeki* troupe, disregarding former differences, but presently the Tokyo Geijutsu Gekijō was organized, followed by the reorganization of the Shinkyō Gekidan. These, together with the Bungaku-za and Haiyū-za troupes performed at the Teigeki, Yūaku-za, Tōgeki and other leading theaters in Tokyo, and began to show much activity. Other groups composed of young members, such as the Bunka-za, Bara-za and others also appeared and the *shingeki* theater movement seemed to reach a new peak. However, due to insufficient skill in stage technique and the lack of compelling scripts, plus the aggravation of inflation in the nation's economy, the movement was forced into a relapse after a mere two or three years. The smaller troupes faded away, leaving only the Haiyū-za, the Bun-

gaku-za, the Mingei, and the Budō-no-kai, performing mainly in the Mitsukoshi Hall. This hall became unavailable from 1952; subsequently the Haiyū-za constructed its own theater, while the other troupes give performances in rented halls and theaters.

The postwar *shingeki*, when compared with that of a former era, has lost some of the nature of a pure cultural movement, and has taken on aspects of money-making enterprise. This was due greatly to the fact that such a step was necessary in the inflationary economy of the postwar years, in order to insure the livelihood of the actors as well as gain the required money to pay for the expenses of a stage performance, but on the other hand, this also reflects the fact that the *shingeki* now had a broader basis in society than it had had previously.

Even so, there are many difficulties to be overcome in artistry, in technique, and in social basis, before the *shingeki* can progress to the point where it may be called the representative theater of the modern age in Japan. But as a step in this direction, the wide activity of the *shingeki* actors in the radio and the screen fields must not be overlooked.

Shingeki troupes of today

Shinkyō Gekidan

The activities of this troupe may be divided into two periods; pre-war and post war. In the pre-war period, in face of repeated suppressive measures taken by the rightist militarist government, the troupe maintained itself in a state of resistance just barely escaping persecution, with Murayama Tomoyoshi as the central figure, other members including Kubo Sakae, Takizawa Osamu, Mishima Masao, Ozawa Sakae, Hosokawa Chikako, Akagi Ranko and others. In Nov. 1934 the troupe gave its first public performance, and presented Shimazaki Tōson's *Yoake Mae* with script written by Murayama Tomoyoshi. Subsequently the troupe presented both original plays and translated Western plays, until it was ordered dissolved by the Govern-

ment, together with the Shin-Tsukiji Gekidan troupe. The troupe's performances met with the support of the intelligentsia class whose awareness of the despair of the age made them sympathetic to the troupe's activities; and the troupe did much to further the development of the *shingeki* genre into a professional enterprise. Among its performances, the plays *Yoake Mae* and *Kazanbai-chi* may be said to have attained a high point in the presentation of modern drama.

The Shinkyō Gekidan of today was re-organized in 1947 by Murayama Tomoyoshi, and makes socialist realism its aim. However, in ensuing years, due to the increasing pressure against communism, and to differences among the members in their political and artistic points of views, and finally due to the flop of their presentation of "Mister Humanity", the troupe lost an increasing number of members, so that by 1952 when they presented Murayama's *Shinda Umi*, it numbered less than twenty. The troupe's aim to become a "people's drama" directly tied in with labor class, still remains to be attained in the future. However, it would probably be advisable for the troupe's future interests, for it to change its erstwhile didactic attitude of putting theory first, a characteristic too often seen in the so-called 'tendency plays'.

Bungaku-za

The Bungaku-za was the sole *shingeki* troupe which managed to survive throughout the war; and this fact alone should serve to explain its nature to some extent. Needless to say, their scripts met with strict censorship during the war, so that the troupe had to cope with many difficulties in order to push their performances into realization. But this troupe, differing from the Shinkyō Gekidan and the Shin-Tsukiji Gekidan, placed emphasis mainly on the literary quality of the plays, which they then put into concrete stage form. It was this attitude which enabled them to continue throughout the war. The troupe was formed in 1938 with Kubota Mantarō, Kishida Kunio and Iwata Toyoo as the

advisers. Principal troupe members included Nakamura Nobuo, Miyaguchi Seiji, Sugimura Haruko, and Mitsuda Ken.

At present, the troupe is showing much activity centered around the younger group headed by Akutagawa Hiroshi; but it still remains for the troupe to solve the problem of tying their artistic concepts in with their personal interpretations of actual modern life. Besides its regular public performances, the troupe also presents special experimental plays from time to time for limited audiences; and also has facilities for training in stage direction, acting and stage illumination.

Haiyū-za

The Haiyū-za was organized in 1944, composed of Aoyama Sugisaku, Senda Koreya, Tōno Ejirō, Ozawa Sakae, Higashiyama Chieko, Kishi Teruko, Murase Sachiko and others, with the aim of establishing a sort of academism of the theater, an aim which is still being carried out and is apparent in Senda's book, *Kindai Haiyū-jutsu*. This work may be said to be one of the concrete accomplishments of the modern theater in Japan today, and it gives the theoretical endorsement and explanation of the theater methods of the Haiyū-za Troupe. It is yet to be seen how the Haiyū-za in the future will apply the acting technique which they have established, in the creation of the modern plays of the future.

The Haiyū-za not only gives regular public performances, but is highly active in other ways also. New plays are presented through periodic experimental presentations of original works; the *Kodomo no Gekijō* project presents plays for children; special study programs are planned for the training of new stage directors; the "Seinen Gekijō" provides an itinerant group playing mainly for students. The troupe also maintains an actors' school, with three year courses giving training for actors and stage technicians. At present, together with the Bungaku-za, the Haiyū-za occupies a leading place in the *shingeki* movement.

Minshū Geijutsu Gekijō (Min-gei)

This troupe is known almost exclusively by the abbreviated form of its name, Min-gei. The first Mingei troupe was organized in 1947, but was dissolved in 1949. The current Mingei Troupe was formed in 1950, with a slightly different group of members, which now include Takizawa Osamu, Shimizu Masao, Uno Jūkichi, Hosokawa Chikako, Kitabayashi Tanie and others. The troupe is active not only on the stage, but has also produced several successful movies; and maintains a unique position in the *shingeki* world of today.

Budō-no-kai

This is a troupe made up of young actors centered around actress Yamamoto Yasue, a group which had studied stage theory together under Yamada Hajime, Okakura Shirō and Kinoshita Junji. The group formally established themselves as a troupe in 1947. They aimed at a study of the Stanislavski method of presentation. The group is now composed of about 18 members, with an additional group of student members.

Drama for children

Although there is a cry now for the development of cultural facilities for children, Japan cannot today boast even one children's theater. However, in spite of this lack, periodic performances of children's plays are held at various sites. At present, there are approximately 60 such troupes, with Tokyo alone having some 30. However, in most cases these are in the loose form of children's clubs, with very few which are actually children's troupes. Only the Tōdō Troupe, which has been active now for 25 years fraught with many difficulties, with its motto of presenting children with programs showing a high level of artistry, and of studying the special genre of the children's theater, may be classed as a true organization of this type. The Tōdō Troupe was formed in 1928 by Miyazu Hiroshi, Shibata Kaichi and others. Their first performance was made in March

of that year at the Koishikawa Goten Club in Tokyo. In May of the same year, the troupe performed *Kitsune no Saiban* at the Waseda University Auditorium, this marking the first appearance of a children's troupe at a fair-sized hall, and also marking the first step toward the presenting of plays based on nursery tales. Since then the activities have continued regularly, the number of performances in Tokyo now up to 85 separate runs.

The troupe continues to be active in many aspects of the children's theater, taking up translated plays as well as original material, and advocating realism in the children's plays. In 1939 with the presentation of *Kaze no Matasaburō* and *Obake no Sekai* at the Yūraku-za Theater, the troupe marked its first appearance at a major theater in Tokyo.

At the same time, the Tōdō has also advanced into the movie field and has participated in the creation of such children's films as *Torachan no Nikki*, *Kaze no Matasaburō*, and *Suihei-san*, in cooperation with the regular movie production companies. In 1941 the troupe established a contract with the Tōhō Movie Studios, giving the troupe a semiprofessional aspect.

During the war years, the troupe traveled to Manchuria and Korea with their plays, and also performed in the provinces of Japan for the evacuated children. At present, besides its Tokyo performances, the troupe lays emphasis on touring the schools and the various provincial districts throughout the country. In 1952, with the support of the Education Ministry, the Tokyo Education Bureau and the Asahi Shimbun newspaper firm, the Tōdō presented a special program commemorating the 25th year since its organization.

The organization of the Tōdō is made up of the troupe committee and the business bureau, with founder Miyazu Hiroshi at the head. The committee is made up of the staff members, and the business section handles the acting, production and management. At the research institute, a study is carried out in various fields concerned with child problems, and research students are also trained.

Other children's troupes now active in Tokyo include the Shin Jidō Gekidan, the Haiyū-za Kodomo Gekijō, the Gekidan Nakama, the Gekidan Sanki-kai, the Kokeshiza, the Tokyo Shōnen Gekidan and several others.

Amateur Theater

The "amateur theater" is a term applied to plays performed by non-professional actors, centered in their own district, place of employment or other such locale, on a non-profit basis for the purpose of enjoyment and for enrichment of daily living. As early as the Edo and the Meiji eras, there were amateur performances of *kabuki* plays. Remnants of these early amateur plays are to be seen in the village plays which still exist in isolated mountain villages. From about the beginning of the Shōwa Era (1926) the amateur theatricals began to present plays from the so-called *shingeki* or modern theater repertory as well as from *kabuki*. With the advent of the World War II, the amateur drama fell under the influence of the age and was utilized by the militarists to promote patri-

otism and support of the war, thus becoming a propaganda medium.

After the war the amateur theater declined for a while; but in the drab post-war era, with its utter lack of almost all entertainment facilities, the amateur theater made a gradual and natural comeback in the hands of the youths, and spread with wildfire rapidity throughout the nation. Thus the amateur drama which during the war had been controlled by political organs, now became an entirely independent movement. In the villages, night long dance contests and drama contests came to be held, this phenomenon not being limited to merely a small sector but becoming a national craze. The contents were in most cases of low caliber, but the wide popularity of the amateur theater may be interpreted as a

sign of the youth of the nation celebrating their release from the restrictions enforced by the wartime government.

This nationwide movement gradually came to be separated into several categories as the youth theater, the factory theatricals, the student theatricals, school theatricals and the like; and these amateur performances have developed from their first haphazard start into a solid institution. Recently the trend is to refer to them as 'youth theatricals' because they are centered mainly among the youth of the nation. They are also called the "non-professional theater" as opposed to the professional theater.

The post-war amateur shows which started out as night-long dance contests, have developed to such an extent that many fine productions have resulted. Moreover, the performers themselves no longer regard the amateur theatricals as mere play or dilettantism, and it has become a movement which is closely tied in with the daily life in each locale or factory with which it is associated. Even in rural districts where professional troupes may come only once or twice in the course of a year, the amateur theatricals of the youths are flourishing as an independent and self-sufficient institution.

This amateur drama movement has passed the stage of being mere recreation, and is now actively cooperating in the movement toward the development of the individual villages and towns, and for the creation of better human relationships within factory workshops. This new activity of the amateur theater movement may readily be interpreted as being one of the formative elements of the new culture of Japan.

Youth theatricals

The youth theatricals are also referred to as the community theater, which reveals one facet of its nature, and which is an appellation derived from that of the community theater of America. The amateur theater which is most closely tied in with the individual locale and society is the youth

theatricals performed by the youth organizations of the rural villages and towns. In the confusion of the early postwar period, the youth theatricals developed in a haphazard manner; but with the attainment of greater stability following the signing of the Peace Treaty in 1951 ending the occupation, the youth movement spread rapidly throughout the nation and a national council of youth organizations known as the *Nissei-kyō* came to be organized. As a result, the youth theatricals movement became a consolidated, organized effort. In 1952 the first postwar national youth festival was held, and one of its features was the youth drama contest held in Tokyo.

For this program, representative youth theatrical groups were chosen from each district of the nation, these groups vying with each other in performances held on the same stage (*Nihon Seinen-kan*) before a panel of judges made up of stage professionals. This contest has been held every year since its installation in 1952. In the first year there were 26 entries, in the second year 32 entries, the third year 30 entries, the fourth year 32 entries, in the fifth year 36 entries, each made up of performers ranging in age from 18 to 25 years. At the same time chorus contests, debates, sports contests and other events are held, centered mainly in the grounds of the Meiji Shrine outer gardens. Of the total of 46 prefectures and municipalities that make up the nation, about 80 percent are represented at present in this national youth festival; and a 100 percent participation is quite likely in the near future.

A characteristic as seen from the contents of the drama presented during this five year period, is the close relationship of the contents of the plays with the living conditions of the locale represented. The problems of each district, such as the base-lease problem and the clean election movement are candidly revealed in these dramatizations of local affairs, while other plays take up the legends of the respective district or the romanticized story of some local hero. In other words, the presentations may be divided into two general types, the realistic plays dealing

with local problems, and the romantic plays with their legendary themes.

Moreover, the youth groups' plays have also succeeded in an effective use of the provincial dialects. This rich regional color is an important characteristic of the youth theatricals.

During the early period of the youth theatricals movement, the tendency was to present plays of the old *matatabi* category, plays which dealt with the adventures of roving gamblers. The sentimental idealization of such heroes have their base in a feudalistic society, and evidently the youths took readily to this easy sentimentality. However this trend lasted perhaps only four or five years, after which the old plots with their feudalistic themes gradually vanished from their repertory. In their place, plays are being given which reflect the increasing urge toward democratization in every phase of daily life.

The youth theater, while vying toward the goal of the yearly national contest, at the same time have made themselves an indispensable part of the rural villages and towns to which they belong. They invariably take part in all the village festivals and community gatherings, offering a healthy form of recreation to the entire community. The halls of primary and middle schools, and the auditoriums of community center buildings are generally utilized for the presentation of the plays, with no resort to the professional theater stage or to the stage of a movie house. In some rural schools and community centers, there are hardly proper facilities for the presentation of plays, but the energetic determination and imagination of the troupe members create simple but effective results with what little is available.

In the postwar era the construction of community centers in communities throughout the nation was urged, and at present approximately 80 percent of the towns and villages of the nation are equipped with such centers, reaching a total of some 3,600. The great majority of these community centers are equipped with stage facilities; and there is no doubt that this fact has

had a good deal to do with the rapid development of the youth theatricals.

Workshop theatricals

This is a name given to non-profit amateur theatrical presentations centered in the factories and workshops, organized by workers in the same factory or those engaged in an identical occupation. The workshop itself is the center of this activity; and it is therefore referred to as the factory theatricals, workshop theatricals or workers' theatericals.

During the World War II, this, too, was utilized by the Government as a propaganda medium, but after the war, in line with the tendency elsewhere, the workers' theatricals took rapid strides toward a democratization movement. Whereas the village theatricals started as rowdy dance contests, the movement in the workshops took immediate form following the organization of the new labor unions. During the years 1946-1949, the National Railway workers and the electrical workers, with their nation-wide organization structure, developed the workers' theatricals to a high degree as one phase of their cultural movement. For instance, the railway workers' union, with its national organization, was able to promote a national railworkers' theatrical contest, much in the manner of the yearly contest of the national youth festival. In this movement, the workers themselves wrote their plays based on actual workshop experience, with professional advice and aid from the outside. These plays were presented by amateur worker actors, for the benefit of their fellow workers. At first these amateur plays were mere sketches of workshop life, but gradually the theme became broader, incorporating a more ambitious and positive attitude toward workshop betterment. The creation of such original plays by the workers was encouraged, resulting in many highly commendable works which vied with those of professional writers. They were so successful that for a time professional writers were said to acquire their fresh themes from suggestions gathered through the

amateur plays. Not a few amateur writers for the workshop plays later turned to professional play-writing. At present, the creation of original plays is also encouraged in the youth and the school theatricals; but it was the workers' theatricals that started this trend, during the chaotic first years after the end of the war.

However, the workers' theatricals, which saw such an early and rapid development, fell under the influence of the widespread ideological changes taking place at the time, and they unfortunately became a direct propaganda medium of the labor movement, taking on a highly political nature. As a result, the workers' theatricals saw a rapid decline in intrinsic worth from about 1949, in which state it has continued to the present day.

In some companies the theatricals movement was banned due to distrust of its political tendencies, while in others where the labor movement had taken radical trends, the leaders of the theater movement were often among the purged. As a result, the workers' theatricals lost their place; some dispersed with its members joining in some community theatrical group instead, while others, such as among the railway workers, were retained merely as small recreation groups. It is true that the workers' theatricals gained their first success riding on the democratization movement; but it is obvious that an overly political emphasis must be guarded against.

From about 1951, simple presentations which would require but small space and short periods of time, came to be encouraged again at the work sites as a form of recreation. As a result, a new simplified form which made no use of a formal stage or stage sets came to be seen. Not only did this do away with the large-scale productions of earlier amateur theatricals, but it also was an attempt to make the theatrical a form of recreation free from political propagandizing. The workers' theatricals are therefore now being encouraged for the purpose of creating a sense of comradeship through the cooperative enterprise, and of a betterment of human relationships within the workshop. With

this, it may be assumed that the workers' theatrical is again embarked on the right track.

In the Kurashiki Textile Company which has eleven factories scattered throughout the country, a drama contest is held in which amateur performers from each factory vie for top honor prizes. Moreover, they participate in the yearly International Theater month, using this as an opportunity to increase an awareness of international ties and relationships.

The various banks of Tokyo also have an amateur drama organization which has been active since the end of the war, and is always on the alert against being utilized as a political propaganda medium.

Student and school theatricals

The theatricals of the universities, high schools, middle and primary schools, being performed by amateurs, may be classed among the amateur theatricals. They constitute a special category within the group, in that they are centered in the schools. Moreover, whereas the youth and the workers' theatricals are organized mainly by adult and independent members of society, the school theatricals are characterized by the fact that they are always performed within the framework of the educational institutions.

The theatricals centered in the schools may be divided into two groups. Those of the universities and the high schools, in which the students themselves form the core of the movement, are the first of these, while those of the middle and primary schools compose the second group, which the teachers being the influencing factor around which the movement revolves. The former is referred to as the student theatricals, while the latter is called the school theatricals.

In the early part of the Taishō Period (1912-1926) the amateur school plays were widely performed under the influence of the new liberal education, but in 1924 the Minister of Education issued an order banning all school plays, because of the undue extremes of the students in their costuming.

and makeup, and in their imitation of professional actors. Since then, drama disappeared from educational institutions, and were not revived until the post war era.

Student Theatricals

This may be divided into the college group and the high school group.

In the drama activities of the universities and colleges, it is the students who form the core of the movement. The members are grouped together from a common interest in the theater, on a voluntary basis. Some such groups are well organized and receive financial support from the school, with school instructors acting as advisers. In others where financial help from the school is not forthcoming, the members pay the costs of performances through their own pocket money.

In the period immediately after the end of the war, the various colleges each had its own theatrical groups, with no coordination among them. However, a federation joining all these various groups was formed in 1952, one of the results being the sponsoring of Japan's first joint college drama contest. Subsequently, the number of school groups participating have increased yearly. Not only the colleges centered around Tokyo and the Kantō Region, but colleges of other outlying regions such as the Tōhoku Area or Kyūshū, have formed federations, with drama contests being held yearly.

As for the repertory of these college dramatics, some groups take up plays which have been already performed by professional *shingeki* (modern theater) troupes, while some more ambitiously take up Western plays which have not yet been presented in Japan, and perform them in their own translated versions. This trend toward the experimental theater is something which had not been seen among the youth and workers' theatricals. Original student plays are also presented frequently, and although they have not yet attained a very high level, they are unique in their attempt to portray the struggles of youth.

In the same manner that the student movements were often influenced by radical political elements, the school theatricals

also sometimes reflected this tendency. However, at present, the student theatricals seem on the whole to be healthy and balanced extra-curricular activity. It is an interesting phenomenon that a larger number of these members are students of engineering and law rather than students who are majoring in drama or the arts.

Besides the above, there are certain student groups with a special interest in the *kabuki* drama, organized for the purpose of studying the native classic drama. These groups often give performances of *kabuki* plays, taken directly from the repertory of the professional *kabuki* theater. These are more in the nature of a hobby group, and lie outside the main flow of the student theatricals; however, they constitute a unique feature of the student activity in the dramatic field.

In the high school drama groups, voluntary and independent membership such as in the college groups is not allowed as a general rule, and the drama activities are carried out under the supervision of the instructors as a part of the educational program. As in the case of the youth drama groups and the workshop theatricals, this, too, developed in the period immediately following the end of the war, and eventually came to be directed toward a yearly public performance. In Tokyo, for instance, a high school drama contest has been held yearly after being inaugurated in 1947 under the sponsorship of the instructors. The number of participating schools has increased until it now numbers approximately 100. Preliminary contests are held over a fairly long period in preparation for the finals. Other prefectures and municipalities, following Tokyo's example, have also established a similar setup with yearly public contests. In 1955 a national setup was organized, with plans for yearly meetings during the summer vacation period. The high school drama groups were also quick to join the international theater festivals through the public presentation of their plays during the period.

A characteristic of the high-school drama repertory is that plays are presented which are original creations made through the

cooperative efforts of the pupils and the teachers. During the first years, the number of original plays was small, but the number gradually increased until currently original plays make up nearly the total percentage at the yearly contests. The plays which place among the winners in the Tokyo contest are almost invariably taken up later by regional schools, spreading in this way throughout the nation in a remarkably short time. These winning plays are also taken up by the youth theater and workers' theater groups, so that the original plays of the high school theatricals now form the core of the national amateur drama. These plays, being written in the main by instructors who are well aware of the level appropriate to their students, can be performed without too much difficulty by the students, and moreover handle themes which are easily understandable among the students. Hence, successful plays in this category are often the most popular as well as familiar pieces in the high school drama repertory.

Compared with the college theatricals, which, in spite of their wider range of membership and better staging facilities are still not too well organized, the high school theatricals are far ahead both in organization and in actual stage presentation. Some high schools have difficulty in presenting plays using both boys and girls in spite of the newly established coeducational system; some schools which suffered damage during the war have a deplorable lack of facilities. However, in spite of these drawbacks, the high school groups are the most active among the many amateur drama groups. Recently, the high schools have been forced to turn more attention toward preparatory study for college entrance examinations, and this necessity is forcing a decline in the extra-curricular drama field.

Aside from the regular high school theatricals, there are those of the evening-course students, who attend high school at night while working during the day hours. These evening-course students, too, have formed their drama groups, and also perform at public yearly contests. Their plays, while technically not up to the standard of

the day school groups, have their value in their portrayal of the lives of the working students.

School Theatricals

In the new educational program of the postwar era, the readers from the first grade on, contain examples in drama form, which are not only to be read, but acted out in the classroom under the leadership of the teacher. Each child, regardless of whether he is attracted to drama or not, is required to undergo this training as part of his education. It was only after the end of the war that the place of the drama in the educational program was recognized; before that the readers included very few examples of drama. Dramatics as part of the school curriculum now serves to give the children an opportunity to learn to speak clearly and distinctly before an audience, and also teaches them coordination and cooperation, through the composite structure of the staging process.

The above is drama as a part of the regular curriculum. Aside from this, extra-curricular drama groups also exist, made up of students who are particularly interested in drama. These activities, too, needless to say, also free under the supervision of the instructors; and in some schools, regular performances are given at the school. This activity also reaches out into the field of the *kami-shibai* and puppet plays. Particularly the puppet plays (in most cases finger-tip dolls) are popular because of the relative ease of making the dolls. In primary schools where music is especially popular, the music instructor may cooperate in the creation of a children's opera.

In 1955, through the cooperation of UNESCO and the ITI, a list of children's plays was made available, opening the way toward international exchange of such plays, and giving added impetus to the movement here. There are at present a great number of appropriate plays available for grade school children, written by professional playwrights, by writers who specialize in children's plays, by instructors of the primary and middle schools and others. The

Education Ministry has selected a group of 50 children's plays, to serve as a guidepost in choosing the repertory for a school drama group.

In this manner, the amateur theater, in spite of its humble nature when compared with the professional theater with its famous stars, is closely linked with the production and the educational world, and is a great influencing factor in the cultural development of the youth of the nation. In the previous era, the amateur theater rarely received mention as an element of the drama world; but in the post-war era, the importance of the amateur theater is one which cannot be overlooked. The great

development of the amateur theater may be counted as one of the signs of the new democratized culture of post-war Japan. The various forms of the amateur theater have shown results which compare favorably with that of any professional group. Moreover, the amateur theater commands a large audience, much larger than that of any professional troupe. The professional theater performances are centered in the cities only, whereas the amateur theater reaches to all the corners of the country. In other words, the amateur theater has the entire populace of the nation as its potential audience. The amateur theater may rightly be called the national theater, the theater of the people.

Popular Entertainment

Yose

Among the popular entertainment in Japan, one which possesses a uniqueness of its own, and which is particularly popular among the populace, is the *yose*. The *yose* is a sort of vaudeville show in which the entertainers perform a variety of shows. It has a long tradition, having been originated in the 17th century. The word *yose* meant a place where people gather. In the latter half of the Edo Period a special building for the *yose* came to be built, but prior to that, this type of entertainment was known as *daidō-gei* or *tsuji-gei* (both meaning roadside entertainment), and was performed outdoors at public squares.

The main part of the *yose* program is made up of the *kōdan* or *rakugo*, both of which are forms of story-telling; later, other types of entertainment also came to be performed on the program.

The *kōdan* had its origin in the 16th century, when priest story-tellers related portions of the historic annals known as *Taihei-ki*. During the Edo Period, unemployed *samurai* warriors and other such rovers related battle tales, striking a stand or block with a fan for emphasis, at temples and shrines and under rudely constructed temporary roofs on a dry river

bed or by the streetside where people were accustomed to gather.

The *rakugo* developed from the comic anecdotes created and retold by skilled story-tellers among the *otogi-shū* or the professional story-tellers attached to daimyō lord. At about 1680 one story-teller called Tsuyu-no Gorōbei appeared on the streets of Kyoto with his art and gained much popularity. In 1687 Shikano Buzae-mon started a small theater in the midst of Edo's busiest section; and he came to be known as the father of *rakugo*.

The *yose* in approximately the form in which we have it today, came into being in 1798, when Okamoto Mansaku of Osaka came to Edo and established a *yose-ba*, that is, an assembly site for entertainment. These *yose* theaters gradually increased in number, and at the height of its popularity about 1815, there were 125 such theaters in Edo. Subsequently, in 1841, the Tempō Reform carried out by the Government, by which entertainment facilities were drastically curbed, caused the number to be reduced to a mere 15. However, following the Meiji Restoration, the *yose* again gained in popularity, with more than 40 well-established theaters in existence. Later, from about the beginning of the Taishō Era, the development of the movie theaters

and other forms of entertainment gradually encroached on the popularity of the *yose*, so that the number of *yose* theaters decreased. In the post-war era, only a very few have been re-established in Tokyo. In Osaka, the *yose* developed earlier than in Edo, with many *yose* theaters scattered throughout the city at about the middle of the Meiji Era. However, at present, the *manzai* (detailed later) has taken precedence over the *yose*, and there is only one *yose* theater now existing in Osaka.

In both the *kōdan* and the *rakugo*, the story-teller sits on a high platform known as the *kōza*, so that although he may make use of a certain amount of gestures, he does not leave his cushion or stand up during his narration. At present, the *kōdan* and *rakugo* story-tellers are very popular as performers on the radio and television. In former days, there were various *yose* which specialized respectively in the *kōdan*, *rakugo*, *jōruri* and other types of narrative entertainment; but nowadays the *yose* generally offers a mixed program including all these types. One of the most famous *rakugo* story-tellers of the Meiji Period was Sanyūtei Enchō.

Among the *yose* entertainment, there is a form of comic anecdote which is however not related to the *rakugo*. This is the *mandan* in which current events, topics of the time or the fad of the day are woven in a comic manner. This form came into being from about 1924, initiated by narrators of the old silent movie days who had to change their occupation with the advent of the talkies.

Another form of *yose* entertainment is the *manzai* in which two performers standing on the stage exchange a comic repartee. This is a modernized version of the old *kadozuke-gei* of old Edo in which players performed from door to door at New Year time. A man and a woman may make up the pair, but again the pair may be both men or both women. There are also some *manzai* in which a humorous patter of conversation is kept up while the performer also plays a *shamisen* or an accordion. The *manzai* is now one of the major elements of a *yose* program.

Again, there is a form of entertainment in which the speech of certain famous *kabuki* or *shimpa* actors is mimiced. This is called *kowa-iro*, and also has its origin in the Edo Period. Newer forms of mimicry are also known sometimes as *seitaimosha*. Ventriloquism appears under the name of *fukuwa-jutsu*, while *mono-mane* involves mimicry of all manner of sounds, from the cries of birds and animals to the sound of trains, automobiles, the hissing of fighting cats and the like.

Besides the above, there are also performances which make use of popular songs and of the *jōruri* (*gidayū-bushi*) and *naniwa-bushi* ballad singing. The *jōruri* puppet plays, together with the *kabuki* plays, formed the two great theater entertainment forms of the common class in the Edo Period; this *jōruri* musical narrative, independent of the stage acting, came to be sung as part of the *yose* program. Particularly, these ballads sung by women became immensely popular, but this has declined since. Western instrumental accompaniment, jazz music and the like to this day do not have a place in *yose*.

Among the most popular types of ballads sung to the accompaniment of the *shamisen*, is the *naniwa-bushi*. This too is performed on a *yose* program, but it is popular enough to be given independently in large theaters as well. Recently, it has become even more popularized through the medium of the radio. The *naniwa-bushi* was first sung by low caste beggar-priests called *saimon*. About the end of the Meiji Era, Tōchūken Kumoemon improved these ballads, and making use of well-known historical tales, he told the tales to a simple melody, winning great popularity for this type of entertainment. Women, too, are active in this field. As this form of musical story-telling had its start mainly in the Kansai Region, the people of Edo referred to it as the ballads of Naniwa (old name of Osaka), thus giving it its name of *naniwa-bushi*. A characteristic of the *naniwa-bushi* is that it is constantly increasing its repertory with new numbers.

Again, there is the *biwa-uta* which is story-telling to the accompaniment of the *biwa*, or a type of lute. This had its origin

in Kyūshū; at present its popularity has waned under the pressure of the *naniwa-bushi*.

A *yose* program also often includes dances and string-handled puppets, sleight of hand, acrobatics and other forms of entertainment. (The sleight of hand and acrobatics will be handled in the following chapter.) There are at present about 200 *yose* entertainers. The *yose* theaters are much smaller than the regular theaters, seating only about 300 to 400 people. This serves to increase the sense of informality between the performers and the audience.

Street shows

Although it is rarely seen these days, there used to be a popular form of street entertainment known as *mise-mono*. It is now only seen at some shrine or temple grounds on a festival day, or at some public square, with no sign of its former popularity. The *mise-mono* was performed at temporarily enclosed sites, or in an improvised tent, and had its origin sometime in the 16th century. The forms of entertainment performed at the *mise-mono* included magic, acrobatics, tricks, dances, fencing and the like. Again human freaks, strange birds and animals such as the otter, peacocks and bears were featured, as were strange plants. Some such *mise-mono* shows now have been incorporated into the side-shows, circuses and the *yose*.

Tejina

In Japan, magic generally developed as *tejina*, or sleight of hand, and is still to be seen in the *yose*. It originated in the *gen-jutsu* imported from China in the 8th century, and passing through many changes, it developed into a popular form of entertainment about 1680. In 1820, Yanagawa Itchōsai used a paper butterfly and made it look like a live butterfly. A characteristic of the Japanese sleight of hand is that it is performed to the accompaniment of a constant verbal patter or of music, making it seem to be only incidental to the amusement of the talk, quite in contrast to the showy magic of the West.

In the magic imported from abroad after the Meiji Period, there are those from China and those from the West. Among

famous magicians was a woman performer named Shōkyokusai Tenkatsu.

Kyokugei

This is also called *karuwa* and is a form of acrobatic stunting. Making use of practiced skill, it aims at thrilling the audience with acrobatic feats. It was imported from China together with the *sangaku* in the 8th century. This became a form of popular entertainment during the early part of the Edo Period. The dry bed of Kamo River in Kyoto was a favorite site for *mise-mono* shows in the old days; and according to old records, puppets, the *kumo-mai*, tight-rope walking, and also exhibits of strange birds and beasts, pigmies and giant women and other such were held there.

Kumo-mai

This was a type of tight-rope walking, in which the performer climbed a long bamboo pole and then crossed a high-strung rope. Then the bamboo pole would be held upright on the shoulder of the tight-rope walker, and a boy or girl would climb up the pole to sit on it or lie down or otherwise move at will at the tip of the pole.

Wanuke

The performer would pass through one or two hoops held high up, in a flying leap.

Tsuna-watari

The performer would walk a rope wearing wooden clogs, and holding an open parasol in one hand. He performs acrobatic feats on the rope, standing on one foot, lying down, etc.

Hashigo-nori

This is a form of acrobatic skill now used almost exclusively by the *tobi-shoku* or firemen. They climb aloft a high ladder held upright in the air, and perform acrobatic feats atop the ladders. This is performed every year in January at the palace grounds.

Ashigei

In this, the performer lies on his back and holds his feet up in the air. Large and small wooden tubs are then piled up

one on top of another on his feet, and then a little girl or boy climbs up the stack of tubs and performs various acrobatics. The performer then kicks the barrels off, expertly catching the child on his feet.

Kyoku-goma

This is a stunt which has a long history in Japan, and consists of handling tops. In 1870 Matsui Gensei went abroad and introduced the Japanese top-spinning show to the western countries.

Kyokuba

This is a form of stunt horse-back riding in which the performer goes through various stunts on horse-back. There are two general types of *kyokuba*; one is patterned after that of the west while the other is native to Japan. In the Japanese *kyokuba*, the performer acted out *kabuki* poses on the back of a galloping horse. However, this is no longer to be seen. The currently practiced *kyokuba* is the Western type which was introduced into Japan in 1872 by the English, and in 1886 by an Italian troupe. Subsequently, *kyokuba* in Japan all came to take the western form.

Daikagura

Daikagura is an offshoot of the *kagura*, and is performed with the skillful use of hand-balls. *Kyoku-mari* is stunting with the use of a ball which is balanced on the up-raised foot with the performer on his back. *Saramawashi* involves revolving a huge plate on the end of a thin bamboo stick.

The *yose* programs of today incorporate a good number of these old side-show entertainment forms.

Aside from the above-mentioned *mise-mono* entertainment, there are also street entertainment which is mainly for children, such as the shadow-plays, the magic-lantern

pictures, peep-shows, picture plays and the like. Of these, only the picture-plays, that is, the *kami-shibai* is still to be seen.

Kage-e shibai

Kage-e shibai or shadow plays made use of shadows cast on a paper door or other form of screen. *Utsushi-e* were magic lantern pictures which made use of colored pictures on glass. Music and a narrative were supplied, and the performances were given at festivals and on summer evenings, or on a *yose* program. It is said to have existed as early as 1801 in Edo. Today, it is still to be seen near Hachioji, just outside of Tokyo.

Nozoki-karakuri

Nozoki-karakuri were peep-boxes which were popular from the Edo Period, and were to be seen at festival sites and public squares. A box with several holes covered by glass was prepared. When a customer peered in through one of the holes, he saw a picture which was inside the box. A series of pictures could be shown by the manipulation of a string controlling the slides, and the narrator accompanied the pictures with his story.

A show exclusively for children's amusement is the *kami-shibai* or picture plays which are still often seen on the streets today. Pictures showing various stages in a story are drawn on heavy sheets of cardboard, with several such pictures making up one sequence. The narrator tells the story while going through his series of pictures in turn. This is now also used for educational purposes in kindergarten and grammar school classes, with children sometimes making their own *kami-shibai*, and teachers also making good use of the medium.

Drama in Postwar Japan

Development of the amateur theater

An outstanding development in the drama world of postwar Japan is the rapid growth

of the community theater, the workers' theater, the student and school theatricals and other forms of amateur drama. The theater which had formerly been considered mainly the property of the leisure class of the cities, began to have close ties with the

populace in general, as well as in the educational field. In the growth of this movement can be seen a new factor in the national culture of modern Japan.

Repertory

The lack of appropriate new material is a constant problem in the theater world of Japan today, and in spite of the fact that the professional troupes often take up original works and seek to encourage their creation, the results have been negligible. Amid the general mediocrity, the group of plays on legendary themes written by Kinoshita Junji are outstanding efforts. These plays were first taken up by the student drama groups and later by professional troupes, with even the *kabuki* eventually presenting several. His works have initiated a fresh style into the theater.

Meanwhile, in the amateur theater of the regional districts, plays handling themes taken from old legends and folk tales of each respective region, are being developed by the people of the provinces themselves. It is always an interesting challenge to preserve and present the beauty of old traditions in some form adapted to the bustle of modern life: in the case of the legends, the answer seems to have been found in the medium of stage art.

In line with the trend to encourage original plays, the Education Ministry promotes an yearly contest for selecting a period play to be presented during the Autumn Arts Festival. During the first three years of this contest, the selection was limited to plays for the *kabuki* theater, but in subsequent years the field was widened to include other theater genres also. This yearly contest not only served to bring to public attention promising writers, but also was effective in stimulating the lagging interest in creation of original plays.

In the repertory of the *shingeki* (modern theater in the Western manner), modern plays are given precedence, but it is the translated Western play rather than original native plays that score the biggest successes. For instance, Broadway hits such as "A Streetcar Named Desire" and

"The Death of a Salesman" were presented by the Bungaku-za Troupe and the Mingei troupe respectively, and made an unprecedented and unexpectedly long run. European classic plays such as those of Shakespeare and Moliere, and such representative plays as Gorki's "Lower Depths", Chekhov's "Three Sisters", "Cherry Orchard" and the like are often given performances, always with a fair amount of success.

Meanwhile, professional playwrights are now turning their attention to other fields such as the movie script and the radio and television drama. They are particularly active in the radio drama field; and as a result the livelihood of the playwrights has gradually become stabilized. In this manner, the fields open to playwrights have become considerably widened in the postwar era.

Training facilities for actors

The leading *shingeki* troupes such as the *Haiyuza*, *Bungakuza*, *Mingei* and *Budō-no-kai*, have their respective training centers for actors. In the postwar period, aspirants thronged to these centers, and actors to carry on the *shingeki* movement are being effectively trained.

A few of the private universities also have established drama courses in which students who plan to enter the theatrical world in the future, are given a basic education in this field. A group of graduates of the drama course of Nihon University and other universities recently aspired to enter the *kabuki* field, and are now performing as members of the *kabuki* troupe in Osaka. Due to the feudalistic structure of the *kabuki* world, it had been previously nearly impossible to enter the *kabuki* as an outsider, so that this entry of the college graduates constituted a drastic change. However, it still remains to be seen how successfully these new performers will fare in the *kabuki* world, with its feudalistic adherence to hereditary Stage ties.

Social status of actors

In the feudalistic society of the Edo Period, the *kabuki* actors were considered an inferior class; but with the advent of the

Meiji Era, such class discriminations were eliminated by law, and actors came to have their place in society not only as equal citizens but as honored artists. At present, outstanding *kabuki* actors are honored by membership in the National Academy of Arts, and several actors are also to be found among the recipients of the yearly award of the Culture Medal.

Previous to the Meiji Era, it was practically unthinkable that any member of the Imperial Family should see the *kabuki*; but in 1887 Emperor Meiji broke precedence and viewed a *kabuki* performance at the premier's official residence. Since then, there were no more such occasions until the postwar period, when both the Emperor and the Empress have made visits to the *kabuki* theater. This is not only a sign of the new freedom attained by the royal family, but also of the fact that the status of the actors has risen considerably since the former days.

However, although the social status of the actors has been improved, it cannot be said that their status as wage-earners has been similarly established. In the *kabuki* world, there is no labor union even today. The troupes are formed under the leadership of the *za-gashira* (troupe head) in the system of disciple-hood which is a carry-over from the old feudalistic age. Moreover, it is in such a position that should the younger members attempt a democratization movement, they would be placed in an unfavorable situation by the producing companies. In other words, the *kabuki* world has managed to free itself from its feudalistic fetters only to a limited extent, and much is still to be desired.

In the early part of 1957, the Japan Actors' Society, composed of professional actors, was finally formed. This is an actors' mutual aid society, and is not of a nature to be called a labor union. However, being the first organization of this kind in the field, it marks a step toward the democratization of the theatrical world. In Osaka too, the Kansai Actors' Society has been formed, so that the establishment of a national organization may be expected in the future. However, at present, the *shin-*

geki troupe members are not included in these societies.

Production system

Tōshi Performance

Kabuki plays are of considerable length when given in their entirety, such full performances being called *tōshi*. Due to the installation of the 'star system' in *kabuki*, it became customary for a program to include several piecemeal scenes from entirely unrelated plays, in order to supply each ranking star with an appropriate vehicle. The result was that the audience, not being supplied with a consecutive story, often could not understand the plot without prior knowledge. However, in the postwar era, there has been a tendency to revert to a more frequent presentation of *tōshi* performances. As a result, many scenes from classic plays, which had not been performed for some time, made their way back to the stage, and the plays became understandable in their full sequences. This trend was initiated in the period immediately after the end of the war, partly under the encouragement of the occupation authorities, and has made possible a new understanding of the old *kabuki* classics.

Long-run System

During the Edo Period, a play which made a hit was carried for a two or three month period, according to old records. In general the *kabuki* performances now are limited to a 25 day period; but in the post war period, there have been occasions when a specially popular program was carried over for a fifty-day period. In the *shingeki* field, the 1949 performance of "The Marriage of Figaro" at the Picadilly Experimental Theater instituted the long-run system, and proved a great stimulus to the *shingeki* movement.

The long-run system has become possible due to the increase in the number of theater fans. After the war, people who had been unable to attend the theater during the war, crowded to attend the plays. Among these were included a large number who in pre-

vious days had had no interest in the theater. Formerly, large-scale theater parties had been mainly an institution belonging to clubs made up of fans of a particular star, or of the invited guests of some large business or industrial firm. However, in the postwar era, theater appreciation groups of a different nature have sprung up throughout the nation, for the express purpose of creating a new understanding and appreciation of the theater, typified by the thriving *Tomin Gekijō* of Tokyo with its wide membership. Recently, other similar theater appreciation groups have been formed among the workers and the students throughout the nation. It is partly due to this system that the *shingeki* troupes too have been able to capture their segment of fans, and are now able to travel to various points in the country to give their performances, relying on the support of these appreciation groups in each district.

Two-program Schedule

In countries other than Japan, matinee programs are held only on Saturdays and Sunday, but in Japan it is customary for two programs to be held every day. There is probably no other nation where a theater program opens daily at 11 o'clock in the morning. Moreover, the evening program is composed of an entirely different group of numbers from the matinee program; in other words, the actors of a single troupe is thereby called on to perform all day from 11 in the morning till 10 at night. This double program system is maintained by the producing companies with an eye on the profits to be thus derived, entirely disregarding the overwork and lack of practice time on the part of the actors themselves. It may easily be said that the prolonged illnesses of such leading actors as Nakamura Kanzaburō and Hanayagi Shōtarō recently, are due in great part to the stress of the double-program system.

Apart from the obvious overwork on the part of the actors, this system also prevents proper practice time to master new plays sufficiently before the opening of the following month's program, with the few days between runs being spent in hectic prepara-

tion. The double-program system has been exposed to severe criticism many times, but as yet, no steps have been taken to improve the situation.

Cultural exchange with foreign nations

Introduction of Kabuki to Abroad

American interest in the *kabuki* reached a new peak through the occupation personnel who came in contact with it during their stay in Japan and who returned to America as ardent *kabuki* fans. In 1954, through the efforts of Bowers and Mitchener, a group of performers led by dancer *Azuma Tokuho* went to America to introduce the *kabuki* dance, and met with great acclaim there. The same group made another tour of America the following year, so that through the efforts of one woman, *Azuma Tokuho*, they accomplished a cultural mission which should have been undertaken long ago by the government.

In the autumn of 1955, *kabuki* actor Ichikawa Ennosuke and his troupe toured the Chinese mainland with their *kabuki* repertory, so that the true *kabuki* was first introduced to China rather than to America. The following year, as a reciprocal cultural project, leading performers of the Chinese theater came to Japan to perform in this country. This cultural interchange was made possible through the efforts of the Government of the People's Republic of China; and it is to be hoped that with this stimulus, steps will soon be taken to promote the introduction of the legitimate *kabuki* theater to America as well.

Presentation of Noh in Italy

In 1954, through the cooperation of the ITI in Japan and other groups, a group of *noh* performers made a trip to Italy to take part in the International Theater Festival being held there. It had been previously considered a difficult matter to introduce the classic theater to a foreign audience; but the *noh* received an unexpectedly high acclaim abroad.

Theater clubs and societies

During the war several theater organizations were formed as a means of regulation; but with the end of the war these organizations were dissolved, and new, independent groups were formed with the purpose of furthering the development of the theater in Japan, as follows:

Nihon Engeki Kyōkai

Nihon Engeki Kyōkai (Japan Drama society); president, Kubota Mantarō. This group is made up of men professionally concerned with the theater, including playwrights, directors, stage designers, theater critics, theater management men etc., and is active as the leading group of its kind in the theater world.

Kokusai Engeki Kyōkai, Nihon Center

Kokusai Engeki Kyōkai, Nihon Center (Japan Center of ITI); president, Takahashi Sei-ichirō. This is the Japan Center of an International Theater Institute, composed of members from the various fields in the theater world; it is active in furthering the interchange and mutual appreciation of the respective drama of the various nations of the world. Under the auspices of this group, an International Theater Month is sponsored every year in the spring, since 1952. During this period, not only the professional stage, but the youth theatricals also are encouraged; and it has greatly furthered the international movement among the youth. (Established in 1951.)

Nihon Engeki Gakukai

Nihon Engeki Gakukai (Japan Drama Institute); president, Kawatake Shigetoshi. This is a group organized mainly for the purpose of specialized study of the theater, and is made up more of scholars in this field than of men actually active in the theatrical world. (Established in 1949.)

Tomin Gekijō

Tomin Gekijō. (The Tokyo Citizen's Theater); representative, Komiya Hōryū. This

is an organization formed for the purpose of providing facilities for the citizens of Tokyo to see good theater programs at a reasonably low price of admission. It is highly active as an organization composed entirely of audience members. (Established in 1947.)

Main events in the Japanese post-war theater world

(a) In October 1952, Priestley, English playwright and one of the founders of ITI, came to Japan and gave lectures on drama which greatly impressed his audiences and furthered the cause of intercourse between the English and Japanese drama circles.

(b) In September 1952, Nakamura Ganemon, a member of the Zenshin-za Troupe, left Japan and spent several years in Peking introducing Japanese *kabuki* there, before returning to Japan in 1956 to appear again with the Zenshin-za Troupe.

(c) Onoe Kurōemon, son of famed *Kabuki* actor, deceased Onoe Kikugorō (the sixth), went to America in 1951 and returned to Japan in 1953. In America, he studied at the Pasadena Drama School, thus becoming the first *kabuki* actor in the 300 years of *kabuki* history to study drama abroad.

(d) To relieve the lack of theaters suffered by the *shingeki* troupes, the Education Ministry in April of 1953, opened up the hall of the National Hitotsubashi University, to be used by the *shingeki* troupes for their performances, with a special committee known as the *Kokumin Gekijō* (People's Theater) committee being established to manage the hall. There has long been a cry for the establishment of a national people's theater; and this may be regarded as a temporary measure leading toward the eventual establishment of such a national theater.

Plans for the construction a national theater were proposed as early as 1947 by the various troupes, but the time was not yet ripe, and the plans were shelved. From about 1952, the Education Ministry, for the purpose of preserving the classic arts, furthered plans for a state-sponsored project

along this line. In 1955 a preparatory committee was formed with this in mind; by 1957 a part of the project saw concrete development. This project includes not only the construction of an ideal theater for the preservation of the old classic theater and the further development of a new modern theater, but also facilities for study and training along this line.

Stimulated by this development, the Tokyo Municipality too is now furthering plans for the construction of an ideal music hall within Ueno Park, with the cooperation of members of the musical world.

(e) As a step toward relieving the shortage of theaters among the *shingeki* troupes, the Haiyūza Troupe constructed the Haiyūza theater (estimated cost, 60,000,000 *yen*), which was opened in April 1954. The capacity of the theater is 400. This is the first postwar case in which the efforts of a single troupe succeeded in creating an independent theater. However, due to the small audience capacity of the theater, it is difficult to make ends meet on performances held there. As a result, the Haiyūza is faced with much difficulty at present.

(f) The 300th year memorial festival for playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon was held in September 1952. As a memorial program, Chikamatsu's *Kokusenya Kas-*

sen was revived at the Kabuki-za Theater for the first time in 25 years.

(g) As 1957 is said to be the 350th year since the death of Izumo Okuni, credited with being the founder of *kabuki*, a memorial program is being planned by *kabuki* troupes both in Tokyo and Osaka.

(h) The great majority of *noh* theaters in the major cities were destroyed by fire during the war, but in 1954 the Kanze Kaikan Noh Hall was constructed by the Kanze school of Noh, and the Kita School Noh Hall was constructed by the Kita school of Noh.

(i) In 1951 Paul Green, American playwright, came to Japan, sponsored by Rockefeller, to give lectures on drama at Waseda University and elsewhere.

(j) The postwar 150 percent tax on theater admission met with much criticism as an excessive tax; in 1951 the tax was reduced to 100 percent, and in 1953 to 50 percent. The various troupes are calling for further reduction or abolition of tax on admissions. At present, the *noh* and *bunraku* are specially favored as 'cultural assets', and give their performances tax free, while opera, ballet and purely musical programs are taxed 20 percent on admissions. The *shingeki*, *kabuki* and the popular theater entertainment programs with an admission price of over 100 *yen*, are subject to a 50 percent tax, which is included in the price of the ticket.

Music

History

The history of music in Japan can be roughly divided into 7 periods.

Era of Primitive Japanese Music

This period covers the time from the birth of the Japanese race to the introduction of a form of primitive Buddhist music called *gigaku* from Korea in the reign of Empress Suiko. (7th century).

A brief idea can be had of the music of this era from references in *Kiki* and *Fudoki* and old clay musical instruments. The

major music was impromptu or traditional melodies accompanied by flute, *koto*, and *tsuzumi* (hand-drums). The flutes of this period are called *yamatobue* and the *koto*, *wagon* or *yamatogoto* to distinguish them from the flutes and *koto* introduced from China after the Nara Period.

Period when Music was Imported from the China Continent

This period starts with the reign of Empress Suiko and extends through the late Nara Period.

Foreign music came to Japan in around 435 A. D, but it was not taken up by the

Japanese themselves. The first foreign music to be picked up by the Japanese was *gigaku*, introduced in 612 by Mimashi from Pakche (Korea). Young boys learned *gigaku* from Mimashi under encouragement of Prince Shōtoku, then the Regent of Japan.

Later music was introduced in rapid succession from *Sankan* (3 countries in Korea), T'ang (China), Siam, Lin i (Indo China) and Pohai (Manchuria). The court, temples and shrines became the center of musical activities. A *gagaku-ryō* (court music department) was set up in 701.

Period when Music from the Continent was Digested

This era corresponds to the Heian Period. Many forms of music imported in the previous era were digested and consolidated during this period. The Japanese people started composing music according to foreign patterns, and traditional Japanese music itself underwent improvements under impact from the music and dancing of foreign countries. Two new forms of vocal compositions—*saibara* and *rōei*—were developed in this period. A Japanese style *gagaku* or court music was born out of these new forms of music.

A form of music popular among the masses was *sarugaku*, a Japanese version of the *sangaku* (the musical accompaniment to juggling and stunts introduced from China in the Nara Era.) Another new form of music that spread among the common people was the *imayō* songs.

Rise of Racial Music

This period covers the time from the Kamakura to Muromachi Period.

The family of Genji and the warriors who came into power in the Kamakura Period did not have the taste for the stylized *gagaku* and preferred the *heikyoku* (music for narrating the *Tales of Heike* to the accompaniment of *biwa*, a Japanese mandolin). Other popular forms of music were the *ennen*, *sarugaku* and *dengaku* which were accompanied by gestures.

Blooming of Japanese Music

This period corresponds roughly to the Edo Period. A revolution came to Japanese music during this period with the introduction of the *sangen* (also called *shamisen*, three-stringed instrument) from the Ryūkyūs in 1562 and the *shakuhachi* (bamboo flute) from South China around the same time.

The *shamisen* was used to accompany the folk songs and *kouta* ballad and later the *ningyō jōruri* (puppet ballad-drama). It was also adopted into the *kabuki* which formerly relied solely on *fue* (flute) and *tsuzumi* (hand drums) for musical accompaniment.

Meanwhile, a new form of *sōkyoku* music was developed in northern Kyūshū from the *koto* of *gagaku* and *sōkyoku* of China. There were 3 schools of the *sōkyoku*; Yatsushashi, Ikuta and Yamada.

The *jiuta*, *shamisen* music of the Kyoto Osaka area, is representative of the delicate, stylized Japanese music. The form of *jiuta* that spread to Edo (Tokyo) and was adopted into the *kabuki* is now known as the *nagauta*.

The *jōruri* was developed both in Osaka and Edo and was later merged into the *gidayūbushi*.

About the same time, *bungobushi* was developed from Kyoto's *itchūbushi*. The *bungobushi* in turn developed in Edo into the *tokiwazu* and *fujimatsu*. The *tokiwazu* gave rise in turns to *tomimoto*, and *kiyomoto*; and the *fujimatsu* to *tsuruga* and *shinnai*.

In short, popular music centering around the *shamisen* flourished in the era.

Introduction of Western Music

This period covers the reign of Emperor Meiji. The Meiji Restoration reestablished contact with the West, and music was imported from western countries and China. The introduction and digestion of western music was carried on in full scale after the State established a music academy and the Education Ministry appointed officials in charge of music.

Japanese music was also affected by western music, and new songs and techniques were adopted by the *koto* players. Later, under impact of essays on new music and drama by Tsubouchi Shōyō, the *nagauta*, *tokiwazu* and *kiyomoto* also adopted new compositions.

Digestion of Western Music

Western music, which was imported directly in original form, was digested in the Taishō and Shōwa eras. The composers of western style music also started to compose works that combined both western and Japanese elements.

At the same time, a movement was launched under the leadership of the *koto* maestro Miyagi Michio to instil new life into Japanese music. As a result, western techniques and forms were adopted widely and Japanese music approached even closer to western music.

A movement is on at the same time to preserve classical Japanese music, and some of the leading but fast disappearing forms of Japanese music have been designated intangible cultural assets.

The present tendency is for Japanese music to approach western music and western music in Japan to incorporate Japanese characteristics.

Leading Japanese musicians who designated "possessors of intangible cultural assets" in 1955 were: Kita Roppēta, Kawasaki Kyūen, Ko Goro, Toyotake Yamashiro Shōjō, Takemoto Sumidayū, Takemoto Tsunadayū, Tsurusawa Seiroku, Tomizaki Shunshō, Yamada Shōtarō, Kiyomoto Eijūrō and Tokiwazu Mojibei.

Varieties of Hōgaku

By *hōgaku* is meant melodies played on traditional Japanese instruments. Most of the *hōgaku* compositions are either classical music or music with classical rhythm. They consist mostly of *shamisen* music developed in the gay quarters during the Edo Period and are not appreciated much by the modern Japanese.

With the exception of *gagaku* and *nōgaku*, *hōgaku* was developed mainly during the

Edo Period when Japan isolated itself from the rest of the world.

The *hōgaku* ramified into many small branches, but the difference from one branch and another is so little that it is not noticeable to the laymen. The difference consists mainly of the size of the *shamisen* instrument used, the way it is played, and the type and tune of the song and vocalization.

The relatively popular forms of *hōgaku* are:

1. Vocal—*Saibara*, *rōei* (both belong to the *gagaku*), *yōkyoku*, *kyōgen utai*, songs for *sōkyoku*, (mostly of Yamada School), *jiuta*, *nagauta*, *tokiwazu*, *kiyomoto*, *shinnai*, *gidayū*, *itchūbushi*, *katōbushi*, *ogiebushi*, *tomimoto*, *hauta*, *utasawa*, *kouta*, *biwa*, *yamatogaku*, *tōmeiryū*, *minyō*, *heikyoku*, and *sekkyōbushi*.

2. Instrumental music—*kangen* (*gagaku*), *maiha-yashiko* (*yōkyoku*), *danmono* (*sōkyoku*), *tegoto* (mostly Ikuta School), *shakuhachi*.

The greater part of *hōgaku* belongs to vocal music. This means that Japanese music depends heavily on literature. Vocal music can be further divided into *utaimono* (lyrical poems) and *katarimono* (narrative poems).

1. *Utaimono*—*Saibara*, *rōei*, *kyōgen utai*, *utamono* (*sōkyoku*), *jiuta*, *nagauta*, *ogiebushi*, *hauta*, *kouta*, *yamatogaku*, *tōmeiryū*, *minyō*.

2. *Katarimono*—*Jōruri* (*gidayū*, *tokiwazu*, *kiyomoto*, *shinnai*, *itchūbushi*, *katōbushi*, *tomimoto*), *biwa*, *heikyoku*, *sekkyōbushi*.

Description of Japanese music

Gagaku. This is court music with the oldest tradition in Japanese music. Originally introduced from China, *gagaku* was assimilated into Japanese culture in the Heian Era and developed under patronage of the court, temples and shrines. The tradition of the orthodox *gagaku* is upheld today by the Music Department of the Imperial Household Agency.

Yōkyoku. The *yōkyoku* (song for *nōgaku*) was developed in the Middle Ages by Seami from the *shingaku* and *dengaku*

music of the common people. *Nōgaku* was music of the *samurai* class as contrasted to the *gagaku* which was music of the court nobles.

In formal *noh* (or *nōgaku*) presentations, the *yōkyoku* is always accompanied by *mai* (dance), *hayashi* (orchestra) and *kyōgen* (farce). When presented alone, the *yōkyoku* is called *suutai*.

The *yōkyoku* is divided into 5 schools—Kanze, Takaraza, Kongō, Komparu and Kita. Each school has a different text and a different way of chanting.

Kyōgen. This farce is an indispensable part of the *noh* that adds a bit of humor as contrasted to the subtlety suggested by the *yōkyoku*. There are two schools, i.e. the Ōkura and Izumi.

Sōkyoku. This was originated 300 years ago by Yatsuhashi-kengyō, the composer of the famous music *Rokudan*. In the Edo Period, it was taken by blind men and women and also by daughters of the well-to-do families. Even today, *sōkyoku* is regarded as an elegant, wholesome accomplishment.

The two main schools are the Ikuta, which developed in western Japan, and Yamada, which grew up in Edo Region. The Ikuta has a longer tradition, and although the compositions of the Ikuta School are played by the Yamada School, the Ikuta School seldom plays works of the Yamada School.

Both schools sing and plays the *koto* instruments. While most other forms of Japanese music use the three-stringed *shamisen*, *koto* has the advantage of being able to produce beautiful and varied tones with its 13 strings.

Since the appearance of Miyagi Michio, the *sōkyoku* made swift approaches to western music. Many new compositions were based on western rhythm, and the *koto* came to be played with western musical instruments.

Jiuta. This is the song with the *shamisen* popular in the Osaka area. *Hauta* and *shibaiuta* are part of the *jiuta*. It is now performed mainly by the Ikuta School of *sōkyoku*.

Shakuhachi. This was originally religious music spread by the priests called *komusō* when they went on pilgrimage.

Since the Meiji Era, the *shakuhachi* has replaced by the *kokyū* (three-stringed fiddle) in *sankyoku* performances. *Sankyoku* is meant *koto*, *sangen* (or *shamisen*) and *kokyū*.

The major schools of *shakuhachi* are the *Kinko* which upholds the traditions of the *komusō* or strolling flute players, the Tsuzan school which founded by Nakao Tsuzan.

Nagauta. This developed as the accompaniment of the *shosagoto* (dance) in the *kabuki* play in the Edo Era. It is accompanied by *hayashi* (orchestra) and is one of the most elaborate of theatrical music.

Nagauta is generally lucid and extravagant, but many new forms were developed in the late Edo Era for performance before small groups in private rooms.

In its early stages, the *nagauta* adopted the melodies of the *yōkyoku* and *jiuta* and later of the *ōsatsuma*, *itchū*, *katō*, *tokiwazu*, *kiyomoto* and *shinnai*. The *nagauta* thus incorporates the features of a wide variety of music and is one of the most versatile of Japanese music.

There are no groups in *nagauta* that make up formal schools. The groups that specialize in theatrical performances are Yoshimura, Kine-ei, Kinekatsu, Matsunaga, Fujita, Matsushima and Ikenohata.

The groups that give *shakuhachi* solo performances are Kenseikai, Kineroku and Samon.

Gidayū. This developed with the *bunraku* puppet *jōruri* of Osaka. It is rich in dramatic element and penetrating delineation of character. Two of the oldest schools are Takemoto and Toyotake. There are also the Chinami Kai led by Toyotake-shōjō and the Mitsuwa Kai formed by seceders from the Chinami Kai. The *gidayū* performer who appears in *kabuki* is called *chobo* and is not counted as a member of the orthodox schools.

The *musume* (maiden) *gidayū* performers, who appears at *yose* (vaudeville houses) since the Meiji Era, are noted for their

superior talent and the feeling they put into their performances.

Tokiwazu. This is theatrical music of the Edo Period initiated by Tokiwazu Moji-dayū. The tunes are sober but spiced with sprightliness. The themes and deal with both love and war.

Tomimoto. This was developed from the *tokiwazu* by Tomimoto Toyomae-no-jō. It was one of the most favored music at court in its heyday, but the appearance of the *kiyomoto* gradually pushed it away into oblivion.

Kiyomoto. This is a light, gay and spicy ballad drama developed from the *tomimoto*. It is second in popularity to the *nagauta* as theatrical music. There are two schools of *kiyomoto*—the Takanawa School started by Kiyomoto Enju-dayū the originator of *kiyomoto*, and the Umekichi which bolted from the Takanawa School.

The *tokiwazu*, *tomimoto* and *kiyomoto* are referred to collectively as the *bungo sanpa*. *Bungo bushi* was developed in the Osaka area and was presented on the stages of Edo. It was banned later as the undesirable melody from a moralistic standpoint.

Shinnai. Like the *tokiwazu*, *tomimoto* and *kiyomoto*, this was developed from the *Bungo bushi* by Fujimatsu Satsuma En.

At first *shinnai* was presented on the stage but later it came to be presented exclusively before the audience of private groups.

The tunes retain the lusty decadent beauty of the *bungo bushi* and are based on essentially tragic themes. There are four schools i.e. the Fujimatsu, Tsuruga, Okamoto and Shinnai.

Itchubushi. This was originated by Miyako Itchū-dayū of Kyoto, and was presented at first both on the stage and before the audience of private groups. Later it came to be presented only before the audience of private groups. The melody is graceful and sober.

The major schools are Miyako, Sugano (an offshoot of Miyako) and Uji (offshoot of Sugano).

Katobushi. This is a form of *jōruri* started in Edo by Katō Masumi. Like the *itchūbushi*, it is now presented only before

private audiences, but it was performed on the stage as well formerly. Even today, however, the *katōbushi* is performed in the *kabuki* stage *Sukeroku*.

The melody is elegant but gayer than the *itchūbushi*.

Miyazonobushi. This is also called the *empachibushi*. This was started by Miyamotoji Empachi, high disciple of Miyakoji Bungo-no-jō. It almost vanished once in the Edo Period but was revived in the last days of the Shogunate. There are only 10 *miyazonobushi* compositions. The melodies are graceful and tender.

Ogiebushi. This is an elegant, light and crisp form of *nagauta* and sung firstly at the Yoshiwara red light district by Ogie Royū, a veteran chanter of *nagauta*, around 1764. Many of the *ogiebushi* melodies are the same as the *nagauta*.

The *itchū*, *katō*, *miyazono* and *ogie* are called *kokyoku*. Generically the *ogie* is classified as a *utaimono* but the other three belong to *jōruri*. The *kokyoku* is performed now mainly by women.

Hauta. This has been absorbed by the *jiuta* in the Osaka area. The *hauta* that survives today are therefore mainly Edo *hauta*.

Utazawa. This was developed from the *hauta* during the heyday of the *hauta* in the late Edo Period. It is much slower and more sober and delicate than the *hauta*.

Kouta. This also developed from the *hauta*, and shows a sharp contrast with the *utazawa*. Its tempo is quicker than the *hauta*, the words are simple and romantic, and the theme is spicy and witty.

Because of these characteristics, the *kouta* enjoys tremendous popularity today and there are a great many schools of *hauta*.

Biwa. This was first spread by the warriors of Satsuma and Chikuzen (both in Kyūshū) in the Edo Era. It attained great popularity in the Meiji Era, then almost went into eclipse and was revived recently by the Nishiki Biwa School.

Yamatogaku. This is a combination of Japanese music and western vocalization originated by multimillionaire and financier Ōkura Kishichirō. Its graceful melody is welcomed by contemporary Japanese.

Tōmeiryū. Hiraoka Ginshū, a man about town of the Taishō Era, started the *tōmeiryū* by merging the features of many different forms of Japanese music. The melodies are light and agreeable but lack vitality.

Heikyoku and Sekkyōbushi. This is a form or recitation that gave rise to the *jōruri*. The *sekkyōbushi* was a recitation similar to the ceremonial addresses of the days before the development of the *naniwabushi*. Both are on the verge of extinction, but their melodies have been adopted into many other forms of Japanese music.

Min'yō. The rustic appeal of the *min'yō* has won for it a wide following among the common people. It may be classified, according to the wordings, into labor songs, *bon odori* (community dances) songs, and those sung at drinking parties and on ceremonial occasions.

The *min'yō* is presented by both amateur performers and by professional singers.

Instruments

Instruments for Japanese music are made mostly of wood, bamboo, leather and silk strings and easily affected by the weather and humidity. The major instruments may be classified as follows:

Gagaku. *Shō, hichiriki, ōteki, kakko, shōko, taiko, koto, wagon* (*koto* with 6 strings), *biwa*.

Yōkyoku—Nōkan. (only melodious instrument in *yōkyoku*) *Kozutsumi, ōzutsu-mi, taiko*.

Sōkyoku. *Koto, shamisen, shakuhachi, kōkyū.* The Ikuta and Yamada Schools use different kinds of *koto* and *shamisen*. The *kōkyū* has three or four strings and may be likened to a small *shamisen*. There is also with *koto* 17-stringed invented by the late Miyagi Michio.

Biwa. The instruments used for *biwa* music are improved versions of the ones used for *gagaku*. The plectrum is much larger than the ones for *gagaku*.

Nagauta. *Shamisen, hayashi.* The *hayashi* is the same as for *yōkyoku*. The musical instruments for *hayashi* include *ōbyōshi* (big *tsuzumi* played with a big plectrum), *okedō, kane, mokugyo* (wooden

gong), *dora* (*gong*), *hyōshigi* (wooden clappers) and *chappa*.

Method of Presentation

Yōkyoku. This is presented by *shite* (leading actor), *waki* (supporting actor), *tsure* (companion) and *jiutai* (chorus). Sometimes, *hayashikata* (orchestra) joined. The main passage alone may be presented over a short period of time by a solo performer (*dokugin*) or two or three performers (*rengin*). *Hitoshirabe* is a combination of *utai* and *taiko* or *tsuzumi*.

Sōkyoku. There is no fixed limit for the number of players or *koto* instruments. The songs are sung by the performer as he plays the *koto*. Recently, the songs are sometimes sung separately.

In the Ikuta school, the principal and assistant performers play different parts when more than two *koto* are used. This school plays different tunes on the *koto* and *shamisen*, but the same tune is played on the two instruments in the Yamada School.

Jiuta. This is usually presented by a solo performer who sings while he plays. Sometimes, it is presented in a duet, and *koto* is also used as accompaniment.

Nagauta. Normally the *nagauta* is presented by *shamisen* and *hayashi*, but sometimes the *hayashi* is omitted.

Gidayū and Biwa. These are usually presented by a solo performer who chants while playing the *shamisen*.

Kouta, utazawa. One person sings and the other plays the *shamisen* in *kouta* and *utazawa*. Sometimes an assistant *shamisen* player joins.

Pitch

The pitch of the *gagaku* forms the basic pitch of Japanese music. In the olden days, highly technical terms *ōshiki, banshiki, ichiko, hyōjō*, and *sōjō* were used to designate the different pitches.

After the development of the *shamisen* in the Edo Era, they were substituted by the simpler terms i.e. *ippon, nihon, sanbon*, etc.

In the case of *shihon*, the open pitch of the first string (thickest) of the *shamisen* corresponds to the "do" in C major (mi-

nor). The pitch goes up by half a pitch with each *hon*.

Sankyoku

History. *Sankyoku* refers to a joint performance of the *koto*, *shamisen* and *shakuhachi* (*kokyū* instead of *shakuhachi* in the Edo Period). The term is also used at present to designate the three forms of music using these musical instruments.

A long time ago, a form of *gagaku* called *zendōji-gaku* was spread by fugitives of the Heike clan around Zendōji Temple in Kurume, Kyūshū. In the late Muromachi Period, a monk called *Kenjun* combined the *koto* music of the *zendōji-gaku* and Chinese music and formed the Tsukushi School of *koto* music.

Yatsushashi Kengyō studied the Tsukushi School of *koto* music from Hōsui, a disciple of *Kenjun*, composed 13 new sets of *koto* music and formed the Yatsushashi School of *koto* music. Regarded as the father of popular *koto* music, Yatsushashi died in 1685, the year Bach and Händel were born.

The *shamisen* was imported from China in the late Muromachi Period and used as an accompaniment to the *kouta*. In the Edo Era, a highly technical form of music called *shamisen kumiuta* was perfected by three blind court musicians—Ishimura, Torasawa and Sawasumi.

Later, the *shamisen kumiuta* was carried on by the Yanagawa School which started in Kyoto and the Nogawa School which started in Osaka.

In the days of Yatsushashi Kengyō, the *koto* was used only to play *sōkumiuta* and *dan mono* (*roku dan*, *hachi dan*, etc.). The practice of playing the *koto* together with, or rather as an accompaniment of *shamisen* spread in the days of Ikuta Kengyō, an indirect disciple of Yatsushashi.

The *shamisen* music in such cases adopted the techniques of the *shamisen kumiuta*, but the words of the songs were more compact than the *kumiuta*. Such songs were called *jiuta* or *kamigatauta* as against the *edouta*. Until the late Edo Period, the *shamisen* played a greater part than *koto* in the Ikuta School.

Yamada Kengyō, who appeared in Edo in the Anei Era (12th cen.), was convinced that the Ikuta School did not meet the taste and temperament of the people of Edo. He therefore shifted the emphasis from instrumental to vocal music, from technique to contents and from the *shamisen* to *koto*. He also opened up a new realm in composition by taking in the finer points of the *yōkyoku* and *jōruri*, made improvements on the instruments and changed the angular plectrums to oval ones.

Thus the Yamada School of *koto* music was born in Edo as opposed to the Ikuta School in Kansai.

Originally, the *shakuhachi* was a religious musical instrument and played exclusively by strolling monks. In the middle of the Edo Period, Kondō Sōetsu, started playing *shakuhachi* with *koto* music and *jiuta*, but it was only in 1871 that the general public was permitted to play the *shakuhachi*.

In the early Meiji Era, the songs for *koto* music were transformed from songs of love and the gay light quarters to more educational ones suitable to be presented in private homes. The tunes became gayer under influence of Western and Chinese music, and a new technique was developed that made use of the left hand also. Osaka was the center of this movement to instil new life into *koto* music.

Koto played a more important part than *shamisen* in the *sankyoku* circles of the Meiji Era. This policy was carried over up to the present through the Kyogoku School started by Suzuki Koson and the new Japanese music of Miyagi Michio. At present the *sankyoku* is regarded as the most western and international form of Japanese music.

Nagauta

This was formerly called *Edo nagauta* to distinguish it from the *nagauta* in *Kamigatauta*. Later the term *nagauta* was dropped from the vocabulary in western Japan, and today, the term *nagauta* is used to designate *Edo nagauta*.

The *kamigata nagauta* started invading the theaters of Edo in the early 18th century, but it was after Fujita Yoshiharu

started *uta jōruri* that *nagauta* picked up a wide following in Edo.

The early 19th century was the heyday of the *nagauta*. The *henkamonō* and *nagauta* to be presented before small groups appeared in this period. *Henkamonō* is a serial dance in which the performer changes costume with each new tune.

In some compositions, the *nagauta* was combined with *tokiwazu*, *kiyomoto* or *tomi-moto*.

Such close association with the many forms of *jōruri* broadened the artistic range of the *nagauta*.

Since the time of its inception, the *nagauta* was closely related with the *kabuki*. At times its growth was prompted by the *kabuki*. At other times, its advancement was inhibited by the *kabuki*.

Later, *nagauta* for solo performances was developed to overcome this bottleneck and came to be known as *ozashiki nagauta* or *nagauta* to be played within confines of an *ozashiki* (private room).

Kineya Rokusaburō IV, the composer of *Oimatsu*, is generally believed to be the originator of the *ozashiki nagauta*. The *shakkyō*, composed around the same time by Kineya Saburōsuke IV (later Rokuzaemon X) may also be regarded as an *ozashiki nagauta*.

Representative compositions of *ozashiki nagauta* are *Azuma Hakkei* by Rokusaburō IV and *Akino Irodane* by Rokuzaemon X.

Nagauta based on the words and tunes of *yōkyoku* were composed from the last days of the shogunate to the early Meiji Era. *Tsurukame*, composed in 1851, is among the most famous of the early compositions of this type. The *Kishū Dōjōji*, *Funabenkei* and *Adachihara* are typical *nagauta* patterned after the *yōkyoku*.

The effects of the new concepts and western music of the Meiji Era was naturally felt in *nagauta* circles. The first signs of such influence appeared in *Genroku Hanami Odori* by Shōjirō III (1878).

The *Shinkyoku Urashima* by Kangorō V, composed for the "Theory of New Music" by Tsubouchi Shōyō, was a trail-blazing composition that broke away from the past and adopted new forms and technique.

Significant contribution to the advancement of modern *nagauta* was made by the Kenseikai, a society organized by Yoshizumi Kosaburō IV and Kineya Rokushirō III who retired from the stage to devote their undivided attention to the new movement. Both of them left behind many compositions. The most famous is *Kibun Daijin*.

In the Taishō Era, Kineya Sakichi IV made a new composition that gave prominence to *shamisen* which had been hitherto relegated to second place in *nagauta* performances. This was called *sangen shusō gaku* and opened up new fields for the *nagauta*.

Later, other composers deftly adopted western tunes and techniques into the *nagauta*. Next to the *sankyoku*, the *nagauta* is considered to be the most progressive form of Japanese music.

Gidayūbushi

This is a form of *jōruri* started by Take-moto Gidayū I. who studied the *harimabushi* and merged the finer points of *yōkyoku*, *heikyoku*, *kagabushi* and a variety of Japanese music into a new form of *jōruri*. He owed his success in part to Chikamatsu Monzaemon, a celebrated playwright of the era.

In 1864, a theater for presenting puppet plays was built in Osaka and is called the Takemotoza. The *Shusse Kagekiyo*, written by Chikamatsu two years later for the *gidayū* and presented at the Takemotoza and was a tremendous hit.

The *gidayūbushi* blossomed forth in the first half of the 18th century but started declining in the second half.

The lot of the *gidayūbushi* is closely tied in with the rise and fall of the puppet *jōruri*. However, it is possible now to listen to the *gidayūbushi* alone through phonographs and radios.

In 1954, a form of *gidayū kouta* called *toyomotobushi* was developed by Nozawa Matsunosuke of Bunrakuza.

The Bunrakuza, the home of the orthodox *gidayūbushi*, was divided in 1948 into 2 rival groups—the traditional Chinami Kai and its offshoot, the Sanwa Kai.

The National Commission for Protection of Cultural Properties of the Education Ministry has decided in the meantime to protect and preserve the Bunrakuza as "an intangible cultural asset" and steps have been taken to record on tape for posterity the *jōruri* of Yamashiro-Toyotake-Shōjō.

Bungo Sanryū

—*Tokiwazu, Kiyomoto, Shinnai*—

Tokiwazu. This is named after Tokiwazu Moji-dayū I. (1747). The present form of presenting *tokiwazu* and *kiyomoto* with two *shamisen* players and three *kata-rite* (narrators) was set up in the days of moji-dayū I.

In the Meiji Era, the *tokiwazu* made phenomenal development both in content and form. *Tokiwazu* was produced around this time from *yōkyoku* like *Hagoromo*, *Chikubushima* and *Momijigari*, *kyōgen* like *Tsurime*, and *gidayū* like *Chūshingura* and *Nijūshikō*.

Rinchū, who became Komoji-dayū XI, is credited with drawing public attention to *tokiwazu* as a form of *jōruri*.

At present, there are many new and unorthodox forms of *tokiwazu* compositions that should be referred to more as compositions and performances by *tokiwazu* performers rather than *tokiwazu* music itself.

Kiyomoto

This was named after Kiyomoto Enju-dayū (1814) and made a good start as the newest form of *jōruri* in the Edo Era. Enju-dayū II started solo performances of *kiyomoto* and laid the foundation for its popularity.

Enju-dayū IV was a close friend of Mokuami, a *kabuki* playwright of the Meiji Era, and the *kiyomoto* was widely adopted into Mokuami's *kyōgen*. In return, many

of Mokuami's works were used for *tokiwazu* recitations.

Enju V attempted to make *kiyomoto*'s recitations graceful and acceptable to high society. In 1914 he organized the Kiyomoto Kai for appreciating *kiyomoto* music.

Shinnai

This was developed from *tsurugabushi* which in turn was developed from the *fujimatsubushi*.

The *fujimatsubushi* was established in 1745 by Satsuma Fujimatsu. The *tsurugabushi* was named after Tsuruga Wakasa-no-jō, a disciple of Satsuma Fujimatsu. At first Tsuruga worked for the *kabuki* but later severed his connection with the stage and concentrated on performances in private rooms.

The *shinnaibushi* was named after Tsuruga Shinnai II, a blind disciple of Tsuruga Wakasa-no-jō who was celebrated for his beautiful voice.

Fujimatsu Rochū instilled new life into the *shinnaibushi* and left behind many compositions. Rochū borrowed tunes from the *itchūbushi* and gave a new dignity to the *shinnai*.

The *shinnaibushi* was formerly limited to the Edo area but was later spread throughout the whole country and also to the upper classes.

In the Shōwa Era, many new *shinnai* compositions, which upheld old traditions at the same time, were developed by Okamoto Bunya.

Fujine Michio, an authority long time for on the *shinnai*, became an active leader of the Shinnai Kai after the end of World War II and sponsored *shinnai* concerts that combined music with explanatory lectures. He was given an Education Minister's award in 1953.

Bungobushi $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rightarrow \text{Fujimatsubushi} \rightarrow \text{Tsurugabushi} \rightarrow \text{Shinnaibushi} \\ \rightarrow \text{Tokiwazubushi} \rightarrow \text{Tomimotobushi} \rightarrow \text{Kiyomotobushi} \end{array} \right.$

Hauta

It is not clear when the *hauta* was started. But it was apparently perfected in the early 19th century and attained great popu-

larity in the last days of the shogunate. Many groups of performers sprung up around this time. One of them, called the *utazawa*, started an original form of *hauta* that was eventually named *utazawa* after

the group of performers who started it.

The *hauta* is now a sort of intermediary existence between the *utazawa* and *Edo kouta*, developed in the early Meiji Era, and is fading out of the limelight. Its situation may be likened to the *tomimoto* which is being squeezed out by the *tokiwazu* and *kiyomoto*.

Utazawa

The *utazawa* became independent from *hauta* in 1857. By 1861, the original group of proponents split up in two. The rivalry still continues today.

Shibakin I succeeded in having the *utazawa* presented on stages. Shibakin IV, the present leader of the *utazawa*, adopted the techniques of *koto* and other forms of Japanese music and also developed many *utazawa* dances by the cooperation with classical dancers.

The Tora School of *utazawa* performers who bolted from the Shibakin School is more conservative and noted for its elegant style. The present leader of this school is striving to make the *utazawa* simple, clear and understandable to the masses.

Kouta

This is already existed in the Heian and Muromachi eras. But the *kouta* as it is known today refers to the *Edo kouta* which developed in Edo in the last days of the shogunate as songs for *shamisen*.

Like the *utazawa*, *kouta* was developed from the *hauta*. However, it is more spicy and modern than the *utazawa*, and its tempo is faster.

In its early stages, the *kouta* consisted mostly of popular tunes imported from West Japan and tunes adapted from the *hauta* and *utazawa*.

By the middle of the Meiji Era, the *kouta* became clearly distinguished from the *hauta* and *utazawa* and the tunes and recitations were more closely associated with each other.

In the Taishō Era, dialogues were sometimes inserted in *kouta*, and tunes were adopted from other forms of Japanese music to add variety and depth to the *kouta*.

Kouta was formerly a pastime of *kiyomoto* performers and therefore there was no *iemoto* or head-school. The first *iemoto* came into existence in the Taishō Era, and later more than ten started to vie with one another.

Kouta enjoys tremendous popularity today because its tunes are short and easy to learn and its contents up to date. The radio played a big part in popularizing the *kouta*.

Western music

Records show that old western musical instruments like the flute, viola and harp were played by Japanese Christians as far back as the Azuchi-Momoyama Period. Simple forms of the organ were also installed in the Christian churches of those days.

When Christianity was banned in the Edo Era, these musical instruments also disappeared. The only exception was the compound of Dutch traders in Nagasaki. The Spanish clarinet *charemera* was also popular in Nagasaki in those days.

Western musical instruments were introduced into Japan after the Meiji Restoration. A band formed by young warriors of south Kyūshū under the direction of a British military band conductor used flutes, clarionets, trumpets, horns, trombone, bass and drums.

Two years later, the first navy and army bands were organized, and in 1874, the Imperial Household Band started playing western music at the Emperor's parties.

At first it was a brass band, but string-instruments like the violin, cello, viola and contrabass were added in 1880, and the first orchestra thus came into being in Japan.

Piano was introduced in 1879 by an American pianist who was invited by the Education Ministry to teach in Japan.

Around this time, Matsunaga Teijirō of Utsunomiya succeeded in making the first violin in Japan. Suzuki Masakichi, who started making violin in Nagoya in 1887 expanded his small workshop into the world's largest violin factory in the Taishō Era and started exporting his products.

In Hamamatsu, Yamaha Torakusu started making the organs. His plant later grew into the Nippon Gakki Co., a world famous maker of organs and piano.

Today there are quite a number of factories that turn out high grade violins, organs and piano. The Nihon Gengakki Kaisha of Tokyo is known as a producer of string-instruments.

By the 1940's, Japan was able to produce enough western musical instruments to meet her own needs.

The leading pioneers of western music in Japan were Nakamura Sukeyasu, a military band conductor; Oku Kōgi, Ue Masayuki, and Tsuji Noritsugu, who were all members of the Imperial Household Band; Izawa Shūji, first president of the Tokyo Music Academy; Koyama Sakunosuke; Suzuki Yonejirō, president of the Tōyō Music Academy; Yamada Gennichiro, president of the Japan Music Academy; Kōda Nobuko, professor of the Tokyo Music Academy; and Taki Rentarō, composer.

Among those who played a part in spreading knowledge on Western music there were Komatsu Kōsuke, Ishikura Kosaburō, Yamamoto Masao, Tanabe Hisao,

Ushiyama Mitsuru, Horiuchi Keizō, and Ōtaguro Motoo.

During the 1920-30, Japan produced many world famous musicians and composers. Among them there were Miura Tamaki and Fujiwara Yoshie of the opera; Yamada Kōsaku, and Konoe Hidemaro, conductors; and Nobutoki Kiyoshi, composer.

The biggest feature of Western music circles in the postwar era is the large number of famous foreign musicians who have come to play for Japanese audience. All of them were welcomed enthusiastically and left behind lasting impressions. At the same time, an increasing number of Japanese musicians are going abroad for studies and performances. These musicians are expected to play a big part in making up for the some 10 years lost before, during and immediately after the World War II.

The foremost opera groups in Japan are the Fujiwara Opera Troupe which just celebrated its 20th anniversary; the Gurlitt Opera Society; the Nagato Miho Opera Troupe, and Niki-Kai.

The leading orchestras are the NHK Orchestra, the Tokyo Philharmonic Orchestra, the Konoe Orchestra, and the Tokyo Symphony Orchestra.

XXVI ANTIQUITIES AND CURIOSITIES

Old Money

Old coins

Ancient Japan had no currency in the strict sense of the word. Rice-plants, rice grains, cloth were circulated in place of currency until the country's intercourse with the Chinese Continent became close during the reign of the Emperor Temmu (672-686 A.D.), when copper coins began to circulate—the first currency in Japan.

Early in 694 A.D., Japan's first mint was established. This was followed in 708 by the mintage of 2 kinds of currency—copper and silver coins. They are the first Japanese currency on record—and the first Japanese currency of which samples are still preserved. A recoinage was effected between 708 and 958 A.D.

But they did not circulate easily. The Government had to make various efforts to encourage their circulation. One effort was to decorate persons who had stored a prescribed amount of coins. Despite Government encouragement, however, circulation continued narrow, being limited chiefly within the Kinki District. Elsewhere in the country merchandise still was used in place of currency. Only about the 11th century did a wide circulation of currency begin.

But in no time a shortage occurred in the volume of currency in circulation, be-

cause what with a decrease in the nation's mineral production and laxity in the state administrative machinery, mintage by the Government ceased.

With the opening, about this time, of Sino-Japanese trade, coins of the Sung dynasty were imported heavily into Japan and circulated with indigenous coins. Chinese coins circulated widely in the Muromachi Period (1378-1573) and made inroads into the Japanese currency economy. Farm products payable in land rents and tax came to be expressed in currency.

Through the middle ages, there was no mintage by the Court or the *Bakufu* (warrior central government)—except the mintage of one kind of copper coin in 1335 during the reign of the Emperor Godaigo.

This shortage of official coins encouraged heavy private minting. Private coins were bad. So were many of the imported coins. The result was a wide circulation of bad coins—and a widespread tendency among the public to pick and choose coins. The *Muromachi Bakufu* issued frequent decrees setting conversion rates for good and bad coins.

Chinese coins imported into Japan were of a wide variety. Chief among them were the *Tenkan* and *Katei* coins—both issued during the Sung dynasty—imported in the Heian Period (794-1192 A.D.) and the

Kamakura Era (1192-1337), respectively.

Down in the Muromachi Age (1378-1573), coins of the Ming dynasty—notably the *Kōbu*, *Eiraku* and *Sentoku* coins—were imported in the largest quantities. The *Eiraku* coins, in particular, were reputedly the best coin during the Muromachi period and the age of civil wars and enjoyed immense public confidence.

From about the end of the middle ages until the beginning of the modern age (1573-1600), commerce and industry made rapid strides in Japan. So did gold and silver mining. The 2 metals came into use and eventually circulated widely as a currency.

Gold and silver in circulation bore *kiwame*, or certificates of valuation—a quantity of gold or silver being evaluated, according to quality, as worth for such and such a quantity of such and such goods. *Kiwame* was also called *han* (also pronounced *ban*). From *ban* derived *ō-ban* (literally large coin) and *ko-ban* (small coin), which will be referred to in a later paragraph.

When Hideyoshi the conqueror (the Napoleon of Japan) unified the nation in the Azuchi-Momoyama Period (1573-1600)—which coincided with the beginning of the modern age—the first administrative step he took was a reform of the currency system.

But it was in the Edo Era (1602-1867) that the Japanese currency system was firmly established. In 1601 Tokugawa Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1602-1867), took an epochal step in the history of the Japanese currency system—he ordered the mintage of 3 denominations of gold coins and 2 denominations of silver coins. Gold and silver went into circulation as legal currency for the first time.

The nation's currency system went through changes with domestic economic expansion and under the influence of trade. As a result, the denominations of gold and silver coins were increased in variety to: gold—2 *shu*, 2 *bu*, 1 *shu*, 5 *ryō*; silver—5 *momme*, 2 *shu*, 1 *shu*, 1 *bu*; among others.

The units of gold currency were *ryō*, *bu* and *shu*—1 *bu* equaling one-quarter *ryō*, 1 *shu* equaling one-quarter *bu*. A 1-*ryō* coin was called a *ko-ban* (small coin), a 10-*ryō* coin an *ō-ban* (large coin). The unit of silver currency was *momme*, a unit of weight. One-tenth of a *momme* of silver was 1 *bu* in denomination.

Gold and silver coins minted in the Keicho Era (1596-1616), Shōtoku Era (1709-11) and Kyōhō Era (1716-35) were good. Those minted in other eras were bad. Mintage of bad coins of gold and silver began in the Genroku Era (1688-1704) to relieve the impoverished finances of the Shogunate Government.

Mintage of coins of copper, iron and brass was resumed by the Tokugawa Shogunate, which, in 1607-8, prohibited the circulation of the imported *Eiroku* coins. This marked the complete independence of Japanese currency from foreign coins.

Among the cheaper coins (non-gold and non-silver) minted by the Tokugawa Shogunate, the *Kanei tsūhō*, or "the common coin of the Kanei Era" (issued in 1636) was minted in the biggest volume and was the representative coin in the Edo Period.

A local coin minted by the Tokugawa Shogunate was the *Hakodate tsūhō*, or the common coin of *Hakodate* (issued in 1857), for circulation in *Hakodate*.

Coinage was, in principle, a complete monopoly of the Tokugawa Government, but certain *daimyō* (feudal clan lords) were permitted to issue coins for circulation in their respective clans. Among such coins were the *Sendai tsūhō* and *Ryūkyū tsūhō*—issued by the feudal lords of *Sendai* and *Ryūkyū* for local circulation.

Paper money

Paper money first went into circulation among merchants in the early years of the modern age. The most important paper money was clan notes issued by feudal lords for circulation in their respective domains. The first clan note is said to have been issued by the lord of Echizen (the present Fukui Prefecture) for the relief of impoverished local economy.

After the Genroku Era (1688-1704), local financial distress called forth a shoal of clan lords issuing paper money with the permission of the Shogunate. In 1707 the central Government banned the issuance of clan paper money but lifted the ban in 1730. Again clan paper money continued to be issued thick and fast.

A total of 1,694 denominations of clan paper money were issued by 244 clans, 14 magistrates' offices and nine local retainers of the Shogun during the Tokugawa regime, according to a Ministry of Finance survey of 1868, the first year of the Meiji Era (1868-1912), the dawn of modern Japan. Many of the clan notes were over-issued and disturbed economy.

The Shogunate issued no central-government paper money until its last year, 1867, when it issued notes in preparation for the opening of the ports of Kanagawa (the present Yokohama) and Hyōgo (the present Kobe) to foreign intercourse.

Paper money of Meiji Era

In 1869 the Government of modern Japan established a mint. In the next year it established a silver standard and started minting new coins. In 1871 the Government issued a new currency decree, which established the gold standard. This was the beginning of the currency system of today.

Earlier, in 1869, the Government issued a decree in which it refused to recognize (1) clan notes issued without the Shogunate's permission and (2) clan notes newly issued after the Restoration of 1867. The decree also ordered the surrender of all clan notes. In 1871, with the abolition of the clan system, the circulation of clan notes was suspended. In 1879 the exchange of clan notes for Government notes was completed.

Let us go back to 1868. In that year, fiscal deficits compelled the Government to issue a non-convertible note and three kinds of convertible certificates. They were, however, all exchanged for new notes issued in 1872. In 1878 the new notes became the sole paper money.

In 1871 the Government abandoned the silver standard in favor of a gold, with the exception that it minted ¥1 silver coins for use at the newly opened ports. They were called trade silver coins.

In addition to Government-issued paper money, bank-notes were also in circulation in the early years of Meiji. They were issued by eight "exchange banks" established in Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka Kōbe, Niigata, Ōtsu and Tsuruga. The bank-notes were of four kinds—gold note, silver note, copper note and silver-nickel note. They were very limited in circulation and went out in several years by reason of suspension of circulation or exchange for regular currency. The only exception was silver-nickel notes, which remained in circulation in Yokohama until 1885.

In 1872 the Government issued national bank convertible notes, but their circulation fell short of expectation, being limited to ¥1,000,000-odd at the time of maximum circulation. In 1876, therefore, the Government reduced its currency reserve in an effort at increased issuance of national bank notes. However, the national bank notes, convertible into Government notes, were, in effect, no better than non-convertible notes.

In 1882 the Government established the Bank of Japan and gave it authority to issue convertible notes. It was an effort to unify national currency. The Bank of Japan issued its first notes in 1885. Nonconvertible notes in existence at the time were Government notes totaling ¥80,000,000 and national bank notes totaling ¥30,000,000—aggregating ¥110 million.

By the Convertible Bank Note Ordinance of the previous year (1884), Japan returned to the silver standard. In 1897 she went on gold with the backing of the war reparations received from China.

From 1885 onwards Bank of Japan notes steadily displaced non-convertible notes and eventually became the sole paper money of Japan. They were then in the seven denominations of ¥1, ¥5, ¥10, ¥20, ¥50, ¥100 and ¥200.

By the Currency Law of 1897 gold was made the standard of Japanese currency. Gold coins issued at the time were in the

three denominations of ¥5, ¥10 and ¥30. The subsidiary coins were nickel coins in the denominations of ¥0.05, ¥0.10, ¥0.20 and ¥0.50; and copper coins in the denominations of ¥0.005 and ¥0.01.

Later, an Emergency Currency Law was promulgated, under which aluminium-bronze coins in the two denominations of

¥0.05 and ¥0.10 and yellow-copper coins of ¥0.01 were issued. At the same time, small-change bank notes were issued.

As a result of the postwar inflation, coins and bank notes of denominations under ¥1 were abolished. Reference to the coins and bank notes now in circulation is omitted here.

Seals

In 702 A.D., following the example of the T'ang Dynasty of China, Japan adopted a system of authenticating official documents by affixing seals to them. Government agencies and officials on various levels provided themselves with seals. But the system went out after the mid-Heian Era (794-1192 A.D.).

With the emergence of the Zen sect of Buddhism in the Kamakura Period (1192-1337 A.D.), however, Japanese priests who went to China brought back and used seals made during the Sung Dynasty. Other Japanese priests of the sect followed suit. Later, converts to the sect did the same.

In those days, seals were stamped mostly on books to identify their owners or on paintings and scrolls to identify their authors. Really were they stamped on documents.

Down in the Muromachi Period (1338-1602 A.D.), a custom developed among warriors close to priests of the Zen sect to put seals on documents in substitution of handwritten signatures.

After 1487, seals came into wider and wider use among *daimyō* (clan lords) in the Chūbu, Kantō and Ōu districts. As Oda Nobunaga and, later, Toyotomi Hideyoshi conquered rival lords, seals came into nationwide use.

Coming down to the Edo (Tokugawa) Era (1602-1867), people of the lower classes came to use seals in place of handwritten signatures. In the Meiji Era (1868-1912), the Government of modern Japan decreed that documents be authenticated only by stamping them with seals.

The history of seals in Japan, as outlined in the foregoing paragraphs, can be divid-

ed into two stages—before and after the Kamakura Period (1192-1337). Seals used in pre-Kamakura eras were mostly square (some were round) and both were mostly unsectioned in their engraved surfaces. The ink commonly used was red. Some people used black ink.

Seals used in post-Kamakura periods were mostly of complicated shapes and their engraved surfaces were mostly two-sectioned. Some seal-impressions were combinations of animal figures and words; some were pictures; some were combinations of words and pictures. In some cases, the words were expressions of the owners' ideals or creeds; in some cases, they were the names of the owners; in other cases they constituted sentences that served as messages.

The ink commonly used was vermilion, but black, yellow, blue and purple inks were used also. Documents differed in contents according to the color of the ink of the seal-impression put on them.

In post-Kamakura periods, some clan lords used several different seals for several different purposes. Some used a single seal, which was handed down to later generations—as family symbols and marks of the dignity of authority of the family heads. Some lords used several different seals in one generation, discarding them one after another.

In pre-Kamakura periods, it was the custom to fill a document with seal impressions. Later, the custom changed to putting them only in several places on a document.

In post-Kamakura eras, seals were used in place of handwritten signatures to identify their authors and also to authenticate the

documents. The place of putting a seal on a document varied from user to user.

Also in post-Kamakura periods, some clan lords used imposing seals to show off their authority. The seal used by one of them was the figure of crouching tiger. Another used a seal which depicted a dragon soaring to the sky. They were imposing ones, even in size alone.

Many ancient seal-impressions stamped on documents are still preserved, but only a few seals themselves. The oldest seal—about 1,000 years old—and another—about 800 years old—are preserved at the Grand Shrine of Ise. A few less old ones are preserved at other shrines.

The Uesugi family of Niigata Pref.—descendants of Uesugi Kenshin (feudal lord in 16th cen.)—preserve several seals used by the State more than 300 years ago.

Seals were—and are—carefully preserved during and after use as treasures of the owning families or shrines.

There are ancient books and Buddhist scriptures bearing seals as marks of ownership. The Tōdaiji, Saidaiji and Yakushiji temples boast 1,000 or 1,100 year-old sutras bearing as old seals of the names of the temples. The Hōryūji Temple owns a scripture, 800 years old, stamped with an equally old seal. There are numerous books bearing seals more than 300 years old.

Generally speaking, seals used in post-Kamakura eras were developed in China during the Sung and Yuan dynasties and introduced into Japan, where they were improved on. Seals used by clan lords in the age of civil wars—improvements on Chinese originals—were imposing ones.

Kaō

Kaō, also known as *shoban*, was called *han* or *hangata* in the Middle Ages.

Documents put out by the government offices bore the signature of the family names of the responsible official.

Such signatures were first written in *kai-sho* or the standard square style of hand-writing, but later the *sōsho* or script style was also used. Eventually the *sōsho* signatures came to bear a certain form and were known as *sōmyō*. The highly stylized form of *sōmyō* is known as *kaō* and came to be used in the middle of the Heian Period. (794–1192 A.D.)

Since the Kamakura Period, the Zen Buddhist priests began using a sort of symbolic *kaō* that had nothing to do with their family names. The practice was eventually picked up by the general public, and some extremists went so far as to use pictures for *kaō*.

The form of *kaō* differed sharply according to periods and the tastes of the individual. In this way, the social status of the writer of a *kaō* and the period he lived in can be guessed even though no data is available on his life.

At the same time, the *kaō* of members of the same family or clan had common points

of resemblance. This was because the family names usually consisted of two characters, and at least one of them was shared in common by all members of the clan. There was a similar resemblance between the *kaō* of a master and his follower.

Normally, an individual was expected to use the same *kaō* for a lifetime. But some changed their *kaō* several times, and a few as many as a dozen times. This trend was most conspicuous after the shape of the *kaō* was stylized to the extent it had nothing or very little to do with the family name. Some individuals used several forms of *kaō* at the same time.

Primarily, the *kaō* was supposed to have been written by hand. But since the latter part of the Kamakura Period, people began to carve their *kaō* on seals and stamp them with ink pads.

This new method was presumably invented to speed up process when the need arose to write many *kaō* at one time and spread widely in the Muromachi Period.

The *kaō* seals were divided into two kinds—the ones that were merely stamped and the ones that were smothered over with India ink after being stamped.

Like the seal, *kaō* was sometimes passed down from father to son. Others made their *inshō* by merging their *kaō* forms with their family names. In short, the *kaō* and *inshō* lost much of their distinction in the latter part of the Muromachi Period.

The method of expressing *kaō* on paper also came to resemble the process used for the seal.

The *kaō* was usually supposed to have been written with brush and India ink. In the last part of the Muromachi Period, there were many instances where blood was used in place of India ink. At other times, blood was smeared over a *kaō* originally written with India ink. This method was used to convey strong determination of the sender to the receiver.

The earliest blood-written *kaō* appeared around the time of the Kemmu Restoration (1334) and increased sharply during the civil war era in the last part of the Muromachi Period.

Kaō was originally used in place of signatures, but later it became a practice to let somebody else write the family name and then write the *kaō* personally or write both by oneself. Such a form indicated deep respect of the sender to the receiver, and

when such courtesy was uncalled for, only the *kaō* was used to indicate the identity of the sender.

Kakushi. Signatures and *kaō* were used by the educated people who could read and write, and the illiterates, had to devise means of their own to identify themselves.

One of the oldest methods used was the *kakushi*. There were two types of *kakushi*—one which consisted of the outline of the index finger and the stamp of its knuckle and another that consisted of the stamp of the knuckle alone.

This method was introduced into Japan from China but it is believed to have gone out of general practice in the Kamakura Period.

Ryakuō and others. *Ryakuō* is the academic termed used to signify simple symbols used as a substitute for *kaō*.

The brushholders were sometimes used as stamps and at other times, fingertips and nails were dipped in ink and used as substitutes.

These varied devices were eventually replaced by the seals as culture advanced in the Edo Period.

Family Crests

Introduction

Each Japanese family boasts a crest handed down from generation to generation. It commands sacred importance as a symbol of the family's standing and dignity.

Family crests are of an extremely wide variety. They are imprinted on incomparably more items of clothing in Japan than in the Occident. They have long attracted the attention of Westerners and stimulated studies by them.

Eogelberto Kaemperero, a Dutchman, refers to the subject in his book *Histori Imperii Japoniei*. There also published works on the subject by other Occidentals, including H. M. C. Clatchie, Hugo Gerard Storhl and Von Lange.

Until about the 11th century, family crests were used for ornamental purposes in Japan. Coming down to the 12th and 13th centuries, courtiers and warriors grew increasingly in a sense of rivalry among them and betook themselves to marking their clothing, conveyances, flags and tents with their respective crests for identification. Such was the beginning of the use of crests for family identification.

Intended for identification purposes, family crests had to be simple in design. Therefore, with the passage of time, they became more and more simplified in design and dissimilar to one another.

Also with time they came to be used not merely for identification but as family emblems and as symbols of family titles and pedigrees. The influential and the power-

ful looked on their family crests as symbols of their honors.

In the age of civil wars, a general sometimes conferred a crest on a warrior under him as a reward for bravery. It sometimes happened in this age that a warrior's clothing bearing his family crest was captured by his enemy on the battlefield and used by the latter.

In a later age, a decree was issued to control family crests. Under this decree, the conferment of one and the same crest to two or more persons was prohibited. If similar crests were to be conferred on different persons, they had to be different enough from one another to be distinguishable. Family crests conferred on the members of the Imperial Family or on the members of the Tokugawa Family were striking examples of distinguishable differences between apparently similar crests.

Conferments and marriages brought crests to a family in addition to its traditional one. To avoid confusion, such a family usually choose one crest as its regular emblem for use on formal occasions, and made the others auxiliary crests for use on occasions when the regular one had best be withheld.

This practice was first observed by *daimyō* (clan lords) and influential families, but it later spread to stage artists and even courtesans. These people used auxiliary crests when appearing in public professionally.

A family crest was, in principle, common to all its members, but female members were allowed to use special rests—more beautiful designs—because they loved beautiful designs. Special crests were handed down from generation to generation of the female members of a family. Hence, even after marriage, a woman was *privileged* to use her mother's crest.

The history of family crests in Japan is complex, as the foregoing brief review shows.

Types of family crest

There are an estimated 3,000 different types of family crests, including 350 or 360

basic types. They may be classified into 8 categories according to motifs:

Motifs derived from vegetation. These are the oldest in origin and make the majority. Nearly 100 different species of vegetation have been chosen for motifs. Most old families have crests of vegetation motifs. The chrysanthemum crest of the Japanese Imperial Family is an example. Many women also have crests of vegetation motifs.

Motifs derived from animals and birds. These come second on the list. Birds are predominant. Lucky animals, insects, shells, etc. are also used.

Motifs derived from phenomena of the universe. The sun, the moon, the stars, the mountain and water come under this category. These motifs were used in very early days, originally for ornamentation, under the influence of the Chinese view of the universe.

Motifs derived from utensils. These range widely in variety, and each has its significance. They are found in the crests of Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples; in the crests on weapons and horse-equipment of ancient warriors. Ancient public conveyances, furniture, personal ornaments, farm implements, tools, toys, musical instruments, stationery, coins, measuring instruments, etc. were also marked with crests whose motifs were derived from utensils.

Motifs derived from buildings. These motifs are derived some parts or sections of buildings. Such motifs are small in variety.

Motifs derived from geometric designs. These crests were made by taking individual units of the geometric designs which were popular before family crests were established.

Motifs derived from Chinese ideographs. From time immemorial Chinese ideographs have been held in high respect. Being hieroglyphic, they are suitable for use as crests. There is a fairly wide variety of crests derived from ideographs.

Motifs derived from pictures. These are used by people in special professions, for instance fortune-tellers, by way of talismen.

Uses for crests

Uses for crests are as varied as crests themselves. The commonest use today is imprinting on ceremonial *kimono* cloths. Ancient warriors imprinted their armors, swords and horse-equipment with their

family crests for identification. Ancient temples and dwellings of ancient nobility were imprinted here and there with crests—for ornamentation and by way of showing pride and self-respect. Ancient furniture bore family crests for identification and ornamentation.

Philately, Philatelist

Stamp-collecting began to spread in Japan about 1910. In those days it was largely a hobby of teen-agers. It was not widespread among people of all ages and occupations as it is today.

It was about 1914 that Japanese counterparts of European and American students of philately appeared on the scene, societies of students were formed and their organ journals started.

Postwar Japan has seen a phenomenal increase in the Japanese stamp collector population. The Government has issued new stamps in increasing varieties as an additional source of revenue. This has aroused increasing public interest in philately. But the Government has incurred criticism at home and abroad for issuing too many new varieties.

Japanese postage-stamps issued in the early postwar years received a low valuation on foreign markets because they were printed with war-damaged and inadequately repaired machines and in poor quality ink and starched with bad quality gum. For another reason, Japan was under Allied military occupation and was denied the freedom of choice of designs.

In the last 2 or 3 years, however, new printing machines have been put in, materials improved in quality and over-issuance checked. Foreign lovers of Japanese stamps have increased in number.

At home, philatelists' societies have been formed here and there. Societies in each province have grouped themselves into a league. The leagues are topped by a central organization, the All Japan Philatelic Union, formed through the good offices of the Ministry of Postal Services.

There is also the Institute of Philately Japan, a private body of scientific students of stamps, with its headquarters in Tokyo and a branch in Kōbe. It publishes the results of its studies, sponsors lectures, issues periodicals and books, keeps contacts with similar organs abroad, acts as connoisseur and answers questions from the public.

Japan does not yet boast large numbers of advanced collectors. Many of the Japanese collectors are high school students and junior high school boys and girls. Hence Japanese publications on philately and philatelic exhibitions are a comedown from those in the West, but their progress has not been slow.

To issue a new stamp, the Government first draws up a program for the next year and submits it to a commission created within the Ministry of Postal Services. The commission is headed by the Vice Minister of Postal Services as chairman, and its membership consists of the General Postmaster, several subordinate officials and one private expert each from the fields of philately, printing, photography and art.

The commission discusses and makes its decision on the new-stamp issuance program and the design submitted. The design, upon approval by the commission, is drawn by a designer and then engraved. A proof of the engraved design is examined by the commission and, if necessary, revised, re-examined, approved and sent to the Government Printing Agency for printing.

The commission's present membership includes Mitsui Takaharu, philatelist; Okada Kōyō, photographic artist; Wada Sanzō, painter; and Ishikawa Ryōichi, technical expert of the Government Printing Agency.

In 1932 the Ministry of Postal Services opened, within the Ministry, the Japan Postage Stamp Association, a channel for quick distribution to collectors of old and newly issued stamps not quickly obtainable from post-offices. It had Mitsui Takaharu as president and Postal Services Ministry officials connected with stamps as directors. It distributed new stamps and issued a monthly journal.

It was dissolved several years after the end of the war. The work of selling newly issued stamps quickly has been taken over by a new organ, the Philatelic Agency, created within the Tokyo Central Post Office, for the convenience of philatelists.

Famous stamp collections in Japan are not well-known abroad. There are Japanese collectors of excellent native stamps. There are Japanese who boast valuable collections of foreign stamps. Japan has individual philatelic experts and connoisseurs known abroad whose studies on the subject are in no way inferior to those of their foreign counterparts. The trouble is that the language barrier has prevented the publication abroad of the results of their studies.

Among well-known Japanese philatelists and connoisseurs are Kojima Yunosuke, specialist in indigenous stamps; Mitsui Takaharu, specialist in European stamps; and Ichida Sōichi, specialist in stamps of the Crown colonies. All have many friends abroad.

There are no big dealers in stamps in Japan as in foreign countries. For one reason, philately in Japan is of recent origin. For another, there are few advanced Japanese collectors. Besides, the business is too small to be done with big capital. Hence there are no stamp auctions held as in the West. Nor has an international exhibition held as yet. But the time does not seem very far off when Japan will be the host to an international exhibition or convention.

Japan's present international position, combined with exchange and trade controls, prevents export and import of large quantities of stamps, much to the detriment of

the progress of philately in this country. Besides, the disadvantageous exchange rate stands in the way of an abundant distribution of stamps and philatelic data among Japanese collectors.

In Japan, by far the greatest majority of stamp-collectors are teen-age students. Few adult collectors can answer the questions of teen-age collectors or give them guidance. Hence the latter often experience uncertainties as to what to do to make progress.

The All Japan Philatelic Union and the Institute of Philately Japan seek to be a guide to teen-age collectors and to turn out leaders of philatelists.

For 5 years now, an annual exhibition of collections has been held in Tokyo every April under the sponsorship of the 2 organizations just mentioned. These exhibitions are not like the large-scale fairs in the West. Collections by adults and teen-agers alike are displayed at these exhibitions. The object of the shows is not to single out high-value, rare collections for awards. The object is to demonstrate the depths of studies by the entrants and how well they have arranged their collections.

Entries are examined by a jury and those accepted are displayed with jury comments on their merits, on how improvements could be made, and so on. Displayed entries are graded and distinguished ones are cited with awards from the Minister of Postal Services, the Mainichi Newspapers, and others.

For one week beginning November 3 (Culture Day, a national holiday) the Government sponsors a special program which is timed to synchronize with other private philatelic programs. The Government program has been sponsored annually for several years.

During that week, philatelic experts are sent to various parts of the country to give lectures, answer the questions of collectors, and so forth. Small local exhibitions are also held.

Meanwhile, there is increasing interest in, and knowledge of, stamps among non-philatelists. There is also increasing philatelic news in the press. More and more

home journals and amusement magazines are carrying pictures of stamps and news about them.

The radio is making broadcasts on philately at regular or irregular intervals. One morning each week Radio Tokyo broadcasts on postal services under a regular program. The same radio station sponsors a regular program on the last Sunday of each week, when experts broadcast their answers to questions received from the collector public.

It may be too much to hope that the press will devote a fixed amount of space regularly to philately, as is done in the West, but Japanese philatelists are hoping that the leading newspapers will give space to stamp news at least once a week.

The stamp distributing agency for collectors is the Philatelic Agency, Tokyo Central Post Office. The agency for connoisseurs and students of philately is the Institute of Philately Japan, c/o Mitsui Takaharu, president Tokyo Central P. O. Box 387, Japan.

Ancient Furniture

Furniture is dealt with in the chapter on housing. Here brief references are made to items of interest to connoisseurs of curios.

Folding paper screens. (*byōbu*)

The first folding paper-screen on record is one presented by ancient Korea to the Japanese Imperial Family, or so says the *Nihonshoki* (Chronology of Ancient Japan).

It is generally thought, however, that folding-screens were introduced from ancient China. They were generally of 6 folds, but some consisted of 4 or 12 folds.

Painted with pictures or artistically inscribed with words or letters, they served as partitions between rooms, as shields from the wind—and as ornaments for appreciation by connoisseurs.

One of the famous ancient screens is the Torige Tensho Screen whose origin dates back to the Nara Period (710-793 A. D.). Folding-screens are used even today.

Bamboo blinds. (*sudare*)

Woven of fine strips of bamboo or reed, they have been in use from ancient times as sun-shades and as personal shields from view.

Straw cushion. (*warafuda*)

They are circular cushion made up of straw of *ine*, rice-plant joined together. They were used widely in the Heian Period (794-1192 A. D.). Today they are used only in a few parts of the country.

Stools, chairs.

Ancient stools were generally of two

kinds. One kind was about 3 feet long and equipped with straight legs about 2 feet high. The other kind had 2 legs criss-crossed in the shape of the letter X, which were fastened together with a nail. Some stools of both kinds had elbow-rests.

Ancient chairs included rosetta-wood chairs, used by Emperors and court nobles.

Room furniture.

Items of interest to connoisseurs are *sanctuaries* (storage boxes built of wood) and incense burners of silver.

About potteryware, vases, etc., see the chapter on arts and handicraft. About writing-brushes, Indian-ink and ink-stones, see the chapter on calligraphy.

Lighting fixtures.

Lanterns (*tōrō*) are undoubtedly of the greatest interest to connoisseurs. They are of two kinds: hanging lanterns and stationary stone lanterns. Hanging lanterns are mostly made of metal (few are made of wood) and are hung in corners or in the middle of a room.

Stationary stone lanterns were originally intended for use in lighting shrine and temple precincts (for "offering sacred lights to the gods or Buddha"). Later, they came to be used in gardens of private homes to add elegance (see the chapter on gardens).

Still in use today are *andon* (chamber paper-lanterns) and *chōchin* (hand-lanterns made of paper). *Chōchin* are sometimes hung at house-fronts on summer nights for tasteful effect.

XXVII MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

Outline

Japan began to absorb Western manners and customs just after the Meiji Reformation (1868) and became Westernized at a rapid pace after the end of World War II.

Japanese mores, however, are still deeply rooted among the people, and today it may be said that Western and native manners and customs exist side by side and with practically equal force in Japan.

In the realm of religion, the Buddhist *higan* (spring and autumn equinoxes) and *bon* (Lantern Festival) and the Shintō rites for local deities and New Year's pilgrimage to the shrines are observed together with Christian celebrations on Christmas and Easter.

Buddhist, Shintō and Christian rites are also evident in marriage ceremonies and funeral services. Prompted by a general trend toward Westernization, Christian observances are becoming increasingly popular, but Buddhist and Shintō practices are still followed overwhelmingly in marriage and funeral rites.

A close study of the situation will reveal, however, that the greater part of the public follows Buddhist or Shintō rites not so much for the underlying spirit but because of the need to follow some kind of established procedure for formality's sake.

The tendency among the younger generation is to lay increasingly less stress on Buddhist and Shintō formalities, and non-religious marriage and funeral rites are in-

creasing at just about the same pace as Christian ceremonies.

Birthday presents and parties, a recently imported observance from the West, are being exchanged on quite a wide scale now, and glee clubs and dance parties are picking up big following at schools and offices as in the West.

At the same time, traditionally Japanese observances—like New Year, the Dolls Festival on March 3, the *Tango* or Boys' Festival on May 5, the *Tanabata* Festival on July 7 and the Moon Festival on Sept. 15—are observed widely in the cities and provinces.

Some of these observances are traditionally Japanese. Others were adopted from China, India and Europe. In short, they tell a graphic story of the multi-faceted nature of Japanese culture, a product of the practical and assimilative nature of the Japanese who actively absorbed alien culture and molded them into forms appropriate to their own patterns of life.

One of the basic reasons that made this possible was the religious tolerance of the Japanese people. The freedom of religion was officially decreed after the Meiji Reformation, but even before that, Shintoism, Buddhism and Confucianism existed side-by-side. There were many sects in each of these forms of religion, and a convert of one sect or religion was free to change his faith according to the dictates of his state

of mind. Such a situation has never been tolerated in either India or Pakistan and proves that the Japanese are a practical race.

Clothing. Western and traditionally Japanese clothing are worn just about evenly in Japan. In public life, Western clothing predominates, especially in the case of men who have worn Western suits in public for the past half a century.

For the past 25 years, suits and dresses have also been worn by the women for street wear in preference to the beautiful but uncomfortable *kimono*, and the trend has become even more conspicuous after the end of World War II.

But for weddings, funerals and other formal occasions, *kimono* is still the predominant choice of the Japanese women. This is partly because the elegant silhouette and pattern of Japanese *kimono* best brings out the charm of Japanese women and partly because few Japanese women have the figure and poise to show off the off-the-shoulder Western formals to advantage.

While the *kimono* has given way to suits and dresses on the streets and public places, it is still worn much in the homes. Most Japanese men doff their suits when they get home from office and change to loosely fit *kimono* for the remainder of the day.

For one thing, *kimono* is much more comfortable in matted Japanese homes where everyone squats down for meals and relaxation. With this in mind, Japanese inns provide their guests with the padded *tanzen* in cold weather and crisply starched cotton *yukata* in summer time.

The peasants and laborers wear sturdy cotton *kimono* that come in two pieces for work wear, but even they are eventually turning to Western type overalls.

The dual use of Japanese and Western clothing causes a needlessly heavy drain on the budget of Japanese households. It can be assumed, however, that with the exception of formal attire for women, Western clothing will progressively banish Japanese clothing as Western style rooms and furniture are adopted into the Japanese households.

The recent remarkable development of chemical fiber is spurring on this tendency toward Westernization. Since Japan must import raw wool, woolen textiles have always been relatively expensive in this country. Japanese men and women can look forward to wearing cheap and durable chemical textiles now that the textile manufacturers are set to produce chemical fiber of excellent quality on a mass scale.

A conspicuous trend in the postwar era has been the Americanization of the Western type clothing worn by the Japanese. Following the example set by the tremendous number of Americans who came to Japan, the Japanese started to give more thought to comfort than appearance. Thus an increasingly number of men began to cast off their suit jackets during summer, and a drive was launched to wear dark suits where formerly tuxedos or cutaways were called for.

Food. Japanese meals are possibly more cosmopolitan than the food served in any other single country in the world. Japanese, Western and Chinese food are the most common types served, but the food of any country that are found to suit the Japanese palate are eagerly adopted.

Japan is a gourmet's paradise, and Western and Chinese foods that compare favorably with those served at the best establishments in the land of their origin, can be had at restaurants in any of the larger cities and at the leading hotels. They also appear frequently alongside Japanese food on the tables of more progressive Japanese families.

Japan is blessed with abundant fish and vegetables, and the change of the seasons is deftly used to advantage in her cuisine.

In olden days, meat (except fish) was prohibited in traditional Japanese diet because of a Buddhist teaching that held that four-legged animals were foul and unfit for human consumption.

This ban was eventually lifted as Western civilization invaded Japan, and today meat is treated in many ways in Japanese cookery. Among the more famous meat dishes is *sukiyaki*, a delicacy every tourist is advised to sample.

The introduction of meat in the Japanese diet prompted the swift development of cattle-breeding. Beef produced near Kobe and Mie Prefecture are considered the world's best, and pork is also as good as any found in other parts of the world.

Traditionally, rice has been the predominant staple food of the Japanese. However, faced with an acute food and rice shortage during and immediately after World War II, the Japanese were forced to partially substitute rice with bread, noodles and potatoes and learned to like them. This tendency became even stronger as doctors and dieticians began to stress health hazards caused by overdependence on rice. Today, many families eat bread at least once a day for breakfast or lunch.

Plentiful fruit also adds variety to the Japanese diet. Because Japan extends over a long distance from north to south, it is suitable for growing almost every kind of fruit except tropical fruits.

Japan is also far advanced in processing and improving the quality of fruits, and Japanese tangerines, grapes, apples and pears are considered among the best in the world.

Japanese beer compares favorably with German beer and brightens up dinner tables here along with the uniquely Japanese rice-brewed *sake*.

Houses. Japan's humid climate gave rise to a form of breezy wooden architecture often found on the islands of Southeast Asia. Wooden pillars, mud walls, paper doors and tiled roofs are not only good for ventilation but also economical.

However, Japanese buildings are highly inflammable and easily perishable, and these qualities make them unsuitable for public establishments. Hence the adoption of ferro-concrete Western architecture for offices, schools hospitals and other public buildings. Since the war's end, ferro-concrete apartment houses have sprung up all over the country, and some of the modern families are building ferro concrete homes.

Wooden houses and matted rooms may not be suitable for modern, active living, but their adaptability is prized highly by Japanese families.

In Japanese homes, a single room can be used interchangeably as a living room, dining room and bedroom by a quick shuffling of tables, cushions and quilts. And this is what makes the Japanese rooms so valuable to the average families here who are cramped into small space because of the housing shortage and high rents.

In like manner, the light, portable paper sliding doors can be removed to make one room out of two for accommodating many people at one time. These advantages of the Japanese homes have been carried into the ferro-concrete apartments and private houses, and many of them are Western on the outside and Japanese inside.

The postwar era also saw a big increase of Western, wooden-floored rooms in the Japanese houses and the use of chairs in living rooms, studies and dining rooms.

Japan's family system has a close bearing on the openness of the Japanese homes. In olden days, the head of the family was supposed to strictly supervise and maintain order in the household, and the unwallled rooms made it possible for him to keep a close watch over his herd. The family system requires each member of the family to act and live in complete harmony with the rest of the members and Japanese homes were built to help achieve this objective.

With cooperation and harmony the keynotes, little consideration is given to the privacy of the individual. Such a system, while fostering fraternity inside each household, has tended to hinder the development of public spirit and individualism in the good sense of the term.

Lately, the trend among well-to-do families is to give a room to each member of the family, but such an arrangement is still beyond the economic reach of the general public.

Expanded population and the air raid damage combined to cause an acute housing shortage in Japan, and many young couples are forced to put off marriage or live separately even after marriage because there was no suitable place for them to start a family of their own. The Japanese houses are not suitable for several couples to live

together, while the younger generation demand some privacy in their lives.

The houses are cool in summer but hard to heat in the winter. The matter floors help to keep away cool air from below, but the paper sliding doors admit too much wind for comfort. The recent trend in Japanese homes to use gas and electric heaters and improvised footwarmers is a partial solution to the heating problem.

Many of the housing problems of Japan cannot be fully solved, however, unless the standards of living are raised by a wide margin.

The consistent tendency in Japanese manners and customs has been for Western influences to crowd out traditional Japanese and Oriental elements.

Ever since Japan opened its doors to the West in the latter part of the 19th century, the Japanese people interpreted everything Western as synonymous with efficiency and rationalism and eagerly adopted them whenever they could.

Thus the tolerance and progressive spirit that successfully imported and assimilated and cultures of the Far East and the West gave rise at the same time to blind worship and imitation of all things Western.

Every race, however, has a conservative side in its way of living, and the Japanese are no exception. While Western influences can be expected to increasingly permeate public life in Japan, traditionally Japanese elements will most likely be adhered to in private life for some time to come.

The Japanese way of living and culture have many valuable points that deserve to be preserved. A graphic proof is the eagerness with which the United States and European countries have adopted facets of Japanese architecture and clothing since the end of World War II.

The blind worship of Western customs and manners sometimes gave rise to humorous situations.

For instance, morning coats and striped trousers are the virtual prescribed outfit for men for weddings, funerals and all formal occasions. It does not matter whether the event takes place in the morning, afternoon or evening. It has never occur-

red to the Japanese that in the West, morning coats are not exactly the most formal outfit.

In the Meiji Era (1868-1912), society men wore frock coats for top formal occasions and morning coats for secondary occasions. Since the latter part of the Meiji Era, this came to be regarded as an extravagance, and morning coats became the "uniform" for formal occasions including luncheons and dinners at the Emperor's Palace.

Before World War I, silk hats always went with the morning coats, but since the war's end, black, grey, navy blue or even brown hats are being worn as substitutes. One Socialist Cabinet member in the postwar era went even further and startled his subordinates one day by showing up at his office in a morning frock topped off with a hunting cap.

The formal Japanese outfit for men is a combination of *haori* with family crests and pleated *hakama*. This traditional Japanese outfit dating back to the Edo Era (17th-19th century) has never been accepted as formal wear on public occasions even when militarism and nationalism held sway in the late 1930's and early 1940's. As a matter of fact, the Navy and Army strictly forbade their men to wear *haori* and *hakama* on public occasions.

The conventional and most popular garments on wedding days are morning coats for the bridegroom and elaborate, brilliantly-colored *kimono* for the bride. This seemingly odd combination symbolizes in a way the cosmopolitan phase of Japanese culture.

The same thing can be said of the diet of the Japanese people.

Suppose you are invited for dinner to a typical Japanese home. The minute you settle down on a chair or squat on the floor, whichever the case may be, you will be served piping hot Japanese tea and a piece of Japanese cake. When it is time for dinner, your host will most likely offer you Japanese *sake*, beer and possibly whiskey.

You will be find the menu conglomerating Japanese and Western or Chinese food. A typical one would run like this:

1. Hors d'oeuvres—salmon roe (Russian), pickles.
2. Soup—Consomme with fish, vegetable, bean curd, etc.
3. Fish—*sashimi* (or raw fish) or broiled fish, Japanese style, with soy sauce, grated radish or, ginger or horseradish.
4. Salad—Fish and vegetables with sweetened vinegar sauce.
5. Meat—Big plate of chicken, beef or pork cooked Western style. Cooked or chopped raw vegetable.

British, American, German, French, and Italian cookery are used for preparing this dish.

Seasonings: Salt, pepper, mustard.

Sweet and sour pork and other forms of meat cooked Chinese style are sometime served instead of this Western plate.

6. Rice—Usually served after No. 5.
Bowls of soy bean soup and Japanese pickles are usually served with the rice.
7. Fruit—Apples, Mandarin oranges, strawberries, melons, etc. No finger bowl is used.
8. Cakes—Japanese or Western cakes.
9. Tea—Japanese tea, lemon tea or coffee.

Liquor is usually served throughout the meal.

While Japanese and Western cooking are successfully or interchangeably served in private homes as occasion demands, the over-emphasis on Westernism in public life has led to some glaring inconveniences.

For instance, leading Western style hotels like the Imperial and Nikkatsu hotels serve only strictly Western food, and when a Japanese staying at such a hotel feels like eating rice and soy bean soup for breakfast just as an American or a Britisher would go for bacon and eggs, he has to go to some Japanese restaurant near the hotel.

Turning to buildings, practically all of the offices, schools, banks, and companies are now housed in Western-style buildings, and the chair-and-desk life in these establishments is no different from that in Western countries.

But Japanese habits are observed even in some of these western establishments. Most schools, for instance, require their students to remove their shoes and change

to slippers or canvas footwear when entering the school buildings.

This Japanese custom, which helps keep the floors clean and protects them from scratches, is observed in Japanese homes, shrines, temples, restaurants, hotels and all Japanese style buildings.

Slippers are worn in many of the public buildings and the well-to-do Japanese homes but only in the hallways and corridors, and they are always taken off when entering a matted room.

Most of the better off Japanese families have Western style living rooms, and many of the compact newly built homes have combination living-dining rooms or Western style kitchenettes, but shoes are never worn even in these wooden-floored rooms.

The history of Japanese manners and customs as it gradually adopted and digested western influences, can be roughly divided into six periods:

1. Pure Japanese era—early part of 2nd century before Japan opened relations with Korea.
2. Introduction of Korean manners and customs—early part of 2nd century to early part of 6th century.

Relations with China were established in this period.

3. The adoption of Chinese manners and customs—early 6th century to late 9th century.

Japan imported Chinese culture on a large scale during this period and assimilated them into its own culture.

4. The development of Japanese manners and customs—late 9th century to second half of 15th century.

Aristocratic culture thrived in this period.

5. The golden age of Japanese manners and customs—last half of 17th century to last half of 19th century.

The common people acquired both money and social prominence under the rule of the warriors.

6. The introduction of Western manners and customs—late 19th century to the present.

Vestiges of the manners, customs and mores evolved in each of these periods are still preserved today in the diet, clothing, dwelling, religious rites, arts, entertainment and festivals of Japan.

Personal Names

Japanese personal names

The order of family and given names. In Japanese personal names, as in China, Korea and Hungary, the family name preceded the given name, in direct contrast to the custom in America, England and France. For instance, in the name, Yoshida Shigeru, Yoshida is the family name, Shigeru the given name; in Yukawa Hideki, Yukawa is the family name and Hideki the given name. However, when Japanese names are written in Roman characters, it is customary to follow the American, British and French manner, the name then being written as Shigeru Yoshida.

In calling others. In calling or referring to people, outside of members of one's own family, the appendix *San* or *Kun* or other title is applied to the person's family name, these being the equivalent of Mr., Mrs., Miss and the like, as, for example, Yoshida-san, Yoshida-kun, Yoshida Shushō (Premier Yoshida). However, in cases of extreme familiarity, the title is omitted, with just the family name being called. In rural districts, it is often the case that the number of family names is very limited, so that it is more usual to use the given name rather than the family name, as, for example, Shigeru-san.

Within the family, the custom is as follows: A parent calls his offspring's given name with no appendix, or sometimes affixes *san* or *chan*. Examples: Shigeru-san, or Shigeru-chan. A child in speaking to his parents refers to his father as *Otō-san*, and his mother as *Okā-san*. A husband calls his wife by her given name alone, or with the *san* or *chan* endings; but cases are frequent in which the given name is not used at all. As for the wife, she seldom calls her husband by his given name, but uses the personal pronoun *anata* (you) in calling him. However, in the larger cities, the influence of Western custom is to be seen, with many couples calling and refer-

ring to each other by their respective given names.

Difficult names. There are often instances in Japan when even a college-educated man may have difficulty in reading the name of a stranger. This is due to the fact that almost all Japanese names, in particular the family names, are written in Chinese characters. As a single Chinese character may be read in many different ways, and particularly as some such words are used in names in a special manner that is not to be found in any dictionary, the only way in such a case to ascertain the correct manner of reading the name is to enquire of the bearer of the name himself.

In the same manner, there may be cases in which the correct name may be known, but the correct words or characters to be used in writing the name offers a problem. For instance, such a common family name as Itō may be written as 伊藤 or 伊東 with no way to differentiate between the two through pronunciation alone. Again, the given name of Kazuko may be written as 和子, 一子, 加寿子, 嘉寿子, かず子 and many other ways, which, by ear alone, cannot be distinguished.

Because of this difficulty in names, it is perhaps not an unmeaningless custom that people meeting for the first time, almost invariably exchange name cards in Japan.

Family names

All the families came to have family names after the Meiji Restoration. It was not until after the Meiji Restoration (1867) that all the families came to have family names. Prior to that, during the Edo Period, only the people of the military and the court classes used family names. Farmers, merchants and other members of the common class with the exception of those granted special permission, were not allowed to carry swords or to utilize a family name. In other words, it may be said that they were not recognized socially in the society of that age.

The nameless Imperial Family. In Japan today, it is only the Imperial Family that does not have a family name of its own. This is because the Imperial Family has no need for a family name. Hirohito, the name of the Emperor, is the equivalent of the given name among the people. Before ascending the throne, he was known as Michino-miya Hirohito. However, Michino-miya is not a family name in the strict sense of the word, as can be seen from the fact that his brothers are not called by that name. One of his brothers is known as Mikasano-miya Takahito (in childhood he was known as Sumino-miya). Mikasano-miya would seem to be the equivalent of a family name, but as aforementioned in the case of the Emperor, it is not strictly so, for the brothers are all known by different names. For instance, another brother is known as Takamatsunomiya.

The Japanese people do not refer to their emperor by his given name, as for instance, Hirohito in the present age. They refer to him as *Tennō* or *Heika*, a deferential term referring to his high rank as emperor. This is an example of the Japanese custom of referring to high-ranking people by just their titles.

History of family names. Originally, during the Nara Period (707-784), certain families made use of *uji* or clan names. However, as the number of members in an *uji* increased, a smaller unit known as *kabane* came into being about the middle of the Heian Period. For instance, separate families or branches of the Fujiwara clan, through their respective residences in the capital of Kyoto, came to be differentiated from each other as Ichijo, Nijo Kujo and Fujiwaras. During the later military age, *kabane* whose names were taken from official titles increased in number, and gradually the differentiation between the *uji* and the *kabane* became indistinct.

Thus, the *kabane* was a name which designated class or occupation, being, in a way, a sort of peerage or court rank. The present-day family name has developed from the *kabane*, but in the days before the Meiji Restoration, it was only a part of the ruling class that possessed the *kabane* name.

Names of married couples. Husband and wife are obliged by law to take the

same family name (civil law, article 750). However, in post-war Japan, it is no longer necessary, as it was previously under the old civil law, to take the name of the family into which one is wed. For instance, if a man desires to take his wife's family name, he is free to do so, without necessarily being adopted into his wife's family as was the case heretofore.

Distribution of family names. There are certain family names which are to be found concentrated in a specific region. For instance, the family name of Satō, ranking perhaps first or second among all family names in Japan in number, is especially numerous in the Tōhoku and Hokkaidō regions, comprising 8.3% of the names in the Tōhoku regions and 3.6% in Hokkaidō, while in contrast, the Kansai area has only 0.5% and Shikoku only 0.6%. Suzuki is also a common family name, but it is not found very often in Central Japan, Shikoku or Kyūshū. Tanaka, another common name, is found principally in the Tōhoku, Kantō, Chūgoku, and Shikoku areas; Yamamoto is common in Chūgoku and Shikoku.

There are cases in which a single village may possess only one or two family names. For instance, in Narada hamlet of Nishiyama village, located in Minamikoma-gun of Yamanashi Prefecture, the family name used by all the households in the entire village is the single name of Fukazawa. In the village of Sueyoshi in Hachijō Island, 50.4% of the entire number of families is called Okiyama. This phenomena may be explained as being the result of the *kabane* or family name being derived from the name or topography of the site of dwelling.

Representative Japanese family names. Family names common in Japan are Satō, Suzuki, Tanaka, Yamamoto, Watanabe, Kobayashi, Saitō, Nakamura, Itō, Takahashi, Katō, Sasaki, Yoshida, Yamada. The most numerous are Satō and Suzuki, each taking up about 1.6 to 1.7% of the entire population.

Given names

How names are chosen. There is an old custom in Japan of naming a child on the

seventh day after its birth, this day being called *oshichi-ya* (seventh night). The occasion is feted, and in the old feudal days, a *samurai* father wrote the new name of his offspring on a piece of paper, and presented it to the baby with a gift of a sword, this ceremony being the baby's christening.

Names are generally chosen with consideration for the auspicious meaning to be found in the Chinese characters with which they are written. The parents or grandparents, or some other close relative may choose the name, or again a Buddhist or Shintō priest may be asked to select a name. There are also cases in which fortune-tellers and name-diviners are consulted. According to a recent survey, it was found that 22.5% of the boys, and 22% of the girls, were named after such consultations.

The so-called *seimei-handan* or name-divining, is based on old Chinese doctrines of *Inyō* and *Gogyō*, and utilizes the principles propounded by these doctrines in the choice of a suitable name for the babe. When the *Inyō* doctrine (Principle of Duality) is applied, the number of strokes in the Chinese characters with which a name is written, are counted. If the number comes out even, it is *In* (negative force) and if the number comes out odd, it is *Yō* (positive). Names are chosen according to the distribution of the *in* and the *yō* in the name. When the choice is made in accordance with the doctrine of *Gogyō*, the names are divided into five categories depending on the phonetic sound of the characters in the name, and a name is said to be good or bad according to how the five categories are distributed in the name.

At present, except on very rare occasions, the given name received at birth is held throughout life. However, in the past, a man had many names during his life. In childhood he was called by his *yō-meī* or childhood name. Upon attaining manhood, he also took a *yobi-na* name and a *nanori* name. Also, some members of the intellectual class also took an *azana* name. For instance, Minamoto-no Yoshitsune (1159-89), one of Japan's most popular historic

heroes, was called Ushiwakamaru in his childhood. His *yobi-na* was Kurō, his *nanori* was Yoshitsune. The scholar-statesman Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725) was called Yo in childhood; his *yobi-na* was first *Yogorō*, next *Denzō* and finally *Kageyu*; his *nanori* was Kimiyoshi; his *azana* was Zaichū. And the name Hakuseki by which he is best known, was his *gagō* or pen-name.

Sons of the court and military class received *nanori* names upon reaching manhood. This name was given by the person who placed the *eboshi* headpiece on the lad's head at the time of the *genpuku*, a ceremony celebrating the boy's attainment of age, and always incorporated one of the characters in the name of that sponsor, making him a sort of god-father to the boy. Today, the custom of *nanori* is no longer to be seen.

Birth report and the changing of names.

It is determined by law that a child's name should be reported to the office of the proper regional government office within 14 days after birth (Census Registration Law, Act 49).

Names may be changed legally through the Family Court, when it is determined that there is sufficient cause for the change. Family names, as well as given names, may be changed in this manner (Census Registration Law, Act 107).

At present, the characters to be used in names are limited by law. The phonetic *katakana* and *hiragana* may be used in names, but not the *hentai-gana*, which is a cross between the original Chinese character and the *katakana* or *hiragana*. Also, when Chinese characters are used, as they generally are, they must be chosen from within the 1850 letters in the *kanji* (Chinese characters) table. Generally, newspapers stay within this limit in writing their stories, with exceptions in the case of proper nouns and 92 letters in the special *kanji* table for names, which lists an additional 92 characters which may be used for names. If other letters besides these are used in a name, the birth report is rejected. (Census Registration Law, Act 50; revised May 25 1951).

This limitation in the selection of letters to be used in a given name, arose as an effort to curb the tendency to use difficult letters, regardless of the fact that such names may be impractical in daily life due to the difficulty in reading and writing. As this difficulty caused various inconveniences, the practice of limiting the number of usable letters was enforced under a progressive linguistic policy. At first the number of *kanji* for names was cut to 1850, the same number as that chosen for the *tōyō-kanji* or Chinese letters of common usage. But social resistance against this limitation became strong, and it was taken up as a political problem. Later 92 more letters were added to the list, for special use in the case of names, to include those which had been in common usage in names prior to the enforced limitation.

Male and female names. There is considerable difference between men's names and women's names. Firstly, this difference is apparent in the respective suffixes used. The endings for men's names are such as: -ichi, -ni, -san, -ta, -ji, -ichiro, -jiro, -saburo, -taro, -o, -hiko, -suke, -yoshi, -kichi, -zo, -saku, -hei, -pei, -uemon, -saemon, etcetera. The endings for women's names are: -ko, -e, -yo, -no and others.

In men's names, there are sometimes cases where only one *kanji* is used, without a suffix. In such cases, the *kanji* character is read in the form of a noun, adjective or verb. For example: Sei-ichi (誠一) without the suffix is read Makoto (誠); Mosaburō (茂三郎) without the suffix becomes Shigeru (茂).

In men's names too, there are similarly cases when the name is made up of one *kanji* character, without a suffix. In some such cases, it is difficult to tell whether the bearer of the name is a man or a woman. For instance, the latter 茂 may be used as a name by either, being read as Shigeru if the bearer is a man, and Shige if it is a woman's name. Shigeru is the verb form of the word; Shige is the word-trunk.

Men's names are sometimes made up of a combination of two *kanji*, with no suffix form to either. Examples are Masashige (正茂) and Takehisa (武久).

There are some names which may be used by either a man or a woman, as Misao (操) or Sanae (早苗). Makoto, too, may serve as a name for either sex, but is written in different characters, 誠 for men and 真琴 for women.

In olden days, the names of women were not recorded clearly in official documents, being seen only as daughter of Fujiwara and the like, thus revealing the fact that women were without independent social status.

Changing trends in men's names. As mentioned previously, the court nobles and the warriors had three or four names in the past.

The *yōmei* was the name used in childhood and boyhood, the most common form of it being those ending in 'maro' or 'maru', as in the case of the famous *Manyōshū* poet Kakinomoto-no Hitomaro of the 8th century, or Konoe Fumimaro (1891-1945), Prime Minister during World War II. 'Maro' and 'Maru' which were used as pet names for children, is the origin for this form of name. Besides 'maru' and 'maro', other suffixes seen in the *yōmei* were -matsu, -take, -ume, -tsuru (respectively, pine, bamboo, plum, crane) and the names of other plants or animals considered to be of a felicitous nature. Examples: Ushi-waka-maru, Take-chiyo.

After coming of age, the *yobina* was employed. The *yobina* is made up of the number signifying the order of birth in the family, with the suffix of 'rō' added, as Tarō (or Ichirō), Jirō, Saburō, Shirō, Gorō, Rokurō, Shichirō, Hachirō, Kurō and Jūrō, these being the names of the sons in turn up to the tenth, meaning 'first son,' 'second son' and so on. Minamoto-no Yoshitsune's *yobina* name was Kurō because he was the ninth son of Minamoto-no Yoshitomo.

There were also cases in which the *yobina* was made up of the number for order of birth, with the name of the family to which he belongs being used as a prefix. For instance, the name Tō-tarō would signify that the bearer of the name was the first son (tarō) of the Fujiwara family, *tō* being the Chinese phonetic sound for the *kanji* chara-

cter used to represent "fuji" of Fujiwara. Sometimes, in such a case, the suffix *rō* came to be omitted, in which case the name became Tō-ta.

There were also cases in which the suffix of a *yobina* was taken from the name of an official post, as in Zen-uemon, Zen-saemon, Zem-bei, Zenno-suke, Zenno-jō. The suffixes in these names denote an official rank, and show that the bearer of the name is descended from someone who held that rank in the past. There are also names such as Tarō-bei and Jirō-bei which serve to signify both order of birth and the name of an official rank.

On coming of age, the sons of noblemen and warriors received, besides the above-mentioned *yobina*, another name called *nanori*. This name was made by incorporating one *kanji* character taken from the name of the sponsor at the ceremony celebrating the youth's coming of age. For instance, the *nanori* name of Tokugawa Mitsukuni (an influential *daimyō* of one of the three families of Tokugawa, was derived by taking one character from the name of Tokugawa Ie-mitsu (1604-51), the third Tokugawa Shōgun. Again, some families have a certain *kanji* character which is transmitted in names from generation to generation; and in this case, this character is combined to one taken from the god-father at the ceremony. For instance, Shōju-maru, the eldest son of regent Hōjō Tokiyori (1227-63) received the character Mune (宗) from the name of Prince Munetaka, to which the character Toki (時), used by the Hōjō family generation after generation, was combined, thus forming the name of Tokimune.

Later, some men of letters came to use pen-names after the fashion of the Chinese. These are called *azana*.

At present, the names most common among men are Kiyoshi, Shigeru, Minoru, Isamu, Hiroshi, Tadashi, Ichirō, Saburō, Susumu, Noboru, Hiroshi. The names of Kiyoshi and Shigeru account for approximately 6% of all male given names in Japan.

With the advent of the modern age to Japan, trends in men's names changed gradually. Names made up of one *kanji*

character, such as Kiyoshi and Shigeru have increased, while names with the suffix *rō* have decreased. Between 1884 and 1888, men's names of only one *kanji* character did not amount to more than 5% of the total, while in 1933 they numbered more than 20%. Names with 'ro' numbered about 30% of the total in 1888, but only 10% in 1933.

Changing trends in women's names. In the Nara Period (8th Century), women's names ending in the suffixes of -me, -mushi, -toji, -ko were to be seen. In the Heian Age which followed, names with -ko are recorded, as for example, Nobuko, Tada-ko, Yoshiko. These names were the equivalent of the men's *nanori* names. Many women who served in the courts also had *yobina* names. For example, Murasaki Shikibu (authoress of *Genji Monogatari*), Seishō Nagon (authoress of *Makura-no-Sōshi*). In the latter ages also, women's names followed the pattern of the Heian Period in the case of those who served in the court or in the mansions of the warrior class.

Afterwards, some court ladies came to be granted what were called "*Genji* names" taken from the popular court-period novel, *Genji Monogatari*. This custom found its way into the shogunate Government, and the ladies who served in the inner rooms of the shōgun's castle, all came to have their respective "*Genji* names", as, for instance, Sawarabi-no-tenji, Sakaki-no-myōbu.

The names of the daughters of merchants were generally written in the simplified phonetic *kana* characters, as for instance Haru (はる) and Kiyo (きよ). A woman named Haru would be called O-haru or O-haru-san by others. But after the Meiji Restoration, names written with *kana* characters gradually came to be discarded. In the period 1884-88, 90% or so of the women's names were written in *kana*; in 1933 the percentage fell below 20%, showing that the number of names written in *kanji* increased with the years.

Particularly noticeable is the fact that after the Meiji Restoration, the number of women's names using the suffix *ko* increased greatly. Names with 'ko' were practically

non-existent in 1888; but in 1933, they numbered 70% of the total. In the Edo Period, common people abstained from using the 'ko' in their names, out of deference to the Imperial Household, in which the term was used.

As this sentiment faded, the tendency to use *ko* as a term of respect added to a woman's name, came to be seen. Thus, in addressing a woman named Haru, they would call her Haru-ko. This habit has not yet entirely disappeared today, but it has come to have very little real meaning, since such a large number of the names of the women already incorporate the *ko* in their correct form. Kazuko, Chiyoko, Fumiko, Shizuko, Mitsuko, Yukiko, Kiyo, Setsuko, Kiyoko are among the most common female names in Japan today.

Names of parents and their children. Today, there is no need to have some associating link between the names of parent and child, as social practice does not demand it. However, in old days, there were some *yobina* names which showed this relationship, as for instance, Kotarō, or 'little Tarō' meant that he was Tarō's child. Kojirō similarly, was Jirō's child. Again, Tarō's child might be called Matatarō, in this case meaning literally Tarō again. In the same way, Tarō's grandchild might be called Mago-tarō (Tarō's grandchild), while Tarō's greatgrandchild would be called Hiko-tarō, 'hiko' meaning great-grandchild.

Often, one of the *kanji* letters in the *nanori* name would be derived from the name of the individual's father. For instance the 'toki' in the name of Hōjō Tokimune was a character used in his family for generations past, and was also to be found in his father's name, Tokiyori. The *yoshi* in Minamoto-no Yoshitsune's name was taken from that in the name of his father, Yoshitomo. There are still some instances today when a similar relationship between the names of father and son may be seen.

In some circles, the practice still exists in which a son, on succeeding his father, takes over his father's name, in the so-called custom of *shū-mei* or inheriting the name. In such cases, the official name as

registered on the census register, and the inherited name, are both used by the individual. Such cases are most prevalent among families with long histories and among professional people of the theater, whose art is an inherited one.

For instance, the name of Ichikawa Danjūrō, has been transmitted as the name of a leading *kabuki* actor, from the Edo Period for nine generations. The real name of this family of actors is Horikoshi; but the professional name is also inherited from one generation to the next.

Names of brothers. The *yobina* of the old days incorporated the number signifying order of birth, so that the names of brothers were all related to each other under this system. In the case of the *nanori* name also, when the family possessed a *kanji* character which was traditionally handed down from generation to generation to all male members of the family, the names of brothers would both incorporate this one common letter. Today, the brothers of the famous Japanese atomic scientist Hideki Yukawa, are named Yoshiki, Shigeki and Tamaki, all four brothers having the common letter *ki* (樹) in their names.

In general practice, the names of brothers are linked together in this way, while names of sisters are also linked together.

Names other than the registered name

There are instances in which, for various reasons, names other than the officially registered names are used.

In the case of full names. Actors, singers, and other professional people who appear on the stage often make use of *gei-mei* or stage names. These are of two types, one in which the name is chosen for the pleasing sound or for the felicitous nature of the words; the other is the case in which a professional name is inherited. In both cases, the name is made up of two parts to form the orthodox family-and-given-name pattern.

Men of letters employ pen-names, which in most cases is made up of the individual's real family name, used with a pseudonym replacing the given name.

Then there is the name which is granted by priests after an individual's death, called *kaimyō*. These names too are made up of two parts which are the equivalent of the family and given names; but these are of a very special character.

In the case of the family name. Somewhat similar to the professional stage names, are the *shikona* names used in *sumō*, Japan's professional wrestling. For instance, Kagamisato Kiyōji's real name is Okuyama Kiyōji; Tochinishiki Kiyotaka's real name is Ōtsuka Kiyoshi. In these cases, Kagamisato and Tochinishiki are the so-called *shikona*, replacing the family name.

Commercial houses, and the houses of actors and the like, had certain designations which were known as *yagō*. During the Edo Period, when the common people were not allowed to have family names, they made use of the *yagō*. For instance, the house of the actor Ichikawa Danjūrō had the *yagō* of Narita-ya.

Equivalents for the given name. Painters, calligraphers, musicians, poets, and other artists generally use a professional name of poetic taste. Some employ more than one such name, and others may change such names after a time. In most cases, the real family name is used without change. One instance is seen in the name of Yokoyama Taikan, famed artist, whose real name is Yokoyama Hidemaro.

Men who become priests receive a *hōmei* or religious name from the sect in which they take the order. For instance, Hōjō

Tokimune became a priest in the latter years of his life, and was granted the *hōmei* of Dōsu.

Sometimes a man is honored posthumously by being granted an *okuri-na* name. For instance, Tokugawa Mitsukuni after death was granted the honorary name of Gikō.

In first-class restaurants, inns, and in the so-called gay quarters, names which are used exclusively in those respective circles are to be found. As common names are used in most cases, one finds Hana and Yukiko and other such common names in almost every large restaurant.

Names of animals

Pets such as dogs and cats are generally given names fashioned after human names, common examples being Tarō, Hachirō, Tama, Jan (John) and others. Male animals are given male names, and female animals are given female names. There are also such names as Shiro or Pochi, in which a common noun has come to be used as a proper noun.

All the animals in the zoo have names. For instance, at the Ueno Zoo, there is an elephant (female) named Takako; giraffes; named respectively Minami and Takao; lions named Nairu (Nile) and Kongō (Congo).

Among horses, only those used for racing have names. They are given fine names which correspond to the human *nanori* of the old days. Examples are Minemasa and Takahana.

Japanese Geographical Names

Kinds of geographical names

Among Japanese geographical names, those based on topographical features of the land are especially numerous. Among these, *yama* (mountain) occurs the most frequently, as in the names of cities and towns such as Toyama and Matsuyama. Next in number comes *oka* (hills), this being seen in such names as Fukuoka and

Tsuruoka. Instances of *kawa* (rivers) in city names are comparatively few, examples being Ichikawa and Kitsuregawa. On the other hand, city names incorporating *sawa* (marsh or dale) are of considerable number, beginning with Kanazawa and Yonezawa, the airport town of Misawa and the spa of Tōnosawa. *Hara* (field) is also quite common, as for instance Sekigahara and Maibara, Tawara and Yoshiwara (bara and wara are both forms of hara). In certain

regions of Kyūshū it also becomes *baru* in dialect. An example of this is Chausu-*baru*, a site not far from Miyazaki which is known for its group of old tombs. *No* (field) is also very numerous, with names such as Nagano, Nakano and Ueno being found distributed widely in various provinces of the country.

Among names related to shoreline topography, *hama* (beach) is the most common, Yokohama being a good example. *Saki* (cape) comes next, with Kawasaki, Nagasaki and the like. *Shima* (island) is to be seen in such names as Mishima, Fukushima, Tokushima, Biwashima.

Aside from these, there are certain now obsolete terms which have been retained as geographical names, *suka* (sand beach) being an example. Yokosuka is a well-known name in this category. *Kushi* is an old term also referring to a similar site, to be found in such names in West Japan as Kushimoto, a fishing village, and Kushikino, a gold-mining town. Tatsukushi, near Ashizuri Cape, is another example. *Mama* is an old term meaning cliff, and is still retained in the dialect of the Kantō district. It is to be seen in such geographical names as Ō-mama, the name of a town. *Kai* is an obsolete word for valley, and Kumagai (kai and gai are used interchangeably) is an example, as is Okkai village of Gumma Prefecture.

Kura is an old word meaning a craggy peak; examples are to be found mostly in the names of high peaks in the Japan Alps, such as Norikura and Yukikura. *Kura* is also seen in such names as Akakura or Kamakura; but it is possible that in these last instances, the word was taken from the term for warehouse, also called *kura*.

Terms arising from the relation between topography and transportation, are to be seen often in geographical names. *Saka* (hill, or hilly) as in Osaka and Matsusaka is one example. *Tsu* is an old word for harbor; *Tsu* city, Naoetsu, Otsu, Numazu are all examples. *Kata* refers to sea-side lagoons; Kahoku-gata, Hachiro-gata (kata=gata) are names to be found on the Japan Sea coastline, while Niigata, a port city, and Kisagata, a scenic site, are also well-known names.

Japan being a country blessed with more than her share of hot springs, it is not un-

natural that names with *yu* (hot water) and *ata* (warm) are to be found. In Izu Peninsula are such names as Yugashima, Atami and Atakawa, all famed hot spring sites.

Not less numerous in number than those taken from topographical features, are names related to settlements, land use, and political and cultural sites. Principal examples are *machi* and *ichi*, meaning town and market respectively, as in Omachi, Shinmachi, Tōkamachi, and in Mikka-ichi and Ima-ichi.

In spite of the many castle-towns existing in the feudal period, the number of towns named for castles are comparatively few, this being due to the fact that in most cases the settlement of the towns preceded the construction of the respective castles. Small castles which were built in an earlier era were called *tate*, and this term is retained in such names as Hakodate and Ōtate.

As in Europe, with its Cambridge and Innsbruck, Japan too has many places named for bridges (*hashi*), Kurihashi, Funabashi and Saruhashi, Maebashi and Toyohashi all being examples.

There are certain towns whose names seem to have been derived from the fact that shrines (*miya*) were located there, such as Utsunomiya, Ōmiya, Ichinomiya, and such railway stops as Suzumeno-miya on the Tōhoku Line and Kamono-miya on the Tokaidō line. Names incorporating the word *tera* (temple) are relatively few, some examples being Hamadera and Teradomari. However, geographical names derived directly from specific temple names are not uncommon, such as Kichijō-ji in Tokyo, Shuzen-ji spa in Izu, Saion-ji near Okayama, and Kannon-ji in north Shikoku.

Town names incorporating the word *mura* (village) are numerous, there being the towns of Nakamura in Fukushima, and Ōmura south of Nagasaki. Motomura port on Ōshima Island, Yumura, a hot spring town in Yamanashi Prefecture, are also typical examples.

Ta (rice paddy) is also common in place-names, such as in the names of Ōta and Hamada cities, and in Iwamura-da near Karuizawa, and Gotanda in Tokyo. Narita,

famed for its temple, is another example, as are Takata in Niigata Prefecture and Handa on the coast of Ise Bay.

Words now obsolete are to be found in geographical names. Pasture land was called *maki*, and this is seen in *Makinohara*, in Shizuoka Prefecture, where Japan's most extensive tea farm is to be found. In the Tōhoku regions, there are the port city of *Ishinomaki* and the hotspring town of *Hanamaki*.

Kokufu was a term referring to the site of a regional capital several hundred years ago. This is retained as a geographical name; near Tokyo is the hill *Kōnodai*, and on the Tokaidō line is *Kō-zu*, a name which shows it to have been a port-city. The name of *Kokubu* in Kagoshima Prefecture (*Kyūshū*) known as a tobacco growing center, is also derived from the same term. The name of the hotspring town of Beppu means a 'branch government office site'; *Nishinobyu*, the name of a village south of Kagoshima, is also a corrupted form of the term.

Place-names revealing the site's nature as *seki-sho* or feudal barrier-gates, are not uncommon, as *Ichinoseki* in the Tōhoku region, and *Shimonoseki*, a port at the very western tip of Honshū. Village names such as *Sekiyado* and *Sekimoto* also exist.

Conspicuously missing among Japanese geographical names are those incorporating names of men, such as in Georgetown or Wellington in the western world. There are examples of streets being named for individuals, such as *Suda-chō* and *Jinbō-chō*, but as names of general localities, they are extremely rare. Mt. *Kintoki* in Hakone, *Niemon-jima* on the Bōsō Peninsula, are examples.

Place-names taken from the names of famous priests can be found, as for instance *Nichiren-zaki* south of Itō, and *Kōbo-yama* west of Atsugi. As for names with religious connections, those related to the Shin-tō religion are surprisingly few, Inariyama near Kyoto and Hachiman in Shiga Prefecture being examples. Names with Buddhist connotations are to be seen especially in the names of mountains, many of which are called by such names as *Jizō* and *Yaku-*

shi, and reveal an affinity with a primitive form of mountain-worship.

Origin of place-names

Many attempts have been made to classify Japanese geographical names philologically, but unsuccessfully in most cases. Similarly, attempts at interpreting certain Japanese geographical names as being of Ainu or Korean origin, or as related to the Malayan or Mongolian tongues, seem to be rather arbitrary. The great majority of Japanese names are of purely Japanese origin, with a slight mixture of the Ainu language, and certain words from the language of surrounding regions which were common to both.

For instance *Akamizu*, as well as the name *Bodai* (*Boddhisatva*) to be found in the same village, are unmistakably related to the Buddhist religion imported from India; but it is erroneous to apply the same interpretation to the name of the river *Nagara*.

Offshore reefs are known as *bae* on the Pacific coast of west Japan. *Usubae* near Ashizuri Cape, *Tojinbō*, *Inuzakibō* the reef island of Inanba north of Hachijō Island, all seem to be names in this category; and in this case there seems to be a sound basis for assuming a relation with similar examples in Korea. However, interpreting '*Obasute-yama*' as having been derived from the Mongolian *Kyarun-obo* (phonetic spelling), as a certain anthropologist has attempted, is rather forced.

The *tani* in *Kurotani* and *Tanikawa* is a pure Japanese word meaning valley, and it is doubtful whether there is any relation between this and the Chinese *tan*. On the other hand, *zeni* (coins) and *semi* (cicada) seem to have been derived from the Chinese *sen* (money), and *uma* (horse) and *ume* (plum) are unmistakably taken from Chinese words. However, it seems to be carrying the matter too far to name China as the origin for the old native word *taori* which is to be seen in such geographical names as *Takato* and *Ō-tawa*. Although it is true that the Japanese word *tōge* for mountain pass, for which *taori* is an older term, is associated with the Chinese *tao*

(pass), this hardly serves to prove that *taori* is derived from the same source as the names of the peaks in China's Tien-shan mountains, Dawan and Tau.

Japan, unlike the various countries of Europe, does not have examples of geographical names which reveal lingual characteristics of race through their word endings, as do the Slav and Celtic languages. However, as will be detailed later, Japanese words originally taken from the Ainu and Korean languages are to be found in wide distribution. Also, there are many examples in which sites which were named in a later era, have incorporated Chinese words, such as in Tokyo (Eastern Capital) and Kyoto (Capital City). Shichitō (Seven Islands) of Izu, and Gotō (Five Islands) of Kyūshū, show similar usage of Chinese word-characters. Then there are such names as the 'Kinki' District, also incorporating Chinese characters, whose meaning is lost among the modern people; and also names such as Bōsō-hantō (Bōsō Peninsula), in which the name Bōsō is a sort of abbreviation.

Mountains were called *mure* in the ancient Korean language; and in Kyūshū is to be found Hanamure-yama, while in the Tanzawa mountains not far from Tokyo is Ō-mureyama. The small volcanic peak Ō-mutayama south of Itō, and another peak in the Fuji volcanic range also known by the same name, belong in the same category. The word *mori* to be found in many names of places north of Central Honshū, which now means forest, originally meant *peak* and is associated with the aforementioned *mure*. Bunamori meant not 'beech forest' but 'beech mountain'.

Ma, to be found widely in the various islands of Okinawa, has been proved to be derived from the Korean word for island. Hateruma near Ishigaki Island, and Kera-ma, a group of islets near Okinawa, and Kakeroma Island in the Amami Oshima island group, are examples. In the Seven Islands of Izu also, there is to the south an island called Udone-jima, which is called Udoma by the people of the district.

Names which are clearly of Ainu origin are to be found mainly in the northern sector of Honshū, but even on the Japan Sea

coast in Central Houshū can be seen some examples, as in the name of *Utamura*, at the north entrance of the Japan Alps, and to the west of Oyashirazu, in which 'uta' as in Hotokega-uta on Aomori Bay, refers to 'sandy beach'. The Ainu *nai* for river is to be seen in Numakunai, and *petsu* meaning the deeps of a river, in Mapechi. Tōno near Morioka is in the center of a basin land in a position which may be thought to have once been related to 'to' or lake. *Yatsu* or *yato* which is common in the Kantō region, similar to *yachi* of the Tōhoku region, is derived from the Ainu word for marshland. Shimonita, Nuda, Noda have their origin in *nitap* which is an Ainu word also meaning marsh.

Names of mountains such as *Tō-ga-take* and *Tō-no-mine* were originally probably taken from the word *tamu* or *tabu*, with 'to' most likely having been pronounced *tamu* or *tabu* as suggested by the old form of phonetic letters used in the writing of the name. In Hachijō Island and Aogashima Island there are sites known as Ō-tombu, while in Miyake Island, the summit of a mountain is called *tombu*. These words are probably related to the ainu word *tup* and were originally common nouns which later came to be used as proper nouns. *Kum*, an Ainu word also meaning the summit of a mountain, is to be seen incorporated into various proper names, *Kobushi-dake* and *Kokushi-dake*, the names of the highest peaks in the Chichibu Mountains belonging in this category. It is also possible that the names of neighboring peaks such as *Kimbu-san* and *Kingatake* were also derived from the same source. The fact that the highest peak in the Hakone mountain range is called *Kamiyama*, and that neighboring peaks are called *Kamurigatake* and *Komagatake* may also be considered examples of the same type.

The name *Komagatake* is common to many peaks in Japan, with two found in the Japan Alps, and others in Tōhoku and in Hokkaidō. This name is related to the name of *Kombu-dake*, the name of a mountain in Hokkaidō, and in spite of the fact that in present-day usage *koma* means pony, the term as used in these mountain

names has nothing to do with ponies or horses. *Koma* or *kuma* means peak, and is also seen in *Kurikoma-yama* in the Tōhoku region, *Ikoma-yama* east of Osaka, *Takakuma-yama* near Kagoshima. It is also possible to consider *Tsukuba-san* and *Kabasan*, names of famous peaks in the Kantō region, in the same light.

As for the origin of the name for Mt. Fuji, it was early pointed out by Professor Batchelor of Tokyo University that it is derived from an Ainu word for fire. Fuji was an active volcano, and previously smoke was seen constantly rising from its summit; and at night it showed a fiery glow. Recently a member of the Japan Alpine Society has pointed out that many volcanic peaks in the South Pacific Islands are similarly named for fire, being called *api* in the Malayan language. The island of Guang Api and the volcanic mountain Merapi in Java are examples. Apo, a volcanic peak in Mindanao in the Philippines is a similar case. The name of Yufu, a volcanic peak in Kyūshū, seems to have a similar derivation, and it is interesting to note that the various words for fire, such as *fire*, *few*, *foco*, etc., are probably all the products of onomatopoeia, as are probably also *hi* and *hono-o* in the Japanese language.

The shrine on Mt. Fuji, enshrining the goddess Konohana-sakuya-hime, is called Asama Shrine. There is also a famous live volcanic peak near Karuizawa which is known as Asama-yama, and which still sends up volcanic smoke in eruptions from time to time. Aso is a famous volcanic peak in Kyūshū known for its huge caldera, and the crater of one of its central cones, Nakadake, sends up a constant flow of black smoke and volcanic ashes. Asama, Aso and probably also Nasu (the name of a volcanic range in Honshū) may all have been derived from a Malayan word for ashes, according to Terada Torahiko, who has made a study of the names of volcanic peaks in Japan. Kishima-dake, the name of a mountain that appears in old legends such as those seen in the Kojiki, is a peak on the crater rim of Aso in Kyūshū; and it is thought likely that this as well as Kiri-shima-yama mountain, also famous in my-

thology, are likewise names derived from a similar source. However, the original meaning has now been completely lost.

The meanings of province-names which originated in ancient times, have been lost with the passing of the years, with only a very few, to be detailed later, whose original significance can still be explained. Izu for instance is explained by some as meaning peninsula, *izu* being a term which can be interpreted as 'stretching out', as a peninsula stretches out into the sea. Or it has also been explained as a derivation from *Yu-izu* which would mean 'hot water comes out', referring to the hot springs which are to be found so abundantly on Izu Peninsula. However, neither of these two interpretations are authentic. Similarly, the interpretation of the name of the province Shinano as having been derived from 'field of shinanoki trees' or as a 'mountain province with an abundance of shinazaka (elevations)' is equally dubious. The original significance of province names such as Suruga, Sagami and Musashi, in spite of the existence of popular explanations, may also be said to have been lost completely.

Names of the *gun* or counties, have also suffered a similar fate. Near Tokyo for instance, the name of Tsuru county has nothing to do with *tsuru* (crane), and the *tama* in such county names as Saitama and Tama, are not concerned with the *tama-tsukuri* (ancient craftsmen) or *tama* (jewel) as commonly claimed.

There are some examples in which ancient dialect is retained in the name of provinces. Awa of Bōsō Peninsula, and similarly Awa of Shikoku Islands, are both derived from *awa*, the word for millet, and most likely refers to the regions as grain producing centers. It is quite probable that the word has something in common with the old name for Java, that is, Yawa. The name of the province of Ōmi was originally Awa-umi, meaning a sea of shallow water, and is a name which is directly concerned with Lake Biwa which is located in the province. Tō-tōmi, the name of another province, was originally Totsu-ōmi, also referring to a lake, in this case Hamanako. Tsushima means an island (*shima*) with

an abundance of inlets (*tsu*), hence an island with an abundance of bays appropriate for harbors. *Seto* as in *Setouchi* (*Seto Inland Sea*) meant a narrow entrance and referred to straits; *uchi* meaning inner or inside, the full name hence meant a quiet inland sea beyond a narrow sea strait. The name of the long peninsula of Sata in Shikoku, meant in ancient language a promontory; and the original name of the famous Ashizuri cape was Sada-misaki, *sada* being the equivalent of *sata*. The *kuri* in *Kujūkuri-hama* and in *Kuri-hama* is probably an old word for 'sandy beach', and it is thought likely that the name of Kure city is also derived from the same word.

Pronunciation of Japanese geographical names

Unfortunately, relatively little attention has been paid to the matter of accent and correct pronunciation of geographical names in Japan, this leading to much inaccuracy in the usage of the names.

The majority of Japanese geographical names have no accent, as in the case of Kumamoto, Mito, Miyanoshita. Longer names such as Miyakonojō and Sambongi are generally accented on the final syllable, although there are exceptions such as in the case of Kurosawajiri. In names which are made up of a combination of two words, the accent falls on the first two syllables, such as in Kyoto, Kobe, Okayama, Shizuoka, Miyazaki, Sendai, although there are also some exceptions, as in the case of Tokyo.

Names with accents on the initial syllable are Nara, Saga, Tsuruga, Sakura. Again, there are some cases in which the accent differs between that used by the people of the district itself, and the people of the nation in general, as for instance in Osaka, Nagano, Fujimi.

Japanese geographical names, as in the case of Japanese personal names, are generally written with Chinese word-characters, and this practice has produced names difficult to read, and also has been inducive to mistaken pronunciation, so much so that there are many cases in which the errone-

ous version is now the accepted form. Of course the same situation may be found in names in Europe and America too, but not to the same extent that the usage of the Chinese characters in Japan has caused confusion and distortion in this country. To prevent further distortion of such names, it is advisable to write the place-names in Roman letters or in phonetic *kana* characters alongside the Chinese characters. There is a tendency now to read *Atsugi* as *Atsuki* or *Shuzenji* (short *u*) as *Shuu-zenji* (long *u*). Hadano is almost invariably referred to now as Hatano. Takata in Niigata Prefecture, is often erroneously called Takada now. What was once Kanezawa became corrupted to Kanazawa, so that in order to differentiate it from the real Kanazawa north of Yokosuka, the latter came to attach its province name, being referred to now as Musashi-Kanazawa. Fukujima in Nagano Prefecture came to be pronounced as Fukushima, so it later had to be called Kiso-Fukushima to mark it off from another Fukushima. Yagohara in the same province came to be known as Yabuhara, Hashima off the coast of Atami as Hatsushima, Fukae town in the Gotō Islands as Fukue, all due to misreading of the arbitrary characters employed.

In Hokkaidō, the majority of the names are of Ainu origin, and in cases where these names have been arbitrarily written with Chinese characters, it is practically impossible to read them correctly without guiding phonetic characters placed alongside. There are many cases in which the names are mistakenly pronounced because of an erroneous reading of the characters used. This is particularly true in the case of famous sites such as national parks where tourists have increased in recent years. In the Akan Lake district, Kuttcharo Lake is mistakenly called Kussharo, in the Shikotsu-Toya National Park, Toya Lake is often called Dōya, the volcanic peak of Tarumaidake as Tarumae-dake. An extreme example is in the case of Makkari-nupuri in the same district, a beautiful conical volcanic peak. Another name for this peak is Shiribeshi-dake. An overly pedantic explorer in the past wrote the name of Shi-

ribeshi in the complicated and arbitrary use of Chinese characters after the manner of the ancient *Manyōshū* (Japan's ancient poem anthology). As a result, few people could read the arbitrary words correctly, and eventually they came to be read in a phonetic version of the characters as Yōtei-zan, certainly far removed from the original name.

A similar example is to be seen in the case of Ō-agari-jima in Okinawa, which because of the Chinese characters used in writing the name, came to be called Daitō-jima. Another extreme example is the case of a place which is seen on marine charts as Sofu-Gan, a rock islet north of the Ogasawara Islands. This island's first name was Lot's Wife, given to it by western mariners. This was translated in Japanese to mean 'widow' and came to be called Yamome-Iwa (widow's rock). This in turn, due to the Chinese characters used in writing it, came to be read phonetically as Sofu-Gan instead of by the meaning of the characters, as Yamome-Iwa.

During the period when Chinese culture was regarded highly in Japan, such phonetic readings of Chinese characters, instead of by the Japanese term implied by the words, came to be common; and there is no means now by which changes which occurred in place-names because of this custom, can be corrected. There are many famous mountains whose names have undergone this change, as for instance Shirayama (white mountain) which came to be called Hakusan; Tsukinoyama as Gassan, Nakayama as Myoko-zan, all because of the way it was written in the Chinese characters. Chōkai-san and Kaimon-dake were originally Torinoumi-yama and Hirakidake respectively. During the Meiji Era there were still people who called Mt. Fuji Fujiyama; but now it is only in atlases published elsewhere than Japan where that form of the name is still to be seen; almost everyone in Japan calling it Fuji-san now. A more recent example of the same trend is seen in the case of the name of the national park Daisetsu-zan in Hokkaidō. This is the name of the highest volcanic peak in Hokkaidō; its name in the Ainu language

was Nutakkanuspe, meaning the mountain of the great snow; in Japanese therefore it became Ō-yukiyama, a literal translation. This came to be read from the Chinese characters applied as Daisetsu-zan. In the Japan Alps, Shirouma-dake was beginning to be called Hakuba-san, after the same fashion, but fortunately, in this case the trend was halted before it was too late.

Principal geographical names in Japan

Japan's official name is Nippon, but this is a form which has been designated by the Ministry of Education, and is used only on official occasions. In ordinary conversation, the nation is called Nihon by most people. Among geographical names incorporating this name, there are Nihonbashi, and Nihon Alps. Nihon is a name which originated in Japan's feudal war period, and as stressed by the scholar Yamada Yoshio, the correct pronunciation is no doubt Nihon. Nihon means the land where the sun rises, similar to such names as Levante and Morgenland, and was a name given to Japan by the Chinese who lived to the west of Japan. The 'Jipang' to be seen in Marco Polo's book is probably a close reproduction of the way the name was pronounced by the Chinese. The Chinese characters for Nihon sometimes was read by meaning instead of phonetically, as Hinomoto, which came to be a poetic name for Japan. Other names for Japan, such as Yamato, similar to the reference to Switzerland as Helvetia, is used only rhetorically. The name Yashima, meaning a land of many islands, is also used only in similarly limited cases.

Honshū is seen on some foreign atlases as *Hondo*, and this has the same meaning, that is, mainland, or the main island. Shikoku means Four Provinces, Kyūshū means Nine Provinces, both having been named for the number of provincial divisions which existed in each before the Meiji Restoration.

Hokkaidō means northern country, and is a new name which replaced the original name Ezogashima (island of the Ezo), Ezo being an old term for Ainu. The old terms, now obsolete, of Tōsandō referred to the

Tohoku (northeast) region including Kai and Shinano provinces among the mountains of the central part of Japan, Hoku-
rokudō and Sanindō referred to the Japan
Sea side of Japan, and Tōkaidō to the pro-
vinces on the Pacific side of Japan. Sanyō
referred to the provinces by the Seto In-
land Sea, Kinki to Kyoto and its outlying
provinces. Shikoku and Kyūshū were
known as Nankaidō and Saikaidō. Of these
various old 'do' names referring to the
regions, none remain today as official name,
with only the newly created 'Hokkaidō'
ironically being in use, although Tokaidō,
Sanyō, Sanin and Kinki are still used in a
limited sense today.

The *ken* or prefectures of today are
made up of groups of former provinces as
rearranged and renamed at the time of the
Meiji Restoration. Fortunately, unlike
newly-created names of such cities as Tokyo
and the like, the names of the newly formed
prefectures did not show such an utter dis-
regard for historical names, and retained
names of long tradition. Many of these
traditional province-names are of interest
in their relationship to the province's geo-
graphical position. There were cases in
which one island made up one province, as
Sado and Ōki in the Japan Sea, and Iki
and Tsushima in the Korean Straits. Ōki
probably means 'off the coast', but it is
doubtful whether 'Iki', as often claimed,
actually meant 'to sail from this place to
that'. Awaji may be a name derived from
the same origin as *awa* (millet), and Sado,
as detailed previously, is a derivation from
sata or promontory.

As for peninsular provinces, there are
Satsuma and Ōsumi in Kyūshū, and Kii,
Shima, Izu and Awa in Honshū. *Shima*
may be interpreted as 'island'. *Ki* is deriv-
ed from its older name of *Kinokuni* (land
of trees), referring to it as a land rich in
forests and consequently with an abun-
dant of timber.

There are many provinces in Central
Japan which do not face on the sea in any
direction, such as the large provinces of
Shinano, Hida and Kai in Central Honshū.
Hida is probably identical to the word
for pleat or fold, referring to the moun-

tainous nature of the country. Kai as
mentioned previously, most likely means a
basin land surrounded by mountains

Many of the names of the old provinces
were derived from geographical names
which originated in the ancient ages. For
instance Hyūga in Kyūshū is a corrupted
form of *himuka* meaning sunny land. *Hi-
nokuni* (fertile land) became Hizen and
Higo, in other words, the 'front' and 'back'
Hinakuni. 'Front' and 'back', again 'near'
and 'far' as affixed to place-names, revealed
the respective country's position in regard
to the government center, that is, Kyoto.
In the same way, Chikuzen and Chikugo
are respectively the 'front' and 'back' of
Tsukushi in northern Kyūshū, *chiku* being
the equivalent of *tsuku*. Again, the district
including the current Fukui, Toyama and
Niigata prefectures was known of old as
Koshi-no-kuni. *Koshi* means to pass, the
Chinese word for it being *etsu*. Hence the
middle province was known as Etschū (cen-
tral Etsu), the others as Echizen (front
Etsu) and Echigo (back Etsu) respectively.

Likewise, the region that is now Chiba
Prefecture was once known in the old ages
as Fusanokuni, which becoming divided
into two, came to be known as Kami-fusa
and Shimo-fusa (Upper and Lower Fusa),
these names later yet being corrupted to
form Kazusa and Shimō-sa. The district
near Takasaki and Utsunomiya was called
Kenunokuni; from this was created Kami-
tsuke and Shimotsuke, or upper and lower
Ke. The region near Sakata and Akita
was known as Uzen and Ugo, or 'front U'
and 'back U'. 'U' meant 'wings', and is the
phonetic sound of the Chinese character
which is read as 'wa' in the province-name
of Dewa-no-kuni.

The northeastern tip of Honshū was
known as Michino-oku, or 'land's end'. This
name is the origin of the later name of
Mutsu referring to the territory around
Aomori City, and meaning *michi* i.e. 'land'.
From this arose the names of Riku-zen and
Riku-chū (front Riku and central Riku,
with Riku being another word similarly
meaning land and written with the same
Chinese characters as *michi*). Instead of
Riku-go (back Riku) the words *Riku-oku*

or 'inner Riku' were used, and the two characters for *Riku-oku* came to be read as the afore-mentioned Mutsu.

Kantō and Kansai referred to regions respectively 'close to Tokyo' and 'close to Kyoto', meaning literally 'east of the barrier' and 'west of the barrier'. The barrier or guard-stations in this case may be considered to refer to those of Hakone and Fuwa.

When Edo was renamed Tokyo (east capital), some people came to refer to Kyoto as Saikyo (west capital), the latter, however, a now almost entirely forgotten appellation, while the name of Chūkyō (cen-

tral capital) for Nagoya is retained only as a name of one of its newspapers.

As the region-names of Tōhoku (north-east) and Seinan (southwest) refer respectively to the northeast and southwest regions of Japan, so Chūbu (central) refers to the central part of Japan. But in the case of the name Chūbu Sangaku (Central Mountain Range) applied to the Japan Alps National Park, this is a misnomer from the standpoint of geographical accuracy; the name may be considered as a 'memento' left over from World War II days, when the former name of 'Japan Alps' became tabu, being in English.

Rites of Passage

Various rites are performed at important points in the life of a Japanese—when he is born, brought up, become an adult, grows old and dies. These rites are called rites of passage.

There are two kinds those which are performed mainly at home, such as those to mark birthdays, attainment of adulthood, marriages, annual celebrations, deaths, etc. and those which are performed communally, such as the ceremonies for joining youth-groups.

In each case, it is characteristic of the manners of Japan that most are public ceremonies aimed at including whole villages rather than merely rites observed in individual homes. For instance, the rites at birth mean not only blessing by the parents or families, but also generally serve to announce the newly born baby's entrance into the village society. Wedding ceremonies mean not only the marriage of a man and a woman, but announces their marriage to the public in order to obtain its recognition of their marriage. It might be said that the rites of passage are expressions of the consciousness of public co-operation.

Although the land is narrow, the geographical distance from the southern to the northern end of Japan is very long, and the topography remarkably complicated. The history of the land is also long. The state of culture in the cities is very different from that of the country. In rural dis-

tricts, there are farming villages, mountain-villages and fishing villages, each of which have their own characteristics.

It is the same in the case of rites of passage. While in Tokyo, Osaka and other modern cities, children are born in hospitals with modern equipment, in many remote villages of mountain-districts or isolated islands, there are no doctors or midwives, and babies are delivered by the old women of the neighborhood. It is natural, therefore, that a wide difference exists between the birth-rites as performed in the cities and in the villages.

It is difficult to explain the different variations of the rites but an attempt to explain them will be made by taking up the customs in the cities, most of which are considered to have been prevalent since the Edo Age, with those of the rural areas, which still retain antique, and sometimes even rather primitive features.

Birth

Manners and Customs of Birth and Nurse

In cities, births are now considered to be private family matters. Relatives, acquaintances and neighbors still give presents or make visits to offer their blessings but the rites in which they join have gradually disappeared. In many rural districts, however, births are not only the concern of the family and kin but also of

the whole village. There are some fishing villages where, when villagers hear of a birth at some home they stop working for a few days in morning as child-birth is regarded as something dirty, though it is also a happy occasion. In many villages, rites are performed at which assurances are given that the newly-born child is a member of the family, village or community, so as to promote the integration of the child into the community.

It seems that in the olden days, women gave birth in a sitting, posture though such a custom is now hardly found. It is said that the women learned upon heaped bundles of straw. After delivery, the straw was taken off gradually, and it took a week to remove the heap. Sometimes they did not give birth at home, but at the common birth house in the village. This was done in order that the house might be free from the impurity associated with birth. The women returned home as soon as the period of seclusion to cleanse themselves of the impurity of birth was over. The brief in the impurity of birth has had considerable credence in Japan. It is not clear how it originated.

Originally, it seems that delivery was generally conducted in the mother's home. Even today in some districts the women proceed to their parent's house when the time for childbirth nears.

Cities have maternity hospitals and qualified midwives. In some rural districts and isolated islands, however, there are no such qualified midwives, and experienced women assist in the delivery.

Josanpu (midwife) was called *samba* (midwife) in olden days. Sometimes she was called *toriage-baasan* or *hikiage-baasan*. The words *toriage* and *hikiage* are said to mean "To take up a person from the world of souls into that of men".

In olden days newly-born babies were not considered as human and were recognized only after certain prescribed rites. Because of this belief, baby-killing was not considered a serious crime in old Japan. In some districts, instead of the word, *korosu* (to kill) the words, *kaesu* or *modosu* (to send back) meaning "to send back

the baby to the world of souls, instead of taking it into the world of men" was used to describe infanticide.

Before midwifery became a profession, midwives used to be respected as the second mother, the mother of duty. In some districts, until the child attained its fifth or seventh year, she was given presents at *shōgatsu* and *bon*. She was also invited to the wedding of the child and the child would attend her funeral. Thus the relationship between the child and the midwife was very close.

Not only midwives, but also wet nurses were treated respectfully. Moreover, relations similar to that between a child and its parents-in-law is still sometimes found between the child and the nurse's parents.

In Niijima of the Izu Islands, there is a custom of girls, rich or poor, becoming baby-sitters and entering into fraternal relations with the babies. When the child becomes an adult the nurses' parents sometimes take part in the consultation about his (or her) marriage.

The custom of having god-parents is more widespread. People used to ask some influential person in the neighborhood to give a name to a newly-born baby and to become its parent of duty.

In the age of *bushi* the time of naming was generally postponed till the ceremony to celebrate the attainment of adulthood and the youth was often given his name by the "Eboshi-parent", who gave him on *eboshi* hat at the ceremony.

Some learned men say that the custom to take parents of duty from the outside is not very old. Even at present, there are many rural districts where such a custom is still followed.

It seems queer to foreigners that the Japanese carry their babies on their back. Edward S. Morse, who came to Japan and observed the customs wondered, saying: "It is seen everywhere in Japan that people carry their child on their back. It is a striking sight that four ladies out of five, or five daughters out of six carry a baby on their back". (Morse: "Japan, Day by Day") In cities of today, increasing number of women carry their baby in a perambulator

or in their arms, but the number is still less than that of those who carry it on their back.

There is another queer sight which cannot be seen in cities. In some farming villages babies are nursed in cylindrical strawbaskets called *ejiko* or *izumi*. In Akita Prefecture, wooden baskets are also used. Some straw and cloth is placed in the bottom and babies are placed on it.

Nursery-songs are found in every province. The theme of Japanese of nursery-songs generally is that the nurse returns to her native country and comes back with some souvenir for the baby. It is said that this is due to the fact that the farming-villages were short-handed and employed nurses from other parts of the country.

Law concerning birth—cf. Name of Men, Name of Places

Rites Concerning Birth and Nurse

Rites till birth. The rites of Birth and Nurse begin with the celebration of pregnancy. In some districts, though now rarely found, when pregnancy is known, relatives and neighbors invite the wife and husband and their parents and entertain them with dinner, and *mochi* (rice-cakes) or fish from the wife's native village are sometimes presented. Also when women are in the fifth or seventh month of pregnancy they wear a cotton abdomend-band called *Iwata-obi*. When she begins to wear it, her relatives and acquaintances are customarily presented rice-cakes or invited to dinner. This is performed especially at the first birth. This band is usually presented from the woman's house. At present, however, many women generally buy it at the shrine where they worship for easy birth.

When birth is near, the woman generally enters a birth-house or a hospital, or sends for a midwife. In former days she used a birth-hut called *ubuya*. Old legends mention that a special hut was built for birth. Traces of such custom are still found. Even today, in Niigata Prefecture giving birth is called "to build a birthhut".

However, at present, even in villages where the custom still remains the common birth-house of the village is generally used. In Ibuki Island of Kagawa Prefecture the

village maintains a public birth-house furnished with modern equipment. In such a birth-house the woman remains until she is considered cleansed of the impurity of birth. During this period the woman lives entirely apart from the family.

But the god of birth called *Ubugami* was considered to have nothing to do with the impurity of birth and was generally enshrined in birth-houses to protect the mother and baby.

In some districts when a woman is in the birth-month, her relatives and neighbors gather and hold a *sake* party. In cities, however, the custom is now hardly found.

Rites during the one year after birth. The rite most common during the one year after birth is that of the *ozen* (meal-table) with a bowl full of boiled rice placed near the pillow of the new-born babe. In some districts a stone is sometimes placed with it, so that the babe's head may be as solid as the stone.

The custom of *ubu-meshi* or *san-no-meshi* (birth-rice) is quite similar to the custom where some rice is placed near the head of a dead man. In any case, it is believed that the custom means that the range of impurity should be limited to those who eat the same rice. In many districts it is believed that, when *ubu-meshi* is eaten by many, the baby will rise in the world, or that *ubu-meshi* is the offering for both the babe and the god of birth. Especially, the stone placed with the *ubu-meshi* is considered as the holy body of *ubu-gami* in some districts.

As was briefly described, women in some districts used to give birth leaning upon heaped bundles of straw and holding on to a rope hanging from the ceiling, and after the birth the bundles were taken off, one each day. In some places a congratulatory party was held when all the bundles were taken off.

As to the disposal of the placenta, customs vary according to places. In Kyoto, the *ena* (placenta) of the son of aristocrats, especially princes, were buried in a mound called *ena-zuka*. The belief that those who went to bury the placenta should come back smiling is found in medieval records. The custom is still found in the Okinawa Islands.

Besides, the custom for the father of the newly born baby to step over the buried placenta first is widely found as it is believed that the baby fears the first animal which steps over the buried placenta. In some districts, the navel-string is buried together with the placenta, while in other district, it is preserved until it is buried when he is dead.

In some districts the mother does not suckle the baby for several days after birth, but ask someone else to do so. In such a case the woman who suckled the baby is called, *chichi-oya*, whom the baby will serve as a parent of duty. The baby and the woman enter into "milk-relationship". Such duty-relationships are also found between the baby and the midwife, the baby and the nurse's parents, and others. When a baby is weak, the parents, pretend to throw it away for the time being, and some one takes it up. The one who does so is called *hiroi-oya* (takeup parent) and enters into duty-relationship with the baby. Sometimes those who have no blood relationship with the baby are requested to become its parents of duty. This custom seems peculiar to Japan. The custom may be due to the fact that the parents seek to choose some one of power who will look after the babe's happiness.

On the third day after birth, the babe is clothed for the first time in a sleeved garment. In many homes dresses which can be used for both sexes are prepared before the birth. But formerly such a custom did not exist and only a dress without sleeves, called, *okurumi* which looks like *futon* (cotton covered with cloth) with a collar, was prepared. On the third day after birth, the *okurumi* was first changed for the dress with sleeves.

On the third day the rite of dressing or taking *sekihan* (rice colored with red beans) was generally held, while in some districts such rites were held on the fifth day after birth.

The rite after birth which is most widely held is that which is performed on the 7th day. It is called *shichiya* (7th night) or *nazuke no iwai* (celebration of naming). It is celebrated in accordance with the wealth of each house. The baby should be

named by this day. The name is written on a sheet of paper, which is placed near the pillow of the babe, or presented to relatives and neighbors with a couple of red and white *mochi* (rice-cakes). At some houses the infant is taken out of the house for the first time on this day. There are districts where these customs are held after more than a month has passed. In many districts, when the baby is first taken outdoors, it is sometimes marked with the sign 大, 犬, or X, with soot from a pan or with red or white powder. The original form was to use soot. It is said to have been done to ask the god of fire for protection.

A hundred days after birth the babe is taken to a shrine for worship. The shrine is principally that which is closely related with the village or the area.

On the first birthday of the baby, colored rice with red beans or rice-cake is prepared. On this day, various tools, such as *kama* (sickle), a hammer, a *soroban* (abacus) *fude* (writing brush) and others are placed in the way of the creeping babe. Through the infant's preference for any one of these articles, his future can be told. For example, through the choice of *soroban* (abacus), it is judged that he will become a merchant, and through that of *kama*, a farmer. Such fortune-telling is popular in rural districts. Also rice-cakes are presented to relatives and neighbors. Some districts have a custom of making the child bear on its back some rice-cakes.

Life of children

The life of Japanese children has changed greatly within a short time. The parent's affection to their children remains the same but in old Japan an infants' life was quite unstable. The death-rate of suckling babies was considerably high even in the Meiji and Taishō ages so that in olden days it can be supposed to have been much higher. In Japan there is a common saying, "Before seven years old, the child belongs to god". During this period, children were taught hardly any manners, and when they died, the method of burying their bodies and the places of their tombs were different from those of adults. Many *maji-*

nai (spells) for children were utilized to counter the instability of their soul. There are instances where Japanese in ancient days thought that the souls of children sometimes left their bodies.

Japanese children are no exception in imitating the life of adults. Especially in Japan, many serious religious rites which were performed by adults in olden times have become children's pastimes today. For instance *Hinamatsuri*, (festival of *hina*-dolls) on the 3rd of March, was a religious event which was performed by adults. Besides annual events, there are many games or toys of children, which originally belonged to adults. The *kodomo-gumi*, group of boys and girls, is an imitation of their brothers' *wakamono-gumi* (youth group) in form and system. As for the education of children, they were educated and disciplined according to the principle that they were members of the village or community.

Such beliefs about children, the groups of boys and girls, and their education were completely changed since primary education became compulsory in the early period of the Meiji Era, when school-life came to occupy the major part of their daily life.

Rites till ceremony of adulthood. The ceremony to mark the coming of age was considered to be so important that it was called "The Second Birth". Before this ceremony the youths had experienced several rites.

As to the rite performed on the first birthday, a description has already been given. The next rite in importance was that of *kamitoki* (hair-shaving). It was the custom to completely shave the head of seven-year-old boys, as in the ages before the Meiji Era all the Japanese had their long hair bound in a knot. The rite was widely observed in the districts of Kinki, Shikoku, and Kantō. It has been abolished since the Meiji Era, but originally the ceremony was often performed together with religious rites. It is significant that the people emphasized the age of seven because they first recognized the differentiation of sex at this age. It was the rite recognized as preparation for the ceremony of coming

of age which was considered to qualify a person for marriage. At this time the aunt presented a *fundoshi* (a loin cloth) to boys, and an apron or *koshimaki* (a cloth to cover women's waist) to girls.

The rite was not always performed at the age of seven, but in some districts at five or eight. In some places it was much later, even at the age of thirteen.

Boys and girls have come to wear pants today, and the above rite is hardly observed now.

This rite has given way to the celebration of seven, five and three years of age, (*Shichi-go-san*) which is widely performed today. It is the custom to take boys and girls of seven, five and three years to the shrine to worship. This event was formerly practised mainly in the Kantō District, but at present it is observed all over the country. On November 15, the children are taken to the shrine by their parents, and candies named *chitose-ame* are bought and given to them. After returning home, the candies are generally presented to their relatives and neighbors. Some girls are clad very beautifully in the old style, with their faces painted or powdered. Some boys wear the old style *montsuki* and *hakama*, while many boys are clad in Western clothes.

The fact that the ages of the children who join the event are always seven, five and three years is derived from the Chinese idea that odd numbers are so called *yō* numbers (positive ones). However, according to a certain local folklore the ages of seven, five and three are not always indispensable to this rite. The reason why the age of seven was particularly emphasized has already been described. The custom of introducing seven year-old children to the *ujiko* group (clients of a shrine) through worship at the shrine still remains even in districts where the rite of seven, five, and three is not performed. In short, it can be said that through this rite the infant was first recognized as an individual in human society. The act of presenting *chitose-ame* to relatives and neighbors after the worship at shrines was considered to mean that the right of existence of the infant was re-

cognized by the god and by the community to which it belonged. Through this rite, the child is recognized as a member of the community, though it is not yet an adult.

In Kyoto, the rite of the seven, five and three years was not formerly observed. Instead, infants visited *kokuzō-san* to the west of Kyoto for wisdom. The date of the rite was not fixed. In some places the age of thirteen was considered important, and in many districts thirteen-year-old boys were presented *fundoshi*, and girls of the same age *koshimaki*. The meaning of this rite has already been described. In the society of aristocrats, however, the ceremony to celebrate the coming of age was performed before the children were physically mature enough to lead a matrimonial life. Imitating the custom, in some places the rite came to be performed when they were younger than thirteen—for instance, at the age of seven. At present, the custom of presenting something to relatives or friends on their children's entrance to primary school or secondary school is becoming popular.

Kodomo-gumi. In most villages there still are children grouped according to age, though such groups are rarely found in cities. The most popular and influential among them is *wakamono-gumi* or group of youths. *Kodomo-gumi* which consists of boys from seven to fifteen years of age, is organized under *wakamono-gumi*. It is called, *kodomo-ren*, *onbe-nakana*, *koya-nakama*, etc. The members are usually playmates. During annual events and festivals they work together. Usually *kodomo-gumi* are organized by each village. The main difference from Boy Scouts is that the boys of certain age join the group in their community without exception. The boys who attain a certain age usually join the group at *shōgatsu* or certain festivals. It is called, *kodomo-iri*.

The oldest of the group is called, *kashira*, *taishō* or *oyakata*, and he commands absolute obedience. Those next in age are called *kogashira* or *niban-taishō*. The ranking of the members and their duties are determined according to their age, the newer a member, the weaker his voice in the

group. These points are imitation of *wakamono-gumi*, which usually takes care of *kodomo-gumi*. Donations are usually collected from each family by the group. Formerly, street campaigns were carried out for donations, but since such a practice is not conducive to discipline and education it has gradually died out.

The activities of boys and girls differ according to districts, and such variations are found especially during *shōgatsu* (the month of the new year, i.e. January) and *bon* (which comes in July). Especially in *shōgatsu*, boys gather *shime-kazari* (gate-decorations) from the houses to make a bonfire. Almost all over Japan this ceremony is observed by *kodomo-gumi*. Some *kodomo-gumi* of girls make an outdoor *kamado* (oven) and hold a picnic in March or July.

Besides these, *kodomo-gumi* are active on many other occasions as the festival of *Saino-kami* (festival for the god of borderline), *mogura-uchi*, *hatsuumi* in February, *hina-matsuri* in March, *tango-no-sekku* in May, *tanabata* on July 7th, *jizōbon*, *tōkan-ya* in October, *inoko* and *yamanokami-matsuri* (festival of mountain god) in November. These were originally religious events performed by adults, but their meaning, in course of time, become forgotten and most of the rites survive only as the children's pastimes.

Life of youths

In pre-Meiji Japan, youths were considered to be the core of the communities. *Wakamono-gumi*, the youth associations, were organized not only in village-communities, but also in cities. Joining a youth association meant that the youth had attained majority and was qualified for married life.

The festivals of *ujigami*, the center of spiritual life of the villages, and other such ceremonies were occasions when these associations were particularly active. In daily life also, the youths worked hard, using their cooperative energy in police work, fire protection, and rescue work. Hence, the youths had a strong voice in village life.

With the establishment of police and fire brigade systems in the Meiji Era, *wakamono-gumi* gradually lost their authority and became merely instruments of bureaucratic control. So the authority of the chief of the family was strengthened with the establishment of the family-system.

However, though the youths were deprived of their power as a group in the Meiji Era, as individuals, they obtained opportunities to rise in the world, provided they had the necessary ability. The spread of education also contributed much toward converting the youths from groups to individuals.

But before the War, education and military life were not exactly conducive to individualism for the mates in school and military life formed groups similar to *wakamono-gumi*.

Things have changed since the War. In schools, co-education has been adopted. The combination of the same sexes as a group is hardly possible. The dissolution of *wakamono-gumi*, spread of co-education and the abolition of conscription have created a revolution in the life of Japanese youths.

The entrance into *wakamono-gumi* and *gempuku* in former days and the examination for enlistment in later days marked the transition from boyhood to youth, in short, the attainment of majority. Since the War, January 15th has become the "Day of Attainment of Majority", and is a national holiday. Many cities, towns and villages sponsor ceremonies to celebrate the day.

However, the border-line between adulthood and childhood has become obscured. In civil law, men and women who are twenty years old are recognized as adults. Suffrage is given at this time. In criminal law, however, fourteen years is the age of responsibility, and those older than this age are held responsible for their actions.

Wakamono gumi. *Wakamono-gumi* was the group of young men organized in each village. They were succeeded by the *seinen-dan* (young men's association) during the Meiji Era. They are still found in many places under the name of *seinen-kai* (Young Men's Association) or *seinen bunkai* (Cultural Association of Young Men).

Originally certain age groups of a village belonged to them and they were very active in organizing festivals and marriages. In these points they were very different from those of the present day. Besides *wakamono-gumi*, such names as *wakaishū-gumi*, *wakarenjū*, or *wakajū* were used in some districts. In short, they meant "the assembly of young men". In some places, they were called according to their main activities as *hijōban*, *shōbō*, or *miyamori*.

The age at which young people joined *wakamono-gumi* varied according to the place. In most cases the youths joined when they were fifteen years or so, and left it as soon as they were married. All bachelors of these ages, used to join, with some rare exceptions, such as the sons of the upper class families or the eldest sons. Even after the Meiji Era, sometimes, those who attended middle schools were not admitted.

Joining the *wakamono-gumi* meant the attainment of majority, because the villagers then recognized the youth as an adult. Some *wakamono-gumi* maintained lodging-houses, where only members were admitted. In Izu Peninsula and in some fishing villages in the southern part of Kyūshū some lodging-houses, called "Meeting Hall of Youths", which are quite similar to the former *wakamono yado*, are still found.

There were two kinds of lodging-houses: those in which youths could lodge permanently through the year and those in which they could lodge only temporarily. Some of them were built specially for the purpose, only while others were rented from influential people.

In daytime the youths worked at home, and after supper they visited the *yado* and engaged themselves in making strawmats etc. in farming-villages and repair of nets in fishing-villages. Sometimes they used to play *chikara-kurabe*, games of strength.

Thus, they enjoyed their own world, quite independent of their homes. Sometimes they talked about the kind of woman they would like to marry. Thus, their views of women were formed in such places.

The one who supervised the life in the lodging house was usually the oldest of the members, but in some places the most

popular youth was asked to supervise it. Such a person was called, *yado-oya*. The *yado-oya* not only supervised life in the lodging-houses, but also advised the youths on marriage-problems, and various other questions.

Wakamono-gumi were active in firefighting and rescue of wrecked vessels. The most important of their activities was, however, the organization of festivals. This work has been inherited to the present time, and the *mikoshi* of the village is mostly carried by youths of the village. In many villages various amusements are managed by the *wakamono-gumi* and the "youth association", which has succeeded it. In many places the games and matches accompanying festivals are performed by youths and children, as it was believed that these games were a form of discipline.

In the games of Japan, we find many which are accompanied by considerable physical pain. People believed that only through such pain could men become culturally accomplished. Some scholars consider that people believed that if men died before they were so trained their spirits would find no repose.

Service in making arrangements for and carrying out festivals was a great public duty of *wakamono-gumi*, while to help in matrimonial affairs of the youths of the village was a great private duty.

In olden days, marriages were, as a rule, made among residents of the same village. Hence, in most cases both parties were well-known to each other and matches were by mutual consent. So it was the duty of the senior members of *wakamono-gumi* to obtain the consent of the parents.

If the parents objected to the marriage, or the wedding ceremony could not be arranged due to economic reasons, some *wakamono-gumi* even abducted the woman. From the viewpoint of mere form, it could almost be called "cave-man marriage".

The *wakamono-gumi* was also the organization for sexual education. Generally, father and mother did not talk over sexual affairs before their sons and daughters and so such matters were taught by the uncle, aunt, or the seniors of the *wakamono-gumi*.

The *seinen-dan* or *seinen-kai* (the group of youth or young men's association) of recent times is quite powerless in marriage affairs. In this point they are very different from their counterparts of olden days. Another point of difference is the system of ranks. In the old system, the leader, called *wakamono-gashira*, was selected, and under the leader the members were classified into several groups. The lower echelons were absolutely obedient to the upper just as in the military forces.

Those who disobeyed or besmirched the honor of *wakamono-gumi* were suspended or expelled from the group. Since it was a severe penalty for a youth to be disbarred from intercourse with other youths, sometimes a letter of apology was sent to the group or a mediator visited the group in his behalf to tender an apology. The youth was then pardoned, and could return to the group.

The management of *wakamono-gumi* was generally carried on by voluntary contributions, or, in some villages, the income obtained from the woods or fields belonging to the village. For instance, in some fishing villages, the members of *wakamono-gumi* worked on holidays, and the income was used to pay the expenses of *wakamono-gumi*.

Toward 1915, youth groups were re-established, and they grew to become *Dainihon Rengō Seinen-dan* (The Union of Japanese Youth Associations). After the War it was abolished. Now, only voluntarily organized groups are found here and there in various forms. Besides these, the Y.M.C.A. was established in Tokyo in 1880.

Musume-gumi. While young men formed *wakamono-gumi*, the girls banded to create *musume-gumi* or *musume-nakama* or *onago-wakaishu*, which are still found along the western coasts of Japan. They joined it at the age of 12 at the earliest, but usually at 15 or 16 and left it when they married. They differed from the association of young women of today in that they had their own lodgings, and enjoyed certain independence in matters concerning marriage. In this point they resembled the *wakamono-gumi*.

Of the lodging houses, there were two kinds: one where all gathered together, and several lodging houses where a few girls assembled. Some of them were mere meeting halls. They used to visit there after supper to spend the night in spinning. Especially at *bon* festival in July or *hinamatsuri* on March 3, they would assemble for dinner parties.

In *musume-gumi* there were no such strict rules, as in *wakamono-gumi*. But, naturally, the earlier one joined, the stronger her voice. Sometimes, some older woman was elected as the leader of the body or the lodging house, but she did not possess such powerful rights as in *wakamono-gumi*. Sometimes, some influential member of the village was requested to be *yado-oya*. Being the same as the case of *wakamono-yado*, he was not so much the supervisor of the lodging house, as an adviser. In marriage affairs, he worked as the mediator.

When people were married, they generally left the lodging-house. When their parents would not give them a house, they used to spend the night at the lodging house, in some districts. Before the Meiji Era, there were some lodging houses where men and women could live together.

As people came to search for spouses from distant places and marriages of inhabitants of the same village decreased in number, *musume-gumi* gradually lost ground. In some houses, it was considered a matter of pride that their daughters were married to men from distant provinces. The daughters of such houses did not join *musume-gumi*.

From this viewpoint it can be said that *musume-gumi* was an organization to enable girls to select a mate without the interference of the master of a house. After the autumn harvest, youths used to be invited to *musume-yado* in the same villages. Partners were often selected at these meetings. Joining *musume-gumi* and visiting there, accordingly, meant qualification for marriage.

Celebration of coming of age. Ceremonies for celebration of coming of age are found in almost all races. In Japan they have existed since olden days. In aristocra-

tic society, throughout the ages of Nara and Heian, boys of 12 at the earliest, and those of 15 at the latest, celebrated the attainment of their majority, called *gempuku*. At this time their name was changed from an infant's name to a regular one. In the age of Edo, the custom spread even among the common people, to say nothing of *bushi*, and the change of hair style and name became widespread. The custom was called; *gempuku* or *eboshi-iwai* among common people. *Eboshi* was a kind of hat, which was worn for the first time after the ceremony for coming of age, and afterwards the ceremony itself came to be named *eboshi-iwai*. To crown the youth with *eboshi* was the duty of *eboshi-oya*, father of duty.

Coming of age meant qualification for marriage. In Okinawa, on the night of *gempuku* at the age of 13, the boy used to be made to visit a prostitute, known as *Zuri*. In Nagasaki and some other prefectures after joining *wakamono-gumi*, boys were permitted to visit a *musume-yado*. In many instances the ceremonies held at the time of participation in *wakamono-gumi* were the same as the ceremony for celebration of coming of age.

At the ceremony of joining *wakamono-gumi*, *wakamono-iri*, various tests were applied. In some places, youths were ordered to carry a big stone called, *chikara-ishi*, or to cultivate the field of a certain area. In some places they were hanged till they fainted.

The ceremony was held according to age; sometimes it was held at the time of first menstruation. Even today, it is often celebrated by eating colored rice. In olden days it was customary to blacken the teeth or shave off the eyebrows. Before the Ministry of Home Affairs announced in March, 1873, that the Empress Dowager and Empress had given up the custom, Japanese women generally blackened their teeth.

Concerning marriage

Japanese marriages observed from the viewpoint of folklore, reveal that the sphere of selection of spouses has been expanded

and changed from marriages among inhabitants of the same village to marriages among those from different villages, and from marriages in which the husband joins the wife's house to those in which the wife enters the husband's house.

Compared with the present villages, those in olden days were independent economically, socially and politically, and so people had necessarily to obtain spouses in the same village. Some scholars are, however, of the opinion that the god of the village was believed to dislike the girls of the village to go out to be married.

But the real cause of the change is more complex. Formerly, marriages were desired between houses of equal rank. The custom became more general in the age of *Buke*, till at last even the farmers adopted it.

In intra-village marriages, love was the primary factor. In the case of marriages among those from different villages, marriage began with negotiations between heads of both houses. Then after mutual interview by the young people or even without it, marriage was concluded, and immediately after that, the wife or the husband moved to the spouse's house.

In case of marriage among those of the same village, their families, to say nothing of the principals, were acquainted with each other, and so magnificent ceremonies were not necessary. They had only to exchange *sake* cups as a sign that he or she would become a member of the other's family.

However, in case of marriages among inhabitants of different villages, the preparations were truly gorgeous, and the ceremony magnificent. In this case the parents and relatives of both parties were invited.

When it became customary to seek a spouse from distant parts the custom of *guinō* as evidence to show that the marriage offer was sincere, became necessary. The custom was to present, together with wine and fish, some money to prepare for marriage, from a man to a woman, and some money for *hakamadaï* from a woman to a man.

Mode of love and marriage. Marriage was generally based on love among the Japa-

nese in olden days. Young men and women were blessed with freedom to select their spouse in marriage. The *Kojiki* in which Japanese myths and old Japanese history are recorded and the *Manyōshū*, collection of old verses, are filled with love stories and love verses. The fact that love was negated and considered as a sin, is attributed to the belief among *buke* that selection of the spouse by a girl was unvirtuous and that marriage should be decided according to the house master's will.

In the aristocratic society of the Heian Age, the expression of one's love to other through verse was widespread. It is told that in the Ōu District, a man placed a colored stick, one foot in length, in front of a woman's house, and if a woman consented, she took the stick into the house. The custom that, a man would give a slipper to a woman, and if she consents, she would receive it, are still found in some districts. Such presents became proof of the man's love in case the man gave her up after she gave birth to a baby. Through these customs we find a form in the love affairs of common people of ancient days.

In farming villages of Okinawa, single men and women used to sit on the grass on a hill in the outskirts of a village, and sing and dance accompanied by *shamisen* till midnight, and then go to sleep with each other in a hut—this system was called *moasobi*.

The *hakoirimusume* who were brought up in the homes of aristocrats, *buke*, great farmers, and rich people in cities were married to those whom the parents selected. Since marriages between those of the same village gave way to marriages with people from distant parts, similar customs came to be found commonly among people, and was considered virtuous conduct. Through mere exchange of photographs, some woman used to go as far as South America to marry emigrants. Since World War II however, liberal love affairs have reappeared.

For youths who were not blessed with opportunities for social intercourse, a professor of a university is said to have given dance-parties for single young men and wo-

men. It is since the war, that marriage consultant offices have appeared in cities.

It is also since the war that dating between young men and women in daytime has become popular. In *kabuki* plays there are many scenes where lovers run away arm-in-arm called *michiyuki*.

Marriage style. In olden times when each other's will was understood between a man and woman, he used to visit her. In the famous work, *Genji-monogatari*, Hikaru Genji, hero of the story, calls upon a woman. It shows that in the aristocrats' society of the Heian Age, marriage life was lead in the wife's house.

Even at present, in some places a man visits a woman who has attained her majority. Thus marriage begins practically. And afterwards through the consent of the both houses and a simple ceremony at the wife's house, the marriage becomes a reality. Then after some time the wife moves to the husband's house. Such marriage is called *mukoiri-kon*. It is the older style of marriage. It means, in short, that married life is lead in the wife's house for a while. It is characteristic that even after marriage the wife's labor is offered for a while to the house where she was born. In such cases matrimonial rites are seldom held, but the new husband and his parents-in-law offer the *sake* cup to each other to show that they have now entered into the relation of father and son.

In some villages of Tōhoku District, the custom still remains where, after spending three or five years at the wife's house, the husband leaves the house with his wife,—so called *nenki-muko*.

On the contrary, in cities the custom of *yomeiri-kon* (marriage in which the wife joins the husbands' house), in which married life is carried on in the husbands' house from the beginning, is generally observed. Some of them begin with mutual love, while in other cases, the match is decided by the parents. Sometimes the marriage was performed merely through an interview with each other, called *miai*, or even not without it. For a while, the wife stays at her own house, which custom is called *satogaeri*. Because the wife should

remove to her husband's house immediately after marriage, necessary furniture, such as, *tansu* (closet), *nagamochi* (dress-case), *getabako* (*geta*-case), *tarai* (wooden tub for washing), etc., and many dresses are carried to the husband's house with her at the same time. And so *yomeiri* procession were often seen.

Of course, in poor houses, girls used to be married with only a single dress. In high society or rich houses, however, they were proud of the many dresses and much furniture. In olden times the bride was followed by *tansu* filled with many dresses, *nagamochi* filled with newly made *futon*, and workers who carried the baggage as she proceeded from her own house to the husband's house. Even now when *hanayome* proceeds by motor car, the sight of filled trucks following the bride is often seen. As to the rites in the case of *yomeiri-kon* descriptions will be made in detail afterwards. The prominent characteristic of *yomeiri-kon* is that the celebration of marriage is performed at the husband's house, and married life is lead at the husband's house.

Besides these, in Hachijō Island there is a custom of *ashiire-kon*, in which the celebration is held at the husband's house, but married life is lead at the bride's house for a certain period. Recently in cities, married life is often lead neither at the husband's house nor at the wife's, but separately.

In this case the celebration is generally held under the auspices of both houses. Such celebrations have increased of late, even if the marriage is *yomeiri-kon*.

The system of match-makers is peculiar to Japan. The word, *nakōdo* (match-maker) means "one between both houses". They are, in short, those who lead the affair to success, and are responsible for the future of the couple. Generally a wife-and-husband team serves as match-makers a system that developed since marriages between distant people became common. In marriages between those of the same village the young men and women were of an independent spirit, and their match-makers were once their mates in the *wakamono*-

nakama. And the parents of both sides had only to consent to their request. Together with the development of the family-system and at the same time with the lowering of the influence of the age-group, match-makers of influence were required to persuade the parents. Besides, through marriages with outsiders match-makers came to be considered as necessary, till they came to be charged with very important duties.

Announcement parties have become more and more frequent since the Meiji Era and famous people were requested to be match-makers just for that occasion. It is said that such persons, beginning a table speech, could not remember the names of the new husband and bride.

After the marriage, the match-makers are generally rewarded. In some places they are visited by the couple in January and at festival times.

Match-makers set the tempo for a matrimonial ceremony, the man acting as the new husband's helper and his wife as that of the bride. The day of the ceremony is most important to the match-makers, but before the rite they must arrange an interview between both parties and settle the *yuinō* (contract of matrimony).

In rural areas, the man is often taken to the woman's house, but in cities the interview is often held in restaurants or theatres.

When both houses give their consent after the interview, the match-maker visits the bride's house on behalf of the family of the groom, and generally makes a present of *sake*. It is generally called, *katame-no-sake* (Wine to make the contract firm).

Next is *yuinō*. Originally the groom visited the bride with wine and fish and took dinner together. Later, this became the match-maker's duty, and the offerings changed to dresses or money. The bride generally returns to the family of the groom half of what she received. This is called *yuino gaeshi*.

Matrimonial ceremonies (rites of marriage.) There are many kinds of matrimonial ceremonies. In the case of *mukoi-iri-kon*, the ceremony is simple. Sometimes, with only an exchange of *sake* cups

the ceremony is finished. In some districts, in the case of *yomeiri-kon*, the groom hides himself during the ceremony and the ceremony is observed only by the parents. In marriages between those of the same village, the man and woman having been intimate with each other, they need not see each other, and the new wife, and the family of the husband only take dinner together. In such district as Tsushima, Izu Oshima, etc., brides do not wear *haregi*, but an ordinary dress when she goes to her husband's house.

Thus, the ceremonies are widely different according to districts. The following is the used procedure for marriage which prevails in Japan today.

On the day of marriage, the husband visits the bride's house accompanied, in many districts, by the match-maker. It is called *yomemukae* or *asamuko-iri* and a *sake* party is held there. In some places only the husband returns, leaving the match-maker at the bride's house. There is a theory that in the age of *yomeiri-kon*, before the removal of the bride, *mukui-iri* was made, leaving the trace of *mukoi-iri-kon*.

On the very day or preceding day of *yomeiri*, a farewell meeting is generally held for the bride and relatives and intimate friends gather together just before the brides' departure, she worships before the family altar, and exchanges *sake* cups with the family. In some places, just when the bride leaves her own house, people break the cups and bowls which she had used, or make a bonfire at the gate. It is similar to the custom which is observed after seeing off the corpse at funeral ceremonies. It is a kind of spell, to prohibit return. As for *yomeiri-dōgu* (furniture for marriage), they are few in number in the case of marriage between those of the same village. Besides, even after marriage the furniture is kept at the brides' house in some places. In the case of marriage between those of remote places *yomeiri-dōgu* are generally many in number. In some districts, the more the furniture, the prouder they are. Brides are often seen off in a procession with plenty of furniture.

The procession proceeds with the bride riding a *jinrikisha*, or motor car in cities, and in a *koshi* or on a horse in the country. Generally they stop for rest somewhere along the way. It is said that because the bride from another village found it necessary to make an influential man of the village for her own *oyakata*, she spent the night at his house.

As soon as the bride reaches the husband's house, she steps on the *zashiki* immediately in cities. In the countryside, however, she enters the house generally through the ground-floor or the kitchen. In many districts, there is a custom to drink a *sake* cup of water at the doorway. In some places, the bride steps over a fire burning at the entrance.

The most important ceremony as soon as the bride arrives at the husband's house is to exchange *sake* cups with the husband and his family. The custom of the *sake* cup which is exchanged three times, three sips at a time, is called, *san-san-kudo no sakazuki*; In some houses the Ogasawara manner is followed while in other houses a verse of *yōkyoku* is sung by some one. The exchange of *sake* cups is generally made at the hands of two girls, called, *ochō* and *mechō* (male butterfly and female butterfly). In the country, however, the husband does not attend the ceremony, and the exchange of *sake* cups is generally performed merely by the bride and the husband's mother.

After this, relatives, friends and neighbors are invited, and an announcement party held. In cities, the houses are not spacious, and so restaurants are generally used. Recently, people have come to hold the ceremony in shrines, temples and churches. It is through the influence of Christianity that people have come to utilize shrines and temples. The ceremonies held in Christian churches are almost the same as those in foreign countries.

In many places the representatives of youth-mates are invited to the party, or some wine is presented to them. In some villages there is a custom for a stone Buddha-statue to be carried to the meeting hall

or water is splashed on the procession of the bride.

Brides generally visit the neighbors with the husband's mother on the day of the matrimonial ceremony in cities or the next morning in rural areas. On the day of the ceremony, all the sliding paper doors are generally kept open so that the people can freely see the bride. The thought that brides should be widely seen is widespread. In marriages between those of the same village, the relation of the houses of the bride and husband continues for a long while, but in marriages between those of remote districts, it cannot continue. The relation of both families, however, is not interrupted at the peak of *yomeiri* and on the third or fifth day after the ceremony, the new wife and husband generally visit the wife's house arm-in-arm in many districts. This custom is called, *satogaeri*. After that, at such times as New Years, the wife and husband call at her house together, and the custom is continued till a child is born.

After the bride enters the husband's house, she can not immediately succeed to the seat of housewife. In some districts, the parents retire from the world and leave household affairs to the new couple, as soon as the son is married, but in many districts, it takes a long while before the couple is entrusted with home affairs. In some houses of the Ōu District, a ceremony is found where, the mother-in-law puts a big and small spoon on the cover of a pan and hands them to the new wife. With this ceremony, the rights of housewife are handed to the wife. In such districts, brides are not permitted to touch the rice-tub, or distribute rice, till the ceremony is finished. The spoon is, so to speak, the symbol of the rights of a housewife.

Rupture and divorce. When an engaged man and woman desired to break off relations before the matrimonial ceremony, he visits her with some wine.

To divorce a wife, the husband writes to the effect in three lines and a half. The letter of divorce is called, *mikudari-han*.

In some parts of the Tōhoku District, the divorce of the wife is expressed as *oidasa-reru* (to be driven out). Judging from

this letter, which was issued by the husband, the men in the olden times possessed great rights, while that of the women was neglected. The customs of *buke* society which stressed strong paternal right and superiority of men and inferiority of women exerted great influence upon the common people.

When wives sought to leave their husbands there prevailed a thought that, three years after they escaped into the Tōkeiji Temple at Kamakura or Manganji Temple of Nitta-gun, Gumma Pref., the divorce was recognized. These temples were called, *enkiri-dera* (temple of cancellation.).

In old Japan, where the custom of marriage between those of the same village was observed, divorces were rarely found. Divorces are more common in districts, where marriages between those of remote places occur, especially in cases where the wife, who had been brought up in quite a different environment, moved to the husband's house soon after the interview, and came to live with the mother-in-law. In such cases, the wife could be divorced for mere reason that "She is not adaptable to the customs of the house".

Celebrations of year

In Japan, people celebrate the attainment of certain ages for fear some disaster may happen in the year. The years are, for instance, 25, 42 and 61 in men, and 19, 33, and 37 in women. Apart from these years, people hold celebrations or visit shrines in the preceding and following years to make spells, so that they may be free from disaster. As to the growth of such customs, there is the following opinion: At some points of life, people often had to worship the god of the community to which they belonged. In such cases they cleansed themselves to escape disastrous events. By the celebrations which are held in old age, people do not mean to escape from bad luck, but rather to seek the blessing of long life.

Rites of unlucky years and celebrations of year. According to folklore, the ages of 7 and 13 in men and women, 19 in women, 25 in men, 30 in women, and 42 in men are believed to be unlucky years, while

61 is *kanreki*, 77 *kiju*, and 88 *beifu*. People hold special celebrations, mostly at the beginning of these years. To the celebration, relatives, neighbors and friends are invited and a party is given. Evil is driven away by visiting *ujigami* for worship and prayer, or dropping some money or a comb, things that were attached to their body.

In some districts people celebrate the birth-year which comes every 12 years according to the 12 zodiacal signs. The *kanreki* (60th birthday celebration) has the same meaning. The original meaning may be that, at such an age, a man takes part in the festival of *ujigami*, and serves in some good cause. In short, it is considered that, people should have some holy profession at a certain age. For this holy profession they had to perform *monoimi* or *kai-shin*. It is said that the performance of *monoimi* or *kaishin* came to be interpreted afterwards as their endeavor to avoid disaster. Thus, the age when *monoimi* or *kaishin* was performed came to be understood as the age when people should be careful.

Though it is a strained interpretation, the ages of 42 in men and 33 in women are believed to be the most unlucky. And the preceding and following years of this unlucky year are called preceding-unlucky-year and following-unlucky-year. They are still widely observed. When people become 60 or older, they are considered to have reached old age. When people are 61 years old, the celebration of *kanreki* is performed. Then, relatives and friends gather, and the old man is presented with a red *zokin* and a red dress. This means, as the word *kanreki* shows, that the old man has returned to childhood. The celebration of 70th birthday is called, *koki*. This means that those who have reached that age are rare. The 77th birthday celebration is called *kiju*. *Ki* means *yorokobu* (to be pleased) *kiju* means that the man has reached the state of pleasure. Eighty-eight years old is written as 88 and so the celebration of 88th birthday is called *beifu*: In many farming villages, people make the sticks to measure rice in *masu* (measure) and present them to relatives, friends and neighbors to com-

memorate the celebration of the 88th birthday. After the 61th birthday, there are very few unlucky years.

Concerning death

According to the opinion of scholars, in olden times, the border line of life and death was not clear. The ancient Japanese seem to have believed that souls sometimes left the body. The belief appears to have been especially conspicuous among children. There is the fact in the classics of Japan that, when a man died, the death was not recognized as such immediately. It was believed that the soul had left the body, and people tried spells during the temporary death so that the soul might return to the body. In customs which have remained till now, there are instances where when a man dies, people often climb the roof, take off some tiles, and call the name of the dead man. It is considered magic to call the soul which has left the body.

It is evident that the ancient Japanese believed in the separateness of body and soul. The dead body was horrible, while the soul separated from the body was defied.

In Japan there are two kinds of graves, and in many districts the same man may have both. One is the primary grave, where the dead body is buried, and the secondary grave, where the soul reposes. In the one grave, therefore, the dead body is buried, while in the other nothing can be found.

Soon after death, the soul, according to Buddhist belief, is a so-called "straying soul", but it is considered that, in several years it will be purified till it becomes a god. Further, it is said that, this god will repose in a world other than this human world, which exists over the sea or in heaven, parallel to the world.

It was considered that the soul of a man or a woman who died unmarried or who was killed by accident would be troubled after death, and find it difficult to enter the other world. The thought also prevailed that, the souls of infants, especially those who died earlier than at the age of 7, would be gathered at a different area from that of adults.

Death was considered impure. It was believed that the impurity would prevail and spread to others through using the same fire and eating things cooked by the same fire. It was the custom that, when a man died, others than relatives should not eat or drink at the house.

People desired to observe old manners and customs as much as possible, and so many still remain today. In olden times few, except noblemen, made grave-stones, and the memory of the dead was quite forgotten. It may be called a great change that, recently people have come to erect gravestones, on which the name of the deceased is engraved.

Rites of funeral ceremony. The first business is to report the death to his relatives. In this case it is the custom for two men to visit the relatives. The reason is that if only one should go, the dead will surely follow him. It is also two men who go to the temple to report the death.

People generally lay the dead body facing the north, with fingers bound together, and the face covered with a sheet of white cloth. The custom of placing a sword or knife by the side of the body to drive away demons is also found.

By the pillow, some water is placed, and *tōmyō* (light for Buddha) or *senkō* is generally offered, and usually a small quantity of rice is boiled in a pan, and placed on a plate or a bowl, and a pair of chopsticks are made to stand in the middle of the rice. In many districts this rice is not boiled in the oven usually used, but in a temporary one which is used only for that occasion.

The cooperation of neighbors is necessary for the funeral ceremony. It might be called the ethics of the villagers that they should cooperate with the family of the dead. In many villages, people believe that even those who are excluded from social intercourse, who are sometimes called *mura-hachibu*, should be helped in the emergencies of a fire or a funeral ceremony. In small villages the villagers all assisted at the funeral ceremony, while in big villages with many houses, only groups of families helped. In some places in the Edo Era,

groups of five men took charge of such matters.

These helpers made funeral tools, kept accounts for the funeral ceremony, dug the grave and carried the coffin.

These helpers generally made preparations for the funeral ceremony by borrowing another house, so as to be free from the impurity of death.

It was in 1886 that funeral parlors first appeared. In the country, however, even now the funeral affairs are carried out with the help of neighbors.

Before the corpse is put into the coffin, *yukan* is observed. It was considered to be the duty of the family to observe it. In some districts, people shave the corpse's head. This is due to the influence of Buddhism. It means that the dead one has entered the world of Buddha. When the cleansing is over, people dress the body in a white cotton dress. Sometimes a triangular cloth is placed upon the forehead. It is usually seen that, when the corpse is put into the coffin, his favorite belongings are also placed beside him. Formerly six bronze coins were put into the coffin, which are called, "Charge for Crossing the Sanzu-river". (note: In Buddhism the spirit is believed to cross the Sanzu-river, or the River Styx, to enter the other world).

When the coffin is ready to leave the house, the blood-relations generally open the coffin again for a last look to bid farewell. In olden times the coffin was a tub, but now it is generally an oblong wooden box. The cover of the coffin is nailed down, not with a hammer, but with a stone.

As the coffin leaves, the blood-relations generally eat a bowl of rice. This is considered a farewell dinner with the dead one.

It is the common custom that the coffin does not pass through the ordinary entrance. It is generally taken through the tea-room or *engawa* (passage). Sometimes a wall is torn down for that purpose, and immediately after seeing off the coffin, it is repaired. In some districts, a gate is made with bamboo for the passage of the coffin.

The coffin is the core of the funeral ceremony. Generally the corpse's successor

or blood-inferior carries the mortuary tablet. The rice prepared for the corpse is generally carried by the successor's wife. The coffin is usually carried by blood-relations or sometimes the funeral ceremony *gumi* composed of neighbors. In some districts a weeping woman, whose business is to weep, joins the procession.

Burial is the most common, but cremation began to appear in the Nara Era among aristocrats and priests and spread among people, till at present it is recognized as the regular funeral method. Picking up the bones of the cremated corpse is performed the same day, in cities. In the country, however it is done on the following day in many districts. The bones of the throat are taken in a pot, which is placed on the family altar for a year. After that it is buried in a grove, or placed in a temple. It is customary to pick up the bones with a pair of chopsticks, the one being long and the other short, and the same bone is usually picked up by two persons in some districts.

In Okinawa District, the corpse which was placed in a funeral ground is cleansed after three or five years, and replaced. This form of double funeral has remained till today. It is said that this kind of funeral rites was originally held especially for the chief of a country or head of a tribe. Afterwards, however, it became general among the inhabitants.

From the burial or cremation, the mourners return home directly. When entering the house, some salt is generally scattered or the hands and feet are cleaned.

On the following day they generally pay worship. In some districts, they visit the grave during the following week.

In many districts there is a custom to clean the clothing which the dead man used during the three days after death. In some places people pour water and dry them for three days, or for as long as 49 days. In many districts, it is said that by doing this the thing for which the late man had prayed while alive would be fulfilled.

The third and seventh day after death are important periods. The 49th day after death, the seventh division, each being 7

days, is considered considerably important. In many districts, blood-relations generally refuse to eat flesh, and take only vegetables till this day and many people think that the soul of the deceased still stays under the roof. In some districts people prepare 49 pieces of *mochi* (rice-cake) to present to neighbors.

If a person of the same age as some one else, dies the latter prepares *mochi* or *dango*, and puts it in his ears. And sometimes he parches beans to eat, or gets them eaten by children. Such manners and customs are found here and there. Such *mochi* is called *Mimi-fusagi-mochi*. It is considered that through other's death of the same age, he fears lest he should be attacked by the same calamity. In Japanese folklore it is called "Sensation of Same Age". Some scholars explain this by saying that except for one's family, one takes dinner most often with others of the same age. Hence the cause of death of one might influence another who is of the same age. So, in order to be free from the danger one changes the condition of his meals.

Funeral ceremonies for infants who die before becoming seven years old are quite different from those for adults. In some districts the dead bodies of infants were buried under the floor. When infants younger than seven years old died, they were not dressed in white, but in colored clothes. Sometimes they were buried with fish. In Buddhism, fish is disliked and so it is believed that this fact means that people desired the infant be free from the control of Buddhism, and return soon. In Okinawa and other districts, the graves of children are made at different places from those for adults.

There is a custom in some places that when a pregnant woman died, people erected four poles of bamboo near a brook by the side of the road, and hung a cloth on them. Passers-by were requested to pour water on the cloth.

Suicide. In the olden times, following the death of noblemen, the wives and their attendants also used to die. In some old books, it is recorded that a girl, being loved by two men, and unable to choose, made up her mind to kill herself.

In suicides, the custom of *harakiri* (*seppuku*) of *buke* society is well-known. There were many ways of committing *seppuku*. There was a suicide-method in which a sword was thrust into the abdomen and cut it in a cross-shape. Sometimes just when the sword came into contact with the skin of the abdomen, or the sword was grasped for *seppuku*, a person called *kai-shaku-nin* cut off the head.

Suicides by two people who are in love with each other often occur in Japan. This is called *shinjū* particularly *jōshi*. It means to show the real state of the heart. *Shinjū* was found before the Edo Era, but in that period it was frequent, especially among prostitutes. In a wide sense, it means declaration. There were many ways of declaration: to pull out one's nails, to describe something on a sheet of paper, to cut one's hair, to draw or paint things on the skin, to cut off a finger or thrust a sword in the arm or leg. There were many ways of showing one's love, the highest case being found in *jōshi*.

Jōshi was often committed in the Edo Era. When a man and woman in love could not live together and were troubled in affection and duty, or were in economic difficulty, they committed *jōshi*. The method of suicide was by being drawn, hanged, or cut by a sword. *Jōshi* was very prevalent and Yoshimune, the eighth Shōgun of the *Tokugawa Bakufu* prohibited, and issued a law that, if one of the two should live, they should be considered non-human.

Shinjū is still found today in Japan. The *shinjū* of man and woman in love, *shinjū* of the same sex, and *shinjū* of parents and children are committed. There is no more miserable an event as a *shinjū* in a family. These have increased since the Meiji Era.

Festivals after death. Farewell ceremonies are performed in the style of Buddhism or *Shintō* but recently Christian rites have also increased. Formerly, the persons present at a funeral were limited to the blood-relations, relatives or neighbors.

In Buddhism, priests recite a scripture, and those who attend pray for the repose of the soul. In *Shintō*, the *kannushi* reads the *saimon* loudly, and then after recitation of *shinobigoto* in which the works of the

dead man are praised, branches of paper called *tamagushi* are offered to his memory. They were originally ceremonies to worship god, but since the Meiji Era this style has been used more commonly. In Buddhism, anniversaries of death are performed on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 17th, 23rd, 27th, and 33rd. Sometimes the 100th anniversary is observed. In *Shintō*, they are the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 10th, 15th, 20th, 30th, and 50th anniversaries. Sometimes the 100th anniversary is also marked.

In some districts, however, the 33rd or 50th anniversary is considered as the last and as to the latter ones, they are performed for the individual. After that, he loses the characteristics of an individual, and steps into the group of ancestors.

In Japan, from 13 to 15 of July is called *Bon*, and at this time the festival of ances-

tors is generally performed on the morning of the 13th, the memories of ancestors are deified on the Buddhist altar, or so-called *bondana* and offered meals, flowers and lights. Priests visit from house to house to recite *o-kyō*. Relatives visit the houses. In the morning of the 16th, offerings are thrown into the river. It is believed that the soul of the ancestor is laid to rest in the world of souls by performing this event. It is described in the records of the Medieval Age that the soul festival was originally also performed in January. The weeks of the spring equinox and the autumn equinox are called *higan*, during which people hold festivals for ancestors in Buddhism and in *Shintō*. The Imperial Household performs festivals for each *Tennō* on the occasion of the Spring and Autumn Equinox days.

Clothing

Although World War II left the Japanese very shabby, they have now regained their prewar standard, spending about 12 per cent of their income on clothes. Both Japanese *kimono* and Western clothes are worn.

Western clothes are more practical for work, but the *kimono* is more suited for Japanese style of houses and for this reason, it cannot altogether be given up. This dual mode presents problems that must be solved.

The *kimono* is cut in the same style for men, women and children, the only difference being in the way it is sewn and in the color and pattern of the material used. For instance, red is used only for women's and girls' *kimono* and never for men, even for baby boys.

Because there is a definite change in the four seasons of the year in Japan, thin cotton is used in summer while lined or padded *kimono* called *wataire* are worn in winter.

Since 1868 there have been no class distinctions in *kimono*. Mention will be made later of the differences in *kimono* according to profession.

Kimono

From buying to washing. The basic shape and the different parts of the *kimono*,

worn left over right as in men's Western clothes, are as illustrated.

Kimono material comes in rolls 11 yards long and about 14 inches wide, from which one *kimono* for an adult can be made. Two rolls are needed to make a lined *kimono*. It is sold at shops called *gofukuya* where many kinds of fabrics, *obi* material and accessories are sold. Most women buy the material from these shops and sew the *kimono* themselves or ask the *shitateya* (dressmaker) to make it up.

Ready-made *kimono* are also sold now but they are not as popular as ready-made Western clothes. This is because it is difficult to standardize dyes and weaves since variety in *kimono* can only be achieved through different colors and patterns as the style remains the same. Material for expensive *kimono* are specially woven and dyed or when a pattern becomes outmoded the material can be redyed and repatterned.

The *kimono*, *juban* and *haori* are all cut on the same simple straight lines so that patterns are not needed and a *kimono* can be easily made over into a *juban* or *haori*. Thus the *kimono* can be used in many ways.

Some of the tools used in making *kimono* are the ruler, marker, marking board, scissors, thimble, sewing needles, pins, iron, and ironing board. There are two kinds of rulers called *kanejaku* which is 33.3 cm. long and *kujirajaku* which is 37 cm. long but lately, metric measurements are used.

Unlike the Western dress, the *kimono* which is lined or padded cannot be washed whole but must be taken apart, washed and resewn every season. However since it is all hand-sewn, it is easy to take apart and wash at home but there are special laundresses called *araihariya*. Only unlined cotton *kimono* are tubbed.

Soap, detergents and washing machines are now used but about 90 years ago seeds of the honey locust and ash water were used. Washing by using pounding blocks also went out about 100 years ago.

History of the kimono. The *kimono* took its present form in the 19th century after undergoing many changes in the preceding 2,000 years. The early primitive people wore a costume called *kantō-i* or *kesa koromo*, a type of clothing common to both East and West. Gradually, customs and influences from abroad brought a change in style. Until the 7th or 8th centuries the clothing was in 2 pieces due to Korean and Chinese influence while during the 7th to 8th centuries the *kimono* in its present form was worn as undergarment.

In the 9th century a unique type of dress called *hō* and *naoshi*, a kind of coat and pantaloons for men of the nobility and *jūnihitoe* and *hakama* (ceremonial robe and skirt) for court ladies were designed. The common people wore *kosode* which had shorter sleeves. This *kosode* became the common wear for all classes of people from around the 13th century. Men wore it with the *hakama*, a kind of skirt and women wore it with a narrow sash or cord tied around the waist.

In the 13th century special clothing called *suhō* and *hitatare* bearing the family crest were made for the ruling samurai class to show their rank.

With the dawn of the Momoyama Period in the latter part of the 16th century great progress was made in weaving and dyeing and men's and women's *kimono* became

bright and gay; the sleeves of the *kosode* became as long as 40-50 cm. and the corners were rounded. The *kamishimo* was designed as the formal wear of the *samurai* in the 17th century.

Silk was worn by the upper class only and commoners used rough linen of plain weave and design but with the import of cotton seeds at the end of the 17th century, cotton was grown and used.

During the peaceful years of the Tokugawa feudal age (17th-19th centuries) industry prospered. Beautiful *kimono* with sleeves as long as 43-60 cm. called *furisode* became the fashion. This is still worn today by brides and young girls.

Kimono was made much longer than the height of the wearer and *obi* were from 12-30 cm. in width. The long trailing *kimono* with its beautiful soft lines and wide *obi* looked very graceful but was impractical. This style was first created for the court women of the Tokugawa Shogunate to make their hips look beautiful but was adopted by other women as well later. *Habutae* (flat silk) and *chirimen* (heavy crepe) suitable for *kimono* were produced about this time.

The sleeves of men's *kimono* also became long and fashionable men even wore *furisode*.

At the beginning of the 19th century *kimono* with designs from the waist down called *susomoyō* for women and *noshime* for men were designed. The wives of the merchant class added a black satin collar to enhance the makeup of this period of painting their faces white, blackening their teeth and painting their lips very red. This fashion of adding a black collar remained until the 1920s.

Haori were first designed in the 18th century and until the 19th century were worn only by men. At first, it came down almost to the ankle but was shortened in the middle of the 19th century. Today, hip-length *haori* is in style among women.

Until 1868, distinction was made in type of clothing worn according to class. Clothes for the nobility and *samurai* were only worn by men of the upper class while women of the aristocracy wore an *uchikake* (over-gown) over their *kosode*.

Great changes appeared after 1868 when Western customs were introduced. The first to adopt Western attire were the upper class who began to wear shoes and derbies around 1875. Around 1890 there was a confused mixture of Western and *kimono* styles. Mantles and invenesses were worn over the *kimono* about 1900 and Western type of clothing became common. *Kimono* and Western clothes were worn with better discrimination after 1930.

Present-day kimono. The Japanese clothing consists of the *kimono*, *haori*, *nagajuban*, *obi*, *hadagi*, *koshimaki*, *fundoshi*, *obiage*, *obijime*, *koshihimo* and *tabi*.

The *haori* worn over the *kimono* differs in style somewhat from the *kimono* but the same type of material is used. The *nagajuban* (undergarment) is more colorful than the *kimono* but has a collar called *haneri*, a piece of straight cloth about 15 cm. wide and 80 cm. long sewn on at the neck. Men's *obi* made of stiff material is about 12 cm. wide and 2.5 meters long. They also wear a soft muslin sash. Both men and women wear white cotton underwear of *hadagi* coming down to the hips. The *fundoshi* is a kind of G-string worn by men and is a long piece of cotton about 30 cm. wide and 2 meters long. Sometimes it is about one meter long with strings attached. Women wear *koshimaki*, a kind of sarong wrapped around their waist and coming down to their ankles. The *obijime* and *obiage* are used only by women as *obi* accessories. The *koshihimo* is used to tie the *kimono* before the *obi* is tied on. *Tabi* are bifurcated socks, of cotton, black for men and white for women.

How to wear the kimono. Men first put on *fundoshi* or shorts which are more common these days, then *hadagi*, underpants or *koshimaki*, *nagajuban* and *kimono*. Then the *obi* is tied and *tabi* worn. For women the order is (1) *koshimaki*, (2) *hadagi*, (3) *nagajuban* and (4) *kimono*.

The *kimono* is first tied around the waist with a *koshihimo* to adjust the length of the hem and another cord is tied just above the waist, pulling the collar into place. Then the *obi* is wound twice around and with both ends in each hand it is tied at

the back. The *obiage* is placed under the knot to shape the *obi* at the back and an *obijime*, made of silk, is tied over the *obi* to keep it in place. White *tabi* are worn last.

In cold weather both men and women wear *haori* over the *kimono*. It is considered polite for men to keep their *haori* on even in summer when making a call.

Mention must also be made of the *kappōgi*, a kind of cover-all apron, *maekake* (apron) and *tenugui* (Japanese towel). The *kappōgi*, designed about 1920 to be worn by women when working, enveloped the sleeves and hem, thus making work easier. The *tenugui*, about 30 cm. wide and 80 cm. long, is made of white cotton with designs or characters in blue. Besides being used by men and women for washing, it has many other uses, both practical and ornamental, the more beautifully dyed ones being used as head covering or as an accessory worn at the hip.

Aprons, about 30 cm. wide and 60 cm. long are made of black cotton for men but women's aprons are sometimes made of prettily patterned silk and serve an ornamental as well practical purpose. The Japanese nightgown is made like the *kimono*, of cotton or toweling.

Depending on the season *yukata* and *dotera* are worn. The *yukata* is usually made of cotton with cool-looking patterns printed in indigo and is worn in summer without *tabi*. The sight of a Japanese woman with well-kept bare legs wearing *yukata* is considered beautiful.

The *tanzen* and *dotera*, both men's clothes to be worn in the privacy of one's room as cold weather wear is made like the *kimono* but with a black collar. The *dotera* is more heavily padded than the *tanzen*.

Material and color of kimono. Cotton and silk are the main materials used in *kimono* but rayon and synthetic fabrics are also now used. Except for serge, *seru* which is worn for a short time in the cool in-between seasons, very little woollens are used. However muslin was developed in uniquely Japanese dyes and weaves but at present it has been replaced by synthetic

muslins. Linen is worn in midsummer but because it is expensive, it has never become really popular.

Plant dyes were used until the 19th century, the main plants being *ai* (indigo) for blue, *benibana* (safflower) for red, *shikon* for purple, *akane* for vermillion and *kara-yasu* for yellow. In the 19th century aniline dyes were imported and Japan, herself, made great progress in chemical dyes which are mainly used today.

Secondary colors which are especially suited to *kimono* were developed in the 15th century. Different shades of blues, purples and reds have been the basic color of the *kimono* but stronger colors have come to be favored by the younger women, especially after the War through American influence.

Formal wear. For formal wear a man wears a black crested *kimono* and *haori* made of *habutae* silk and a *hakama* of *sen-daihira*, while *tabi* and black-thonged *zōri* or *geta* of paulownia wood and carries a white fan.

Women wear a black *susomoyō kimono* with crest over a *nagajuban* with a white *habutae* collar while pre-marriage girls and brides wear the *furisode*. The sleeves of the *susomoyō* are about 40 cm. long and are shorter than that of the *furisode*.

A brocade *obi* is tied with a white tubular *habutae* cord and white *tabi* are worn. When wearing a *furisode*, the *obi* is further embellished with an undersash called *shigoki*, a *hakoseko* tucked into the bosom and a red-tasseled fan is carried in the hand. Red and white or gold and silver *zōri* are worn.

The bride wears her hair in a *shimada* covered with a *tsunokakushi*. However, many get married in Western wedding dresses today.

Haori are never worn by women on formal occasions. For informal wear colored *susomoyō* is worn.

Kimono for festivals. Shintō festivals are generally held in summer and those participating in the procession, the majority of whom are men, wear the same navy blue *happi* coats which have festival emblems on the back and neckbands. The men twist a *tenugui* around their heads, carry a straw hat ornamented with artificial

flowers on their backs and wear *tabi* without sandals.

Clothes for mourning. Women wear plain black *kimono* with the family crest on it, black *obi* and black *zōri* while men are dressed in black *kimono* and *haori* with crest, *hakama* and black *tabi*. No fans are carried. Clothes for the dead are all white, symbolizing purity.

Western clothes of the Japanese

Prior to the 15th century there was no Western influence in Japan, the only interchange of culture being with China. At the beginning of the 17th century when trade with Holland and Portugal started, caps and trousers were introduced. Western customs and manners were adopted with the opening of intercourse with Europe and America after 1860.

At first, they were worn only by people of the upper class and officials of high rank for whom the fashion of English nobles was imported. Although government officials and school teachers also began wearing Western clothes it was not till after 1900 that ordinary people and school children began to wear them and only after 1930 that students in even remote districts adopted Western apparel.

The first items to be introduced even before clothes were hats and shoes. Next to be popularized were undershirts worn under the *kimono*. This was even the fashion among women for a time but today, only men wear them.

Men, in the main, wore Western clothes for work but when they returned home they changed into *kimono*, a habit which has remained to this day.

High school girls changed over to Western uniforms and housewives began to wear simple summer dresses around 1920 but it was not till after 1930 that dresses became general among women.

The growing need for simple clothes that would not hamper movement, wartime shortages and experiences caused many to make the change to Western dress. However in winter some still cling to *kimono* for the heating system in homes is inadequate.

After 1945, the influence of the women of the U. S. Armed Forces and the flood of books, magazines and movies with the latest fashion trends from abroad helped to improve the Western dress styles of the young women.

Western fashions are not only copied now but styles suited to the Japanese are being designed.

During the 7th to 9th centuries there was a strong Chinese influence on Japanese clothes but this influence disappeared with the development of an individual type of clothing. Today only few women wear Chinese dress.

Special clothes according to professions

Among special clothing indicating professions are clothes such as those worn by *Shintō* and Buddhist priests, and uniforms and work clothes designed to fit the job.

Since the 9th century *Shintō* priests have worn a white *kosode*. This same type of *kosode* is worn by Buddhist priests but over it they wear a black or white robe. When performing religious services they don a silk robe, brocade surplice and a special hat.

All uniforms are Western in style and now worn by railway workers, street and bus conductors, firemen, postmen, policemen, members of the Defense Forces, nurses, university students, etc.

Farmers wear an outfit consisting of two parts—a hip-length jacket of dark blue cotton with triangular sleeves and *mompé* trousers. They also wear mittens, gaiters and rubber-soled canvas *tabi* or rubber boots when working in the mud and tie a *tenugui* around their heads over which they wear a straw hat. The women loop a *tasuki* which is a long cord, over both arms to tuck up their sleeves and wear an apron. On rainy days, farmers wear straw cloaks but raincoats with hoods are becoming common. Woodcutters are clad in the same type of clothes as farmers except that their trousers are looser and they carry a *bandori* woven of straw or cloth on their backs to shoulder their heavy loads.

In the snowy districts the people wear snow hats and shoes of straw. All working clothes are made of cotton.

Carpenters, wall painters and *tatami* makers all have a special work suit. It is composed of a vest-like apron with a large pocket in front called *domburi* (bowl), a hip-length *happi* coat, close-fitting trousers and sandals. However more and more are now wearing Western type of work clothes so that these special outfits are gradually going out.

The *happi* is generally supplied by the employer and has his crest or monogram on the back and neckbands.

Bathing suits

Bathing suits were first used in 1886. Before that men swam in the nude while women wrapped a *koshimaki* around their waist. Knitted bathing suits were made around 1890. Gradually more and more of the body have come to be exposed and today bathing suits are the same as in Western countries.

Hair styles

Prior to the 6th century men wore their hair hanging down or in a style called *mizura* in which the hair was parted in the center and tied in 2 loops above and below the ear. Women either had their hair parted in the center and hanging in the back or folded over on the crown and tied with a cord.

In the 7th and 8th centuries, children, both boys and girls, wore their hair parted in the center and cut straight at shoulder length. Men tied it at the crown and let it hang while women made 2 loops on top, letting the ends fall on either side or on all three sides (sometimes the ends were passed through the loops) and added an ornamental hair-pin. This coiffure which was Chinese in origin was the style worn by aristocratic women. There was no hair style for women of the common class.

From the 9th to the 12th centuries, children of the nobility did their hair in the aforementioned *mizura* style. Adult men tied their hair on top with a purple cord. Women let their long hair, considered beautiful, hang down at the back with the ends cut straight. Combs of *tsuge* wood

and silver and ornamental hair-pins of silver, gold or copper were used.

In the 13th century hair styles developed not only for the nobles but for the rising military class. Because of their helmets, warriors shaved off the crown in a circle, known as *sakayaki*, pulling the rest of the hair back and tying it. The commoners, too, began to do their hair about this time. Men tied it at the back while the women let it hang down tied at the back, but as styles went, it was nothing very much.

It was not till the 16th century that hair styles really developed. The hair was looped on top with the forelocks cut straight and hanging.

The big change in coiffure came in the 17th century when men affected topknots and women devised an elaborate hairdo. The hair was divided into five parts—center, front, side locks and back. Each part was dressed with the front hair left to the end to form the main part of the coiffure. Young dandies wore their hair in the same manner as the women.

Combs, bar and pins, cords to tie the hair were used as hair ornaments. There were also gold, silver, copper, ivory, tortoise shell, wood and gold lacquer ornaments of all types and shapes.

Of the hair styles developed in the latter part of the 18th century and which are the most representative today there are the *momoware*, *shimada*, *ichōgaeshi* and *marumage*.

Generally speaking the *momoware* is worn by pre-marriage girls and the *shimada* just before and up to marriage. *Shimada* dressed low is called *tsubushi shimada* and is the hair style of the older *geisha*. The *yuiwata* is similar to the *shimada* except that a piece of red tie-dyed silk covers the top chignon. This hair style is worn by girls of marriageable age.

The *marumage* is worn upon marriage and differs from the *shimada* in the shape of the top chignon.

These Japanese hair styles are not practical and today, except for some women in the entertainment business, most women and girls do not wear their hair in Japanese style except at New Year's.

To dress the hair in this complicated way false hair and switches are necessary to make the hair look more abundant and beautiful.

Among the paraphernalia used to dress the hair are various combs (both fine and coarse) to part the hair, puff out or arrange the side locks, special finetoothed combs to clean the hair, acting as a sort of brush, dressing mirrors, hand mirrors, cords to tie the hair, metal washbasins for hot water with which to smooth out any kinks, and solid oil to keep the shape of the chignon.

Since the coiffure is so complicated it cannot be done every day but is dressed every second or third day. Care must be taken, therefore, to preserve the shape and it was considered a woman's decorum not to muss it up even while sleeping.

After 1868, men cut off their topknots and wore their hair cropped or parted at the side. Young boys wore their hair cut straight across the brow. After hair clippers were introduced, it was the rule until 1945 for young boys to have their hair all clipped off until they graduated from high school.

Hairdos for women known as *seiyōgami* (Western hair style) became popular after 1868. The hair was puffed out all around and gathered at the top. Schoolgirls did their hair in "Margaret" style while young girls tied their long hair with a ribbon. After the Russo-Japanese War a style known as "203 Heights" in which the hair was piled high in front came into fashion. This style commemorated the defeat of the Russian army at 203 Heights in Port Arthur. After 1910 women wore their hair parted at the side and knotted in a bun at the back or sometimes with their ears all covered up in a style known as *mimikakushi*.

Marcel waves were introduced in the 1920s and many young girls bobbed their hair. Permanents came in the 1930s. Today cold permanents are popular.

Before the War, only women permanent-waved their hair but now even men do it. Side partings for men and short permanents for working girls and women are the fashion today.

Since Japanese coiffure requires long, straight hair, nowadays when girls want to wear their hair in Japanese fashion wigs are worn.

Dressers of women's hair known as *kami-yui* are all women while barbers, up till now have been men. Hair dressing as a profession became popular in the latter part of the 19th century after Western hair styles were introduced. After 1930, hair dressers not only dressed hair but became beauticians and professional dressers (i. e. dressing brides and others in formal *kimono*). Beauty schools were opened and today one must go through a prescribed course to become a qualified beautician.

Barbers first appeared around 1872-73. They not only give hair-cuts to men but to boys and girls as well as shaving women's faces and giving men permanents.

Hats and headgear

Hats formed part of men's wear only in Japan and around the 6th century only the nobles wore them. In the 7th century *kam-muri* and *eboshi* were worn with the *nōshi* and *kariginu* (see history of *kimono*), the apparel of the aristocrats. From the 16th to the end of the 19th century the *eboshi* was also worn with the *hakama* and *suō*, the formal wear of the *samurai*. The headgear as well as the outer clothing showed the rank of the wearer. The common man wore a small *eboshi*. There were no hats for women but when going out they wore a kind of hat called *ichimegasa* or covered their head with *katsugi*.

Since the 18th century when the present *kimono* developed there have been no hats as they could not be worn with the complicated hair styles. However when travelling, both men and women covered their heads with a *kasa* (a kind of straw hat). Old people wore a hat called *sōshōbo*; while babies wore a kind of tam o'shanter called *daikoku-zukin*. The *fuka-amigasa* was worn by the masterless *rōnin* to hide his face from public view. Although not a hat, the common Japanese towel has been popularly used as a covering for the head ever since the 18th century.

Hats became a part of everyday wear in the Meiji Era when Western customs were introduced. After discarding the topknot, men adopted the bowler hat which remained in fashion till about 1900. Then came caps and soft felts. Bowlers are no longer worn. For summer there are panamas and straws, worn with both Western clothes and *kimono*.

A sort of hood which went well with the *kimono*, called *okoso-zukin* became the fashion for women in the latter part of the 19th century. In parts of Japan where there is heavy snowfall this was worn till the 1920s.

Before the war few women wore hats even though they wore Western dress but since 1945 with the general adoption of Western styles, more women now wear hats. Children wear hats with both native and Western clothes against the heat and cold. Children's hats are mostly made of fabric and straw for summer.

Japanese makeup

History. By the 6th century women in Japan were drawing their eyebrows, painting and rouging their faces and blackening their teeth with *ohaguro* (see chapter on cosmetics and toilet articles). Face whitening came from China via Korea.

In the 7th century women painted their lips. Highborn women painted red spots between the eyebrows or near the lips. After the 9th century, court ladies plucked their eyebrows and drew them in with eyebrow black. Around the 12th century court nobles painted their faces, too, drawing their eyebrows and blackening their teeth.

Between the 14th and 15th centuries, girls from the age of nine and boys from 11, belonging to court nobility, wore makeup. In the 18th century women painted their nails red.

The custom of using makeup was confined at first among the nobility but between the 17th and 18th centuries the use of cosmetics spread among the common people, giving rise to the practice of women shaving off their eyebrows and blackening their teeth

as soon as they were married. It was a part of the wife's daily toilet to shave her eyebrows and apply teeth blackening.

Rouge was used until the 17th century but after that women only used paint and lipstick which they applied thickly.

After 1868, men no longer used cosmetics and the custom of women shaving off their eyebrows and blackening their teeth died out in the latter part of the 19th century. In 1903, beauty culture was introduced. By 1920, Western influence became gradually more apparent. Women manicured their nails and even used false eyelashes. Instead of making up on the surface they began to think of beauty in terms of health and care of the skin based on diet.

Since the 1930s makeup has become more natural and healthy looking by use of cosmetics that harmonize with one's natural coloring. Rouge as a rule had not been widely used in makeup when at home but from around this time it became part of the toilet. After the last war, there have been further improvements with the greater influence of Western women. Plastic surgery to remodel the nose or make eyes double-lidded are now often done.

Tattooing which can be regarded as a form of makeup, was done on the faces and arms of criminals as punishment in the olden days. In the 18th century gallants of the merchant class tattooed their entire body or their arms and legs with startling designs in red, black, blue and white. Tattooing, as punishment, was abolished after 1868 but it is still practised among certain people. It may be said to be done as a sign of courage, showing ability to withstand the pain involved in being tattooed.

Cosmetics and toilet articles. The early face paints were made either of lead or mercury compounds and was imported to Japan from China until the 16th century. Eyebrow black was made from the soot of burnt paulownia wood blended with sesame seed oil. *Ohaguro*, the teeth blackening used by Japanese women as a beauty aid, was made from the sediments of bits of iron immersed in strong tea. Rouge was made from the juice of the safflower while hair oil was made from tallow to which pine

resin was added. In the 17th century face paint was made with lead as an ingredient. Liquid powder was also made. Rouge was sold smeared on a piece of wood or in a china dish. The juice of the *sanekazura* was used as a hair tonic while hair oil was made from the kernel of the camellia, rapeseed and others. Pomade, necessary to dress the elaborate hair styles, was also produced.

For the skin, water from the *hechima* plant was used. Up till about 1910, women washed their faces with rice bran, the droppings of nightingales, brown sugar and washing powder made from red beans. These were put in a small red silk bag and the face rubbed with it.

Towards the end of the 19th century, Western methods of manufacturing cosmetics were introduced. Leadless face paints using magnesium, clays and starches were made. Face paints and powders were made not only in dead white but in flesh, pink and other tints, as well as mauve, blue and yellow to give contour to the face. Soaps, all kinds of creams,—vanishing, cleansing, cold,—and washing powders were made. Today, methods of makeup are the same in Japan as in the West. Use of perfumes has also increased.

Toilet sets are in the main for the use of women. In the days when women still used *nerioshiroi* (paste powder) it was necessary to have a small dish and brush to apply it. In the old days a rabbit's leg was used to brush on the face paint. Heavy makeup with *nerioshiroi* became outmoded in the 1920s and cosmetics are now applied with both hands while powder is puffed on, as in the West. Women formerly carried a small pocket mirror and paper powder but now compacts are in general use.

Bathing. Because of the high humidity in Japan the people are fond of bathing, taking daily baths or at least once in 2 or 3 days. The majority of private homes have their own bathtubs, made of cedar, cypress or tile, with boiler attached. One person bathes singly, with the next person taking a dip in the same bath water. Clean hot water is provided to wash oneself off.

There are also public bathhouses (see Health and Hygiene) which are operated on a license from the competent authorities. Most of the tubs, about 1.5 meters deep, are of tile and are large enough to hold 10 people at one time. The bathrooms are equipped with large mirrors and cold and hot water taps.

Many people go to the public bathhouses to soak out the fatigue of the day.

Footwear

There are three types of footwear—*geta*, *zōri* and *waraji*. In all 3 types, holes are made in 3 places in the sole through which thongs are passed. Japanese footwear is worn with the thongs between the first and second toes. (Shoes are a modern necessity but since they are the same as in the West, mention will not be made here).

Geta are made of paulownia, cedar, oak, pine and other wood. They are oblong in shape, from 9–10 cm. wide, about 22 cm. long and about 4 cm. high for adult wear.

Zōri were originally made of rice straw, bamboo leaves or strips of rags woven together. Today, people wear felt or rubber soled *zōri*. Felt *zōri* are worn by both men and women. Present-day *zōri* worn by women are made with a wood base covered with vinyl, leather or fabric and have raised heels. Sandals are popularly worn instead of *geta* around the house now.

Waraji were made by weaving rice straw and worn for travelling or for outdoor work. It has been replaced by the rubber-soled *tabi* now.

Snow shoes were woven of straw in the shape of boots. Footwear known as *ganjiki*, made of straw or hemp, were worn to walk over muddy places, sandbanks or frozen snow. They had no heels, since from the necessity of walking on one's toes in such places they were not needed.

Men's and women's *geta* differ slightly. For men they are from 1 to 2 cm. longer and wider than women's which are more daintily made. Men's and boys' *geta* have black, grey or brown thongs while for women different colors are used.

Rain and cold weather wear

Until the 19th century there were only Japanese type umbrellas (*kasa*) made of paper of bamboo and high *geta* for rainy weather for both men and women. Of course there were rain capes of oil paper or straw but these were for wear when working in the rain.

After 1868, Western style umbrellas and long rubber boots were introduced. Today, Western umbrellas are almost exclusively used while the manufacture of rubber boots increased from around 1930.

Around the end of the 19th century, men were wearing light-weight wool invernasses and women an overcoat called *azuma-kōto* as rainwear. At present, a man in *kimono* wears an invernass and high *geta* and carries an umbrella when it rains while a woman wears an *azuma-kōto*, high *geta* and carries an umbrella.

Raincoats of vinyl, rayon, rubberized material, galoshes and umbrellas are common now.

Clothes for cold weather in Japan are primarily for wear inside the house since with the open structure of Japanese houses due to the hot summer, the house is very cold in winter. Thus padded *kimono* and vests, worn both on top and as undergarments, padded *haori* and thick wool *tabi* are worn. The length of the *kimono* itself is useful to ward off the cold.

Cold weather garments for street wear came to be worn only after Western manners were adopted at the end of the 19th century. Around 1910, mantles are stylish for men students but went out of fashion in the 1930s. Boys wore overcoats with rows of brass buttons over their *kimono*. This type of overcoat remained in style until about 1940. Men now wear mufflers, invernasses and gloves with their *kimono*. For street wear, women's earliest cold weather accessory was the shawl which came into fashion at the end of the 19th century.

Even today, these type of shawls are worn in districts of Japan where it snows heavily. Around 1900, wool *azuma-kōto* and *shōru* (long stoles) were very much in style while in 1910 or thereabouts, wool mantles

were worn over the *kimono*. However they soon became outmoded but may still be seen worn by small girls over their *kimono* now.

Accessories

Accessories may be classified into the following three:

- a) Those worn or carried with *kimono* exclusively, such as fans, *obidome* and *hakoseko*.
- b) Those of purely ornamental use such as rings, earrings, necklaces, bracelets.
- c) Those which are both ornamental and practical such as fans, *furoshiki*, tobacco cases, gloves, pocketbooks, reticules, canes, watches, etc.

Of the above, pocketbooks, tobacco cases, fans, *obidome*, *hakoseko* and *furoshiki* were found before the 19th century. The tobacco case consisted of a pouch for the cut tobacco and a case for the pipe, and were made of leather or fine quality silk. With the popularity of cigarettes they have now been replaced by cigarette cases.

Folding fans are made of paper and bamboo and carried with formal and dress-up clothes. Men's fans are made of plain white paper while women's fans have black lacquered frames covered by gilt or silver paper and has a silk tassel.

Round fans, like the folding fans, are made of paper and bamboo but are more practical. *Obidome* are silk cords tied over the *obi* to keep it in place and is a necessary adjunct to a woman's *kimono*. There are *obidome* with gold, silver, coral or jeweled ornaments, similar to a belt buckle.

The *hakoseko* is carried tucked in between the *kimono* at the breast and is made of silk damask. This accessory is worn only by brides with their bridal attire and little girls dressed up for the 7.5.3 festival.

Gloves, watches and rings came in after 1868. Until 1920, watches were worn suspended from the *obi* but were later replaced by wristwatches. Gloves were primarily a cold weather accessory until about the 1930s but are now worn with both *kimono* and Western dress. Handkerchiefs, brooches, earrings, necklaces and bracelets were all introduced at the same time as Western dress. Earrings and necklaces are to be noted in particular as accessories today, being made in great variety and even worn with the *kimono*.

Men's accessories such as necktie pins, cufflinks, handkerchiefs and walking sticks have been in use since 1868.

The *shingen bukuro* took the place of bags and handbags in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This was a sort of reticule made with a paper or bamboo basket and a cloth top, closed or opened with a cord. Velvet bags were also very popular around the same time. Both have now been replaced by handbags for women and briefcases for men.

The *furoshiki* which is a piece of silk or cotton about 70 cm. square, in many beautiful designs, has remained unchanged as an accessory which is both practical and ornamental. A convenient article, it can be used to wrap things up or worn as a kerchief and when not needed can be folded up very small.

Food

Staple food

The diet of the Japanese people is usually based on native food enriched by the addition of Western and Chinese cookery.

Food of practically every major country in the world is available in the big Japanese cities, and Chinese and Western dishes, in particular, are served extensively not only in the restaurants but also in private homes.

Japanese food, itself, consists of almost unlimited varieties obtained from both land and sea and as in most Oriental countries, rice has been traditionally the staple item.

Tōfu, or soya bean curd, considered one of the most typical of Japanese foods, was imported from China; *tempura* was adopted from a recipe in Spain and Portugal; and the ever popular *sukiyaki* was concocted after meat invaded the Japanese diet in the

late 19th century under the impact of Western diet.

The development of the radio and television has also helped to expand recipes here through "cooking classes". At the same time the restaurants specializing in *ba-quents* serve a refined type of Japanese food handed down from the Edo Era.

While meat forms the main item in Western and Chinese meals and is taken in large quantities, it is served in Japan as part of the supplementary food and in negligible quantities.

Rice has been the main food item in Japan since ancient times. The poorer classes who could not afford to subsist on rice alone used barley, millet and buckwheat to supplement their fare.

Generally, these miscellaneous cereals are used in Japan in their original form rather than in powdered form as in Western countries.

During World War II, when there was a tremendous shortage of rice, the Japanese people were forced to give up their strong attachment for rice and eat other cereals mixed with or in between servings of rice.

The habit stayed on after the war, and now most families in the cities eat bread, noodles or dumplings at least once a day. Noodles are very popular among the office workers who eat their lunch outside because they are inexpensive and easy to prepare and eat.

Bread, which is also served widely, was introduced into Japan by Dutch and Portuguese traders in the Edo Era. By the Meiji Era, it was baked in considerable quantities, but it was still eaten mostly as snacks.

The late war created a big demand for bread as substitutes for rice. Its place as a major staple food was established in Japan after the public primary schools started serving it to the children in their school lunch programs.

The farming population, however, depend entirely on rice and other forms of grain, and it is hardly likely they will turn to bread in the foreseeable future.

Frequency of meals

The Japanese people generally eat 3 times a day—in the morning, at noon and in the evening. The farmers eat 4 or 5 times a day during the busy summer season, but 3 meals a day is their usual routine for the rest of the year.

In olden days, the prescribed diet pattern seems to have been 2 meals a day. This is deduced from the fact that at the shrines, where ancient customs are preserved much in their original form, food is offered to the gods only twice a day—in the morning and in the evening. Records also show that the court nobles of the Heian Era ate twice a day, but it appears that a simple repast that corresponds to our breakfast was eaten around noon.

In the Kamakura Era, people began eating 3 meals a day, and this became an established custom in the Muromachi Era. But even as recently as the middle of the Edo Era, the noon meal consisted only of a very light snack, especially among the upper classes.

The trend toward the 3 meal system was led by the farmers and workers, and in the late days of the Shogunate, the noon meal was given the same importance and attention as the morning and evening meals. It was in the Meiji Era when the Western pattern of work and school studies was adopted that the three meal system was securely established in Japan.

Tea and liquor

There is no set time in Japan for members of the family to gather around for cups of tea. Tea is usually taken during and after meals, and many people drink it whenever they get thirsty between meals. Tea is invariably served within minutes after a guest arrives. In some villages, the farmers drink hot water with their meals and reserve tea for in-between snacks.

Green tea predominates in Japan. There are many varieties of green tea, and a typical family usually keeps 2 or 3 varieties for guests and daily consumption. Most families use *bancha* (coarse tea) for meals and family drinks.

Liquor is served before meals—but at the table—on special occasions and at banquets. The greater part of the artistically arranged food is eaten along with the liquor, and after the drinking ends, a simple meal is usually served. A typical such meal would consist of rice, *misoshiru* (bean paste soup), and *tsukemono* (pickled vegetables).

Meals

Normal Meal:

The Japanese meal normally consists of rice and subsidiary dishes. Vegetables account for the biggest portion of the subsidiary food. Many families, especially in the lower income bracket, eat rice and vegetables for 2 out of their 3 meals. Beef, pork and chicken have been used with increasing frequency in recent years, and an average family in the cities eats them in one form or another at least once a day. But the quantity is negligible, and fish is by far more popular in Japan.

The basic breakfast items in Japan are rice, *misoshiru*, and *tsukemono*. In many families, especially in the rural districts, *misoshiru* is served at breakfast and again at supper and forms a major item in the diet. Every Japanese family has *misoshiru* for breakfast unless they have adopted the Western menu of bread and butter.

Tsukemono appears at all three meals of the day. The material varies widely according to the season, and there are also several ways of preparing the pickles.

Eggs, *nori* (dried laver), and *tsukudani* (sea food cooked in rich soy sauce) are also served for breakfast at the better-to-do families. The commonest way of eating eggs at breakfast is to pour it over the rice in raw form.

Zōsui (rice gruel seasoned with soy sauce or *miso*) is served for breakfast in many of the farming village in Central Japan. In some parts of the country, *kayu* (plain rice gruel) is served instead.

The noon meal is a relatively simple one both in the cities and the countryside. Salted fish, *tsukemono*, *tsukudani* (sea food cooked and preserved in rich soy sauce) and left overs are the usual fare at lunch tables in the homes. Tea or hot water is poured

over rice (usually cooked in the morning or night before and therefore cold) for lunch.

For men and women who go out to work, there are the *bentō* (lunch boxes). Some people, especially in the upper income brackets, eat their lunch in company dining halls or nearby restaurants, but by far the great majority take along *bentō* for economic reasons.

Light, shallow alumite lunch boxes are most commonly used for carrying *bentō*. Sometimes there is one box for rice and a smaller one for the subsidiary food. In other cases, a partition inside the box separates the rice and the subsidiary food.

In the cities, some of the younger people take sandwiches for lunch. Those who eat outside in restaurants usually eat noodles, simple Western dishes, or *domburi* (a big serving of boiled rice in a bowl covered with slices of fish or some other highly seasoned food on top).

Supper is the most important meal in Japan, and the greater part of the day's required calories, protein and fat are taken at this meal.

Fish is either served raw (*sashimi*), dipped in vinegar (*sunomono*), boiled, or cooked with soy sauce (*nitsuke*). Beef and pork are normally cooked or fried with vegetables because such forms are more economical and also go better with rice.

Western and Chinese cookery is served in conventional forms at restaurants, but in the ordinary homes, they have been altered to suit the taste, budget and culinary art of the housewife.

Gottani (vegetables cooked in soy sauce or *miso* in a huge pot) is a most common food in the farming villages.

Rice

Rice is thought to have been eaten in Japan since around 500 B. C. and it is believed there has been little change in the shape of the rice over the centuries.

In ancient times, rice was cooked in a steaming basket. The present form of cooking it with water in pots was developed in the Heian Era. The steamed rice was called *kowaii* and the softer boiled rice *himeii*.

Kowaii was more popular than *himeii* until the Kamakura Era. By this time, the common people were eating *kade-meshi* (rice boiled with other cereal) and it is believed *kowaii* was eaten on special occasions only.

In olden days, rice was usually cooked with other cereals because the rice crop was poor, and the farmers had to make liberal offerings to the Government. The farmers usually cooked rice with potatoes, millet and beans to supplement their staple food.

After the Meiji Era, Japan started importing rice from abroad, and improved farming techniques raised domestic rice production. As a result, the Japanese people started depending more and more heavily on rice. But even today there is not enough rice to go around for every one. The solution is believed to be more use of flour.

Typical Japanese food made of rice

Typical food made of rice are *mochi*, *sushi*, and *maze-gohan*.

Mochi (rice cake) is prepared in one of two ways: by steaming and pounding *mochi-gome* or by mixing *uruchi-gome* flour with water and steaming to dough.

Records show the Japanese people were eating *mochi* as far back as the Nara Era, but it is not clear whether *mochi* was invented in Japan or introduced from China.

Since ancient times, the Japanese people offered round shaped *kagami mochi* to the gods and ate them themselves on New Year and other festive occasions. The farmers invariably pound *mochi* on festivals and days when special farm rites are held.

There are several different types of *mochi* for special occasions. Examples are the *kusa mochi* (herb *mochi*) for Dolls Festival on March 3, the *chimaki* for the Boys Festival on May 5, and the *inoko mochi* eaten on Nov. 1.

Sushi (rice balls) existed in Japan in the Nara Period, but in a considerably different form from what it is known today.

In the olden days, *sushi* was made as a means of preserving beef and fish. The beef or fish were first salted and then

placed in a tub of steaming rice. The lid was then closed, until the rice became sour. The sourness was transmitted to the meat and fish. The Japanese people of those days found that such meat and fish were tastier and easier to preserve.

Such was the origin of the *sushi*. In more recent times, *sushi* makers used vinegar to make the rice sour quickly, and buried the beef and fish overnight in the vinagared rice. This form of *sushi* was called *hayazushi* (quick *sushi*). The latest—and quickest—method is to place raw fish over vinegared rice. In this form, the roles of the fish and rice are reversed, and fish becomes the relish for rice and not the main fare of *sushi*.

In the Edo Era, *sushi* was divided into *oshizushi*, made by squeezing vinegared rice through wooden molds; and *nigirizushi*, made by molding the rice with fingers. Today, *oshizushi* predominates in western Japan and *nigirizushi* in eastern Japan.

There are countless variations of *maze-gohan* (rice boiled with meat, fish, vegetables or a combination of them). It was first started with the *kade-meshi*, rice cooked with miscellaneous cereal or dried vegetable leaves.

The oldest form of *maze-gohan* is *akagayu* (rice gruel cooked with red beans). *Sekihan*, or *okowa*, (*mochigome* cooked with red beans) is also an old rice recipe that is used on festive occasions.

The *imogayu* of the Heian Era, another old form of *maze-gohan*, was squashed taro poured over a bowl of rice.

The most popular forms of *maze-gohan* are those in which chicken, sea bream, sweet potatoes or vegetables are cooked with rice. The best known is *gomoku-meshi* (five-ingredient rice) in which rice is boiled with flavored mushrooms, dried gourd slices, carrots, peas and other vegetables of the season.

Kama-meshi (pot rice) is *maze-gohan* served steaming hot in individual pots for each person. Many inexpensive restaurants serve pot rice featuring oysters, chicken, bamboo shoots and chestnuts.

Flour

Flour has never been used as widely in Japan as in Western countries, but the

method of making grain into flour has been known since ancient times.

Mochi are often made of rice flour and noodles and dumplings have existed for a long time in Japan.

The main reason why flour was not widely accepted as a major staple food in Japan was because the damp climate of Japan made it difficult to preserve grain in flour form.

Udon, the most common form of noodles, is eaten boiled and dipped in sweetened soy sauce soup.

Sōmen, developed in the Muromachi Era, is made by first mixing wheat flour, salt and oil. The dough is then spread and cut into narrow thread-like sheets and dried for preservation.

Soba (buckwheat noodles) was developed in the early Edo Era. Around this time, vendors and shops appeared that specialized in *udon* and *soba*. Today, the term *sobaya* is used in eastern Japan to designate vendors and shops that sell *udon* and *soba*. In western Japan, the same shops are called *udonya*.

In olden days *soba* and *udon* were served in private homes when friends and relatives gathered for funerals, memorial services and the Lantern Festival.

Dango, or dumplings, have existed in Japan since the Middle Ages. There are many varieties of dumplings, and they are usually eaten between meals.

Vegetables

Since ancient times, the Japanese diet has been primarily vegetarian.

Until the Muromachi Era, the people depended heavily on wild vegetables because there were only a few of the cultivated kind.

Even today, *fuki* (bog-rhubarb), *udo* (spikenards), *warabi* (bracken), *zemmāi* (fern), *takenoko* (bamboo shoots), *kinoko* (fungus) and *seri* (parsley) are eaten with relish.

In olden days, the major cultivated vegetables were radish, turnips, beans, cucumbers, eggplants, carrots, burdocks, and lotus roots.

Pumpkins, corns, and sweet potatoes were added in the Edo Era, and many new

varieties of vegetables were introduced from the West in the Meiji Era. Among them were potatoes, cabbages, tomatoes and onions which were adopted extensively throughout the country and have now become indispensable items.

Vegetables are served raw, cooked in *shōyu* (soy sauce), mixed with vinegar and *miso*, or prepared Western style with butter, salt and pepper.

Tsukemono is a unique Japanese dish that appears at every meal. In olden times, the vegetables were pickled in salt alone, but in the Nara Era, the people began pickling them also in *miso*, draft and rice-bran.

Umeboshi (apricot pickled in salt and beefsteak plant) is also an old recipe that could be classified as *tsukemono*.

Seaweed is found extensively in the seas surrounding Japan and has been used widely as food since olden days. The most common are *wakame*, *hijiki*, tangle and laver.

Tokoroten jellies are also made from seaweed.

Meat

Beef and pork were eaten in ancient Japan but with the introduction of Buddhism, the people started to eschew the use of meat, and it is only in recent times that it has come to be consumed on a large scale. The only exception was venison and boar meat hunted down and eaten by the inhabitants of the woodlands.

When Dutch cookery was introduced into Japan, the Japanese started eating meat again in small quantities, but they usually confined their choice to boar meat. In the late Edo Era, *sukiyaki* (beef cooked with vegetables in *shōyu*) became popular in cities like Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto and Osaka.

Pigs were originally raised in Okinawa, the Amami Islands and in Kagoshima and spread to Edo around 1770. But it was much later that they came to be raised for food.

Fowl was eaten more often than beef in Japan from ancient times to the Middle Ages. The fowl in these cases were wild birds and trapped or shot in hunting par-

ties. Chicken began appearing in the Japanese diet in the late Edo Era and is now the most common poultry eaten in Japan. Chicken eggs have been eaten since the Heian Era.

Fish and sea food

Because it is an island country, Japan is blessed with abundance of fresh fish and sea food. They were the major delicacies during the many centuries the Japanese people refrained from eating beef and pork.

Fish and sea food are normally served boiled or grilled, but in the beginning, they were served raw. When eaten raw, they were either dipped in *shōyu* or vinegar or *miso*. The *sashimi* and *namasu* are typical dishes that are still served extensively today.

Several methods were developed for preserving fish and sea food because in the olden days it took several days and sometimes weeks to transport fish from the seashore to the hinterlands. The most common forms are dried and salted fish and fish smothered with *miso*.

The *katsuobushi* is a high class seasoning made by drying the meat of bonito.

Shiokara, a uniquely Japanese recipe, is raw fish and intestines pickled in salt. This recipe was developed way back in the Heian Era.

Kamaboko, a popular food for festive occasions, is made by mashing fish meat and steaming them.

Seasonings

The major seasonings used for preparing Japanese food are salt, *miso*, *shōyu*, vinegar, sugar and oil.

Salt. Salt was made in Japan in the Middle Ages by distilling sea water. *Yaki-shio*, or table salt, was adopted in the beginning of the modern era. The salt produced in Japan today is white and pleasant to the eye, and has a soft, soothing taste. Most of Japan's salt farms are located along the shores of the Inland Sea.

Miso. *Miso* is an indispensable item in the Japanese diet. Most Japanese eat *miso*-

shiru, or *miso* soup, at least once a day. The habit will probably continue for some time to come.

Miso had its beginning in ancient times, but it was in the Heian Era that it came to be used in the way it is known today.

Miso is made from soy beans. There are many varieties depending on the variety of soy bean and the amount of salt used.

Miso is used for making *misoshiru*, for stewing, and as ingredient for a sort of Japanese mayonnaise.

Shōyu. The present form of *shōyu* was developed in modern times considerably later than *miso*. It is believed to have been evolved from *hishio*, a seasoning somewhere between *miso* and *shōyu* that was widely used in the Nara and Heian eras. *Hishio* was made of rice, soy beans, wheat, and salt. The *shōyu* as it is known today is made of soy beans, barley, malt salt and water.

Vinegar. Since olden times, the Japanese people used Japanese apricot vinegar, bitter orange vinegar and citron vinegar for seasoning. In the Middle Ages, vinegar was made by mixing boiled rice, malt, and water. In recent times, vinegar made by this method is called *komezu* (rice vinegar) and distinguished from *sakezu* (liquor vinegar) made by mixing *sake*, vinegar and water.

Sugar. Sugar existed in the Nara Era, but it was then used chiefly as medicine. It was only in the late Middle Ages that it came to be used in Japan for seasoning. Even then, sugar was imported and therefore a luxury. The farmers and lower ranking warriors and court officials could not afford to buy sugar under such circumstances, and sugar was unknown in many of the farming villages even as recently as the 1920's.

There were substitutes, however, and in the Heian Era, *mizuame* (millet jelly), honey and *amazura* (made by distilling leaves), were used for sweetening.

Japan began producing sugar in modern times but still depends heavily on imported sugar because sugar-canes can be produced only in warm regions like Shikoku and Kyūshū.

Sake. The Japanese people presumably made *sake* from nuts and berries in the days when grain was unknown.

Many centuries later, when rice and millet were cultivated, ways were devised to make *sake* from them. In times when there was no malt, the Japanese are said to have made *sake* by chewing grain and collecting the grain and saliva in pots. It is believed malt was developed in the Nara Era.

Shōchū is distilled liquor made from millet, potatoes and *sake* lees.

Wine has been produced in Japan for the past 50 or 60 years but it does not taste as good as foreign-made wine and demand is also negligible. Japan produces excellent beer, which is consumed extensively especially during the summer months.

Tea. Tea was first imported into Japan from China in powdered form. Its consumption was limited to the feudal lords, court nobles and priests, and it was taken with salt or *amazura*.

Green tea spread among the people in the Edo Era and is now exported to foreign lands.

Cakes. Until around 100 years ago, the common people of Japan ate dried fruit and taro in place of cakes.

In the Nara Era, *tōgashi* was imported from China. This was a sort of fried cracker made of rice or wheat flour and is considered the origin of the *sembei* of today.

Manjū (buns with bean jam stuffing) and *yōkan* (sweet beans jelly) were patterned after the *tenshin*, Chinese dessert introduced to Japan in the Kamakura Era by the Zen priests.

In the beginning, *manjū* was stuffed with vegetables. The practice of stuffing them with bean jam began in modern times.

Mochigashi (bean jam cakes), *okoshi* (millet and rice cakes) and *rakugan* (dried confection) are major Japanese confections. Western pastries and candies are also produced and sold in large quantities.

Fruits. The traditional Japanese fruits are peaches, persimmons, pears, chestnuts, tange rines, nutmegs and loquats. These have been improved upon over the centuries and are available in large quantities.

The major fruits introduced since the late 19th century are cherries, apples and grapes. These are also produced in large quantities.

Characteristics of the Japanese diet

The diet of the Japanese people is primarily vegetarian. Beef, pork, and chicken, while very popular in recent years, were historically not as widely used as in other countries, and in many sections of Japan, they are not considered an essential item of the diet.

This was partly because of the Buddhist aversion to meat but possibly even more so because the Japanese people like light and simple taste. The plentiful supply of fish and sea food also discouraged the use of beef and pork.

Color harmony, symmetry and arrangement are ruling factors in the serving of Japanese food and an attempt is made to preserve as much as possible the original taste, shape and color of the material used. Great care is also taken in the selection of vessels.

The Japanese people think of food in terms of the season. The first fish or vegetable of the season is eaten with much relish. Bamboo shoots, fungus and bracken signify spring to the Japanese people; bonito, the month of May, and mackerel pikes and mushrooms, autumn.

Tableware and table manners

Low wooden tables are usually used for eating, but on formal occasions, meals are served on individual trays. A second or third tray is used when all of the food cannot be placed on a single tray.

The food is served in chinaware bowls and dishes and the soup comes in lacquer bowls with lids.

Chopsticks play the triple role of knife, fork and spoon. They are usually made of wood, but the more expensive ones are made of ivory and silver.

Chopsticks have been used in Japan since ancient times. The old fashioned ones were shaped like tweezers and not separated in

2 like the modern ones. It appears spoons were used in the Middle Ages to eat rice, but the habit has now died out.

Liquor is served in chinaware jars called *tokkuri* and sipped from tiny chinaware cups that fit into the palm of the hand.

In the Heian Era, rice and supplementary food were eaten separately and not in alternate mouthfuls as they are eaten now.

Japanese food as it is known today, is a combination of the food of the court nobles of the Heian Era and the vegetable diet of the Kamakura Era.

Many sets of regulations govern the selection of dishes and bowls for specific types of food, the arrangement of the bowls and dishes, the handling of the bowls and chopsticks, and the order in which the food is taken.

History of the diet

As in all other countries, the variety of materials used and method of preparing Japanese food changed over the centuries. It underwent a big change when Buddhism was introduced from China and again when Japan opened its doors to the West.

We can suppose the diet and eating habits of pre-Buddhist Japan from the food offerings made to the gods. The offerings originally consisted of meat of fowl, animals and fish, vegetables, seaweed, salt and fruits. They were usually raw. *Sake* and water were offered as drinks.

In the Middle Ages a marked difference developed in the diet of the court nobles and the people in the countryside.

The farmers had 2 separate kinds of diet, one for daily consumption and another for special occasions. Delicacies handed down since ancient times and food ordinarily eaten by the court nobles were served on special days. The normal diet consisted of rice barley, and millet for staple food and *misoshiru* or *miso* pastes as relishes. This basic formula is still adhered to in the farming villages.

The court nobles were much more extravagant, and there was less distinction between their ordinary diet and meals for

special occasions. Their menu consisted of:

namamono—raw fish and animal meat;
himono—dried fish and animal meat;
aemono—fish and vegetable meat mixed with dressing of sesame seeds, bean paste, or vinegar;
yakimono—grilled or broiled meat and fish;
kuboutsuwamono—deep bowl of vinegared meat, fish and giblets;
atsumono—soup.

The court nobles preferred *sumashi* (clear soup) to the thick *misoshiru* prevalent in the countryside.

Sushi, the forerunner of the *sushi* (rice balls) of today, was developed in this era as a means of preserving raw meat and fish. *Namasu*, another raw recipe of this period, is believed to be the forerunner of *sashimi*.

The *namasu* as it is known today—vinegared fish and radish—was developed in more recent times.

On ordinary days, the people squatted on the floors for meals, but chairs and tables were used for banquets at the palace. Seasonings like salt, *miso* and *hi-shio*, forerunner of the soy sauce, were placed in containers on the banquet tables and used by the individual guests to suit their own taste.

Sake was served each time a new dish appeared, *utai* (Japanese lyrical drama) was recited to add a festive air to the banquet.

Rice was eaten from a single serving of a big bowl and eaten separately from the supplementary dishes.

The diet of court nobles of the Heian Era was centered around fish and animal meat and completely different from that of the common people. Some of the recipes were handed down from former times. Many were copied from China.

The spread of the Zen sect of Buddhism in the Kamakura Era gave rise to *shōjīn-ryōri*, vegetable diet started by the priests.

Tōfu (bean curd), *aburage* (fried bean curd), *gammodoki* (a variation of fried bean curd) were used widely in this period.

The warriors of the Kamakura Era ate frugal meals, but in the Muromachi Era they started to loll in luxury and eat lavish food.

The diet of the warriors in and around Kyoto was a combination of the diet of the court nobles of the Heian Era and the vegetable diet of the Kamakura Era. *Shōyu* (soy sauce) was developed in this period and the foundation was laid for a complete Japanese diet.

Tea ceremony was very popular in this era, and the food and manners of tea ceremony were eventually adopted into daily meals.

It was in this period also that a set of strict rules was drawn up governing table etiquette and manners. There were fixed rules where the guests of honor and host should be seated, how to move the chopsticks, and the order in which the food should be eaten. Everyone was expected to keep silent and sit up straight when eating.

The variety of dishes was conspicuously increased in this era. At the same time, a simple frugal form of diet called *kaiseki-ryōri* was spread. This was a tray of two or three dishes made of material on hand and served before and after tea ceremonies. In the Edo Era, *kaiseki-ryōri* was served to ordinary guests also, and two or more trayfuls of dishes were served only at exceptionally sumptuous feasts.

A typical menu for a *kaiseki-ryōri* consisted of soup, *namasu*, *tsuke-awase*, *hira-zara*, *chawammushi* (vegetable and sea food custard), pickles and *sake*. The same menu is followed today.

With the rise of the townsmen in the Edo Era, the form and taste of Japanese food

underwent further development. *Shōyu* and *sake* were refined, and the people started using sugar, hitherto considered a luxury, for seasoning.

Under such circumstances, many restaurants sprang up to meet the demands of the gourmets. The *soba* shops, eel shops, *tempura* shops and *sushi* shops—all familiar establishments of today—first appeared in this period.

The introduction of Western cookery by Portuguese and Dutch traders added further variety to the Japanese diet. From them, the Japanese people learned to bake bread and to cultivate potatoes and pumpkins.

In Nagasaki, where the Dutch traders were concentrated, there appeared shops that specialized in Dutch food. But it appears that the private homes were not affected by the food of the Dutchmen. *Kenchin-jiru*, a form of stewed vegetables often eaten by the farmers, was derived from the diet of the traders.

Western food was adopted in force in the Meiji Era, mostly in their original form. However, only Western dishes that go well with rice are served at private homes because rice is still the main item in the Japanese diet.

Along with the Westernization of the Japanese diet, Western table manners slowly invaded Japanese homes and helped to relax the rigid table manners handed down from olden days.

Houses and Home Living

House

General Characteristics

One of the main characteristics of Japanese houses is its simplicity of structure, bordering on the primitive, while on the other hand possessing a highly refined beauty of form. The Katsura Detached Palace in Kyoto, built in the early part of the 17th century, is a representative noble-

man's mansion of that age, and is a good example of the above characteristics. In structure, it is of wood, and it makes use of the *bishiki* style in common with that used in the houses of commoners; but its elegant beauty of style is such that it is praised by the foremost contemporary architects of the world. Walter Gropius, who visited Japan in 1954, wrote in *Le Corbusier of France* and in others, that it was impossible to discuss architecture without having seen Japanese structures; and Bruno Taut, a German

architect who was a refugee in Japan during the Second World War, has written in detail concerning the excellence of Japanese architecture in his works, praising the Katsura Detached Palace at the highest example of beauty, but adding also that although there is difference in degree, this beauty is to be found in all Japanese buildings.

What then, are the factors contributing to this beauty?

First Factor: Raw Materials

The first factor to be considered in answer to the above question is the material used for the construction of Japanese homes. The foundation is composed of stones (in recent years, of concrete); the framework of the house is of timber. The foundation, pillars and beams, and finally the rafters to support the roof, make up the basic framework of the house.

In Japan, all houses were made of timber, none of stone or of bricks. It was not until the middle of the 19th century that buildings of stone and brick came to be built even in limited numbers. Reasons for this were firstly the abundant supply of timber, and secondly, the frequent occurrence of earthquakes in Japan which necessitated a flexible structure.

Buildings of stone or of brick are less able to withstand the shock of earthquakes, and moreover are heavy, thus liable to cause more damage and injury than timber. Also, due to the abundance of timber supply, houses upon damage or destruction could readily be rebuilt if of wood. Consequently, Japanese houses from ancient times to the present employ timber in the building of their homes.

As no change occurred in the materials used for construction, the tools used by the carpenters accordingly are approximately identical to those used centuries previously, with little change. This lack of change meant on the other hand a corresponding lack in progress in building technique, as a result of which attention was turned primarily to the refinement of formal beauty.

Moreover, due to the lack of permanence in homes made of wood, and due to the repeated damages caused by earthquakes and by the typhoons that sweep the nation periodically each year in autumn, the Japanese people's attention was turned more toward the phenomena of nature in relation to their homes, with little regard for permanence as a requisite for their houses.

Due to the above-mentioned circumstances, the Japanese people came to have less regard for decorative artifices in their homes, preferring to admire the beauty of the unadorned raw material of timber itself. As a result, it is the custom to leave pillars and beams in their original state to show the nature of the wood itself, with paint being applied on them only in a few special cases.

Second Factor: The Wall

After the wooden framework of the house has been completed thin strips of bamboo are nailed or tied to the supporting framework to form the base of the walling. These bamboo strips are placed about 4 centimeters apart, crossed vertically and horizontally. For the basic layer of the wall, a somewhat clayish soil into which short strips of straw have been mixed, is applied. When this application has dried, the process is repeated one or several times, before the final finish is applied.

For the finish, shell ash or lime is used, but sometimes for an especially fine finish, certain types of natural clay and sand are employed with an adhesive agent. The wall finish is not applied over pillars and other parts which show the structural material, leaving the natural timber exposed to contribute to the beauty of the room interior. European houses tend to show the thickness of the walls, with their beauty to be found in the quality of sturdiness or massiveness, but in the Japanese house, the walls are invariably enclosed on both sides by wooden pillars which effectively hide the walls' thickness, that is, its third dimension, thus heightening its effect as a two-dimensional plane surface. The beauty of this surface, combined with the beauty of the natural grain of the timber used in pillars and other

such parts, is typical of the beauty to be found in the Japanese home.

Consequently, in Japan, special attention came to be focussed, when building a house, on the beauty of the *mokume* or *masame*, the natural markings of the wood grain. In some cases, depending on the usage, natural wood with the bark unremoved are also used, with the natural color of the wood bark and its rough texture being specially appreciated. At the same time, the natural tint in the wall finish, the fineness or coarseness of the grain, also came to have its share of the careful consideration.

Third Factor: The Open-structure and the Fixtures

The next factor to be taken into consideration in the nature of the Japanese house is its open structure. The summer climate of Japan, with its heavy rains, humidity and high temperature all contributed to this openness of structure; and this characteristic, together with the various *tategu* or fixtures employed, create the special beauty peculiar to the Japanese home.

It is impossible to meet the need for this openness of structure should stone or brick be employed, only timber allowing this freedom. In European architecture, this open structure came to be possible only after the development of modern steel and concrete buildings, and it was subsequent to this development that the open structure came to be utilized in modern homes as a new architectural style.

In the traditional Japanese house, the *shōji* is used as a versatile fixture separating the outside from the inside of the house, while the *fusuma* is employed to separate rooms. Both are sliding doors, whose upper and lower edges are held in place by grooves with narrow wooden rails. Outside of the *shōji*, sliding wooden doors called *amado* are built for the purpose of added protection at night. These wooden doors too are made to move along grooves, so that it is possible to slide them all into a special pocket prepared for them, thus opening up the side entirely during the daytime.

The *shōji* is composed of a wooden frame with crisscrossing wood strips on which a

special type of durable Japanese rice paper was pasted. These paper windows or doors, soften the light entering the room, and supply the room with a delicate nuance of lighting, while at the same time serving the purpose of a curtain to prevent eyes from peering inside. It is the use of this paper in the *shōji* and the use of bamboo strips in the wall base, that have led foreigners to refer to Japan as the land of houses made of paper and bamboo.

The *fusuma* is made of a wooden frame over which is pasted many layers of special Japanese paper. Over this, a thick sheet of finish-paper is applied. This finish-paper is sometimes plain, sometimes with a beautiful design. Often artists paint pictures, or poets inscribe poems, on this paper. Thus the *fusuma* may be said to be somewhat akin to the wall paper in the European house, or to the pictures hung on the walls; and at the same time they serve their purpose in separating the rooms from each other.

The *amado* or rain-doors are wooden frames on which thin wooden boards of a thickness of about 7 cm. are nailed.

From the middle of the 19th century, plate glass came to be manufactured in Japan. Since then, some parts of the formerly completely papered *shōji* were replaced by glass, or in some cases paper gave way completely to glass. However, in spite of the increased use of glass, no great change in the fundamental structure or form of the Japanese house occurred, its former unique characteristics continuing to exist as before.

Fourth Factor: Tatami

Almost the entire floor space in the Japanese home is covered by the *tatami* mats. These *tatami* mats are laid over the rough boards which form the floor of the house, and are mats of about 6 cm. thickness, and about 180 cm. long and 90 cm. wide. Straw is sewn together with linen thread to form a thickness of about 6 cm. in such a manner as to produce the degree of firmness of a cork board. Over this is sewn a mat made of rush.

This *tatami* mat has become the unit in measuring the size of a room, rooms being made in 3 mat, 4½ mat, 6 mat, 8 mat, 10 mat, and 12 mat sizes. Except in the case of unusually large mansions, rooms do not exceed this in size, the house being made up of a combination of these small rooms. Whenever there is a great number of guests, the *fusuma* separating these many rooms can be easily removed, making one large room to accommodate any number.

On the *tatami*, the Japanese people place cushions, or *zabuton*, with fillings of cotton, and use them for sitting, in place of the European chairs. At night, cotton-filled *futon* of about 10 cm. thickness, and about 180 cm. long and 90 cm. wide are placed on the *tatami*, these serving as beds. Rooms which are used during the day as guest rooms and studies, or as dining rooms, thus serve as bedrooms at night, the *futon* being laid directly on the *tatami* surface over which people walk during the day.

Hence it is important to keep the *tatami* immaculate; and moreover, it is not too advisable to have a large number of furniture cluttering up the rooms. This has resulted in the custom of always removing footwear in entering the house; and even the slippers used for walking on the board floors of the hallways, are not permitted in a *tatami* room.

To provide space for putting away unneeded *zabuton* at night or *futon* during the day, all guest rooms are invariably supplied with an *oshi-ire* or closet. From such customs, the interior of a Japanese home is always surpassingly neat and uncluttered. Hence, the beauty of the pillars, the walls, the door fixtures, the *tatami*, are to be appreciated at all times in daily life in practically the same form in which they had first been visioned by the planner. And because of the fact that furniture and the like are not utilized for interior decoration, the original beauty of the raw material and of the structural form are all the more enhanced.

Fifth Factor: Interior Decoration

In Japan, to have the room full of furniture and decorative objects is considered to be the utmost in vulgar taste. From the

various reasons mentioned previously, decorative devices are limited to the utmost, with a special alcove in the main guest room, called *tokonoma*, being considered the most appropriate place for discreet display of scrolls with their paintings or poetic inscriptions, and of artistically arranged flowers or some tastefully decorative object.

In the guest room and other main rooms in the house, it is customary that perhaps a small tea table in the center of the room is the only bit of furniture, with an additional brazier or 2 for warmth in winter. However, even this tea-table came into popular use only after the middle of the 19th century when the European tea-table came to be known in Japan. Until then, even this lone bit of furniture was not to be found in a room.

The *kakemono* to be hung in the *tokonoma* alcove is in the form of a scroll which is unrolled at time of display, and rolled again for storage. Paintings, poems or epigrammatic phrases are to be found on the scrolls, and the more famous the artist responsible for the painting or for the calligraphy, the more the scroll is valued. More than one such scroll are owned by most people, and the scrolls are changed to suit the season, or in harmony with the occasion, or especially for the guest of the day. Guests who are familiar with the correct etiquette, on entering the guest room, approach the *tokonoma* and after bowing in the direction of the displayed scroll, spend a moment in appreciating the beauty and appropriateness of the scroll.

Even the *kakemono* scrolls which are thus so highly valued, are never displayed more than one at a time. It is this same love for simplicity that has prevented the painting of wood parts in a room, and the resultant use of a clear lacquer when application is unavoidable, or when paint must be used, it is limited to the smallest area possible, in such a manner as to serve as an accent to the simple beauty of the room. For instance lacquer may be applied to the wood on the lower part of the *tokonoma* alcove, accentuating the color harmony of the room in the most effective manner.

Such are the characteristics to be found in the interior of a Japanese house. And, these same characteristics also apply to the outer aspect of the house.

Sixth Factor: The Roof

The most prominent factors determining the outside aspect of a house are its roof, its outer wall, and its open parts such as doors and windows. Of these, the open structure has already been touched upon in the chapters on interior characteristics.

As for the roof, the roof of the Japanese house is made with due consideration for the heavy rainfall, with a slant of 45 degrees or more, and provided with deep eaves. The shade made by these deep eaves is a determining factor characterizing the Japanese house. In particular, the soft slant of the thatched roofs in rural villages, coupled with the dark shade from the eaves falling on the white of their paper *shōji*, creates a gentle and serene beauty. Moreover, this beauty is not one created through the addition of arbitrary decorative fixtures, but is a beauty inherent to the utility of the structural form. In other words, in the same way that the beauty of the interior of a Japanese home is due to the structural form and to the beauty of the natural wood, so the outer beauty is again that of naturalness.

As for materials used in roofs, houses in the rural districts have roofs thatched with miscanthus or straw, while in mountain regions, wooden slabs are used. In the cities, roofs are generally of slate tiles, this being more effective in the prevention of fires.

This tile is a unique feature of the Japanese house, being of a grayish black color and having a curve to it which gives the finished roof an appearance of being covered with gentle waves. When one looks down from a height on the old city of Kyoto, which fortunately escaped devastation in the war, one is struck by the beauty of the sight of the roofs in the city below, giving the impression of wavy undulation.

Moreover, this curve in the slate is most practical from the standpoint of the heavy rainfall in Japan, being perhaps the most

economic and efficient means possible of taking care of the flow of rainwater. In cities like Tokyo which were partially destroyed by fire during the war, the tendency seems to be to make roofs now of zinc sheets. In rural villages, too, the new houses do not have thatched roofs, but slate in many cases. However, in spite of these newer trends in roofing, the deep eaves still are retained as a characteristic of the roof form.

Seventh Factor: The Outer Walls

Some limited parts of the outer walls, such as portions under eaves which are protected from the rain, are finished with clay or mortar; but other parts are generally made of wood, this being a precaution against undue damage by rain. This wood too, is usually left in the natural state; or if coated, a transparent application, allowing the wood grain to show, is used. The application used for this coating is made from unripened persimmon, the main constituent of which is tannin acid. It is colorless when extracted from the fruit, but upon being exposed to the air, it turns brown, and is effective as an anti-decay application, as well as giving a gentle color to the wood.

In other cases, the *bengara*, a red iron oxyde, is used to coat the wood surface of outer walls; and the reddish color which is peculiar to house in the old city of Kyoto is due to the use of this *bengara* on the outer walls.

Relationship between Room and Garden

Due to the open structure of the Japanese house, and to the natural love of the Japanese people for nature, there is a close relationship to be found between the interior of a Japanese house and the adjoining garden.

Unlike the European house (prior to modern architectural designs), in which the garden was separated from the interior by walls with high-silled windows, the Japanese house is such that from any room one can step directly into the garden. In this manner, particularly in summer, the garden

and the house interior form a composite entity.

However small a house may be, a garden with trees and plants is considered a requisite, so that nature may be brought into daily living, and so that daily living may reach out into nature.

Forming a connecting link between the garden and the inner room, is the *engawa*, a wood-floored veranda-hallway under the south eave. In summer this *engawa* serves to keep out the direct rays of the sun from the inner room, while in winter it captures and retains the warmth of the sun, and serves to prevent the room's direct exposure to the cold outside wind. At the same time, it serves as a convenient place from where to view the garden, or to slip on footwear to step down into the garden.

In the case of the *chashitsu* (tea-room), it would have no meaning whatsoever if there were no garden.

In summer, when all the door fixtures are removed in order to allow the utmost freedom for the wind to pass through the house, the life in a Japanese house may be thought of as being practically the same as being lived outdoors, with the garden being considered as an extension of the guest room.

The Japanese love of nature works in the other direction also, leading them to try to bring nature into the house. It was for this reason that from ancient times, *bonsai* was practiced. *Bonsai* is a miniature potted plant, and in the perfection of its form, the Japanese saw a symbol of the universe.

This *bonsai* is placed on the tea-table in the guest room, or on the *tokonoma* alcove, or in the sunny *engawa* in winter. From this miniature tree, it is possible to imagine a great tree standing in the middle of a field; from a collection of miniature trees in a single pot, one may imagine a whole forest of great trees. From a *bonsai* tree which has shed its leaves in autumn, it is possible to imagine the bare branches of a great tree in winter, and to remember the color of the winter sky.

Design

Because the size of all rooms in a Japanese house is based on the *tatami* as a unit, the design of the entire house also utilizes

the same for its basic size unit. The *tatami* is 6 *shaku* wide and 3 *shaku* wide (approximately 182 cm. × 90 cm.). The architect, therefore, in designing a house, takes a sheet of graph paper which is 1/100 of 1 square *shaku*, and using 3-*shaku* as the basic unit, lays out his design.

As mentioned before, the size of the room too is based on the 6 *shaku* × 3 *shaku* size of the *tatami*. Also the *oshi-ire* (closet) and the *rōka* (hallway), the *engawa* (veranda) are measured by means of this basic unit, with a smaller size than the unit being counted as a fraction such as 1/2 or 1/4 of the unit.

Hence the placement of the pillars too, become 3 or 6 *shaku* apart, or the multiple of either of these numbers; and all *tategu* (sliding doors and windows), being also based on this unit, have a standardized size.

In measuring the size of the entire house, the unit is *tsubo* which is 6 *shaku* squared, in other words, the size of 2 *tatami*. Thus, the Japanese people can immediately deduce the size of the house when he hears how many *tsubo* it covers. It is one of the unique features of Japanese architecture, that in spite of the fact that little structural changes have occurred in the past few centuries, it possesses a high degree of superiority as to form, and also possesses this standardization of unit. Contemporary architects of the world regard this standardization in the Japanese house with a good deal of interest, and it is perhaps only natural that they should consider the possibility of applying a similar system to their own designs and methods of construction.

Workmen

Even today, the great majority of houses in Japan are made of wood; and moreover, there has been practically no change in the methods and technique employed in construction through long centuries from the past. In other words, Japanese construction technique may be said to be a perfection based on ancient tradition. Since the buildings are made mostly of wood, the main worker is the carpenter, and his tools are practically unchanged from those employed

far in the past. Also the system in which there is an *oyakata* or sort of boss who supervises the work done by his apprentices, is conducted in exactly the same manner as in the past.

In cases where the building to be constructed is too extensive to be done by one boss and his apprentices, several groups, each with its *oyakata* may be employed simultaneously. In recent years, there are a few cases in which an independent carpenter or two may also be employed in such work.

Plasterers too, like the carpenters, work similarly under this old system of employment. In this occupation, there are men who actually do the work of applying the plaster, and one or two other workers who mix the clay or mortar as directed by the plasterer. These workers make up one team.

The workmen who prepare the inside wall reinforcements with thin strips of bamboo, before the outer plaster is applied, are an independent group of workers unrelated to the plasterers. They are called *komaiya* and they move from one building site to another, always one step ahead of the plasterers who follow them. These workers too, form a team composed of several members.

As for the roofers, the workers who use slate tiles are an entirely different group from those who work with zinc sheets. However, as the workers who make zinc sheet roofs also are the ones who take care of the conduits and drainage pipes, they are often to be seen working on the same site with the slate-tile roof workmen.

The *tatami* workmen are of course a group unique to Japan. Among this group too, tools of long ages past are still utilized with very little change. And, as in the case of afore-mentioned groups of workers, the *tatami* work men too work under the old *oyabun* and apprentice system. After the shape of the room has been established by the work of the carpenters, the *tatami* workmen carefully measure the actual dimensions of the room, taking into consideration even the slightest deviation from the standard; and then the *tatami* is made ac-

cordingly to allow for each small irregularity. Unless the *tatami* is made with this great precision in measurement, there will be small open spaces between the mats, in which dust will accumulate.

The *tategu* or fixtures maker is somewhat different from the other workers, for his products are made in a standardized size employing a sort of factory-like manner of production. When the work of the carpenters has been more or less completed, the *tategu* worker compares the blueprint with the actual measurements of the house, and then proceeds to make the fixtures at his own workshop. Except in the case of very remote rural sites, most of such workshops are provided with some form of motorized machinery; and certain parts of the fixtures are thus produced by machine.

Although the *fusuma* is numbered among the *tategu* of fixtures, the *tategu* worker does not make the *fusuma*. This is handled by the *kyōjiya*, who is a worker specializing in the finishing of scrolls to be hung on walls or pillars, and are men of sensitive taste. Thus it can be seen that the *fusuma* is considered to be a thing of artistic beauty as well as of utility.

There is also a group of workmen known as the *tobishoku*. The *tobishoku* were, until the middle of the 19th century, the city firemen, and also engaged in taking care of miscellaneous duties in the city. Today, they handle such odd jobs as building foothold scaffoldings at building sites, putting *tobishoku*, gained from experience in fire by the carpenter, or guarding the building site. Because of the special agility of the *tobishoku*, gained from experience in fire-fighting, which enables them to move about freely at high places, they are employed to hoist pillars into place, or to lay the beams or the truss of roofs, thus forming an occupation unique to Japanese construction.

The afore-mentioned types of workmen are all groups unique to Japan. There are besides these special workers, the electrician, the pipe-layer and others who came into being after the advent of the modern form of construction. In these newer occupations, the workmen are not tied by the

special Japanese system of old. And at construction sites for modern buildings and modern apartments and concrete houses, the various types of workmen mentioned previously as being peculiar to Japan, are no longer to be seen.

Villages

The Japanese people of olden time were principally dependent upon farming for a living; hence their homes developed as farm houses, which were grouped in communities near the cultivated fields. Due to the need for water, these villages developed along rivers or near springs, as has been shown by excavations. However, as these ancient houses were all made of wood, their remains do not exist today, and we may guess at their form only through the clay *haniwa* figures which have been found in these ruins and in old tombs.

Communities which in the early age tended to develop near farm sites and springs, later came to be formed around certain influential families of the region. In this age too, however, it may be supposed that there was little difference in the construction of the houses of those of authority and the common people around them. This state of affairs continued until the 7th century, when continental culture was introduced into Japan. At the end of the seventh century, in the era of Emperor Jitō, the capital city known as *Fujiwara-kyō* was established. This was the first Japanese city to be built based on the city-plan system learned from China. The establishment of this planned capital city, with its castle as the residence for the ruler, marked the point at which a difference began to develop between city dwellings and farm houses.

This age saw the establishment of the peerage system, which in turn gave rise to a special form of architecture in the construction of homes for the aristocrats. And, at the same time, it must be supposed that also a new form of city-dwelling for the people of lower rank who lived in the city, developed together with the establishment of a

definite style for the ruler's castle and for the mansions of the peerage.

At the beginning of the 8th century, the second capital city of *Heijō-kyō* was established, and it seems that in this city, the dwellings were arranged in a systematic order along the streets, clearly taking on more of the nature of city houses. However, both *Fujiwara-kyō* and *Heijō-kyō* disappeared long ago, leaving only faint traces of their existence at the sites where they once flourished.

At the end of the 8th century, the capital was transferred to *Heian-kyō*, which is the present-day Kyoto. At that time, the city was planned to become the permanent capital of the nation, as can be judged from the systematic and orderly laying-out of streets which can still be seen today in the city of Kyoto. Even today, we can see the site and the scale of the imperial palace in that city. As for the houses of the common people, they have gone through countless changes since that day, but we can see that they were built in along these orderly, planned city streets.

Thus, it can be seen that it was with the establishment of these 3 consecutive capitals, *Fujiwara-kyō*, *Heijō-kyō* and *Heian-kyō*, that the 'city' as such came to be inaugurated in Japan, and together with this fact, city dwellings came to have features distinctive from those of farm houses.

Besides these cities which were established as sites for the capital, other cities came into being from about the 10th century. These were communities centered around powerful local families who started as large-scale farmers in their respective districts. With gradual accumulation of power, these families became feudal landlords; and it was around their castles that communities developed as fortress towns.

This trend became particularly evident about the 12th century, when the military clan of Genji (Minamoto family) established a military government center at Kamakura, independent of the imperial capital city of Kyoto. The fact that Kamakura was in the center of a farming district far removed from the imperial capital made the rise of this city a particularly remarkable event.

Again, with the establishment of feudal rule in the 16th century, *daimyō* lords were appointed to rule the provinces; and around the castles of these *daimyō* there arose castle towns. The castle-town of Edo, which grew up around the castle of the Tokugawa family, supreme military regent of the land, developed into the largest castle-town of all, this town being the present-day Tokyo.

In these castle towns, the main importance was attached to the castle, so that little attention was paid as to how the town developed around it. Hence, unlike in the planned city of Kyoto, the streets were allowed to develop in any direction, resulting in the labyrinth that characterizes Tokyo today.

In this manner, castle-towns developed, and communities of city-dwellings increased accordingly. Aside from these castle-towns, certain port-towns developed also, at points where fishing vessels gathered or where trade vessels assembled as commerce developed. At first, these port cities were more or less of a similar nature to the castle-towns; and Osaka is a typical example of such a port-city.

With the advent of the modern age, and with the accompanying development of trade and industry, these old castle-towns and port-towns gradually became commercial and industrial centers, in keeping with the times.

In the middle of the 19th century, the Meiji Restoration ushered in the modern industrial age to Japan, and the foundations for the makings of a modern nation were laid. Following this development, new cities came to be formed around factories as industrial centers.

Ordinarily, the farm houses serve as both residence and place of work; and the city dwellings too, in the earlier stage, were also of a similar dual purpose nature. Even today, when the enterprise is on a small scale, shops, factories and other workshops are to be found together with the place of residence. However, the development of production on a large scale, gradually forced the workshops out of the homes, so that the homes became purely residential houses,

with the factories being located at some other site. The larger the city, the greater the number of purely residential homes in its surrounding districts, these residences forming communities around the industrial centers. The gradual growth of such cities as Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, Osaka, Kobe and other large centers in the direction of their outlying suburbs, is the result of the development of such residential communities.

On the other hand, in the rural districts of the provinces, farm houses remain in a state barely changed from that of centuries ago, and are to be found forming sparse communities around the farming districts. And the general situation is found prevailing in which a small town at which general merchandise may be purchased in small dual-purpose store-residences, is located at perhaps a one or two hour walk's distance from the scattered outlying farm-houses.

Dwellings

In the City

As can be seen from the above, city dwellings were in the main of 2 categories, the homes of the aristocrats, and those of the common people who were engaged in commerce and industry. However, of the aristocratic homes of the past age, only the imperial palace in Kyoto has survived to this day, having been accorded special attention. As for the homes of the common people in the cities, there are only a very few examples left of houses over a century old, due to repeated ravages by fire, and to the fact that almost all the larger cities, with the exception of Kyoto, suffered damage during the war.

The difference between city dwellings and farm houses, brought about mainly through the difference in the manner of living and in the layout of the land for the building site, is best seen through a comparison of their respective floor plans. The city houses of Kyoto may be said to retain the features of the oldest forms of such residences. Because the houses faced on the

streets, the lots tended to be narrow; consequently the entrances of the houses were not very wide, and the house extended lengthwise to the rear. An earthen-floored passageway extended from the front to the rear of the house, serving as a sort of vestibule, where shoes or *geta* (wooden clogs) could be removed before entering the rooms. At the very rear of this passageway was the kitchen, where the cooking hearths were located. The rooms of the house were located alongside this long passageway, and in cases where there were three or more rooms, those in the middle were without direct sunlight or access to fresh air. In cases where the house was only of one story, small windows in the roof were possible for these inner rooms, but when the house was a two-storied building, even this was impossible.

Nowadays, with the installation of the water system, the location of the kitchen does not pose such a great problem; but prior to the middle of the 19th century, the kitchens at the end of the earth-floor passageway were provided with wells, from which water was drawn up by means of a pulley. Even today, such indoor wells can be seen, the only difference being that hand-levers are used now instead of pulleys.

Today, almost all kitchens in city residences are provided with facilities for using either gas or coal; but in the old days cooking was done on ovens or hearths in which wood was burned for fuel. Even today, due to the belief that rice is better when cooked over a wood-fire, there are some cases in which such woodburning hearths are employed side by side with modern gas ranges.

It was customary to build the lavatory outside of the main house, in a separate enclosure in the back yard. The bathroom, too, was generally located in this separate building, together with the lavatory. The reason for building the lavatory apart from the house grew from the lack of a regular sewage disposal system, and was an attempt to keep the house and daily living as far apart from the refuse as possible.

The garden faces on the main room of the house, which is the most inner room; and, in large houses, it is the one with the most

seclusion and privacy. The middle room generally contains the stairway to the upper floor, and seldom has the nature of an independent room.

Such, in general, were the traits of the old city dwellings. However, the city residences which are increasing daily in the suburbs of the large centers, are of an entirely different nature. Great attention is given to the matter of ventilation and light, with however, due consideration to the matter of the house being suited to the traditional taste and living habits of the Japanese people.

In these instances, the old hearths and wells of the former houses were dispensed with altogether, and, with the installation of modern, sanitary flush-toilet system, the toilet too, left their out-houses and became located within the main house.

The public life of the Japanese, as seen in schools, offices, factories, banks, theaters and the like, gradually took on a change, shifting from the former custom to the use of chairs and of shoes in the western manner; hence residences in the cities also began to take on a Western style, with decreasing use of the *tatami* mats in rooms. However, in spite of this, traditional styles are still retained in the use of the *tategu* fixtures, the furniture, and in the general structural form of the rooms.

In post-war Japan, a small percentage of residences gave way to the trend toward concrete houses and apartment houses; but for the Japanese people, who for so many centuries have lived only in wooden houses, this trend is one which must be considered quite revolutionary.

It was after World War II that these modern trends became apparent to a great extent in the mode of the city dwellings; but actually such changes were instituted as early as 1923, after the Great Earthquake of Tokyo ravaged the city with fire. At that time, although the number of homes employing concrete was still very limited, a considerable number of homes began to adopt a Western manner of homes and home-living.

The above, then, are the respective characteristics of the traditional and the modern city homes. However, it must be

mentioned that even so, there are certain characteristics which both have in common, or in which the modern is influenced by the traditional. Instances are as below:

Firstly, the rooms of a Japanese house are seldom designed for a single particular use. For instance, in large houses of four or five rooms, a special guest room may be prepared, but in general, the smaller houses do not have such a guest room. Again, there are hardly any bedrooms built to serve that purpose only, with rooms which are used for other purposes during the day serving as bedrooms at night, the people sleeping on *futon* quilts spread out over the *tatami* mat floor.

However, there is one room which may be said to have a special purpose, and that is the *chanoma*. This is the equivalent of the dining room in the western-style house. It also serves as a living room, and is the place where the family assembles. In this room is placed a *naga-hibachi* or rectangular brazier and a low table which came to be used from about the 18th century. The brazier is never without glowing charcoals banked in ashes, so that there is always hot water available for making the hot green tea that is the favorite beverage of the Japanese people.

Prior to the 19th century, a common table was not used, each member of the family having his own small table or tray which was put away after each meal. Hence, at hours other than mealtime, the room, with the exception of the brazier, showed no sign of its use as a dining room.

The Japanese toilet and the bath too, have special characteristics. In general, the toilet is made up of three compartments of about three square feet each, the first being for washing the hands, the second being the gentlemen's toilet, and the inner compartment being supplied with a toilet in the center of the space, at which one squats instead of sitting in the manner of the western-style toilet.

As for the bathroom too, a great difference is to be seen from those of the West, due to the fact that the manner of bathing is entirely different in Japan. The bathtub installed within the bathroom, is of a size

large enough to submerge the bather to the shoulders when he sits inside it; and in this tub hot water is boiled to a temperature of 42-5 degrees centigrade. Before entering the tub, the bather first rinses his body with hot water from the tub. Then, after soaking himself for some moments in the tub, he gets out and washes himself outside of the tub, with hot-water in containers other than the tub itself. A Japanese never washes himself in the bathtub proper. After washing and rinsing himself, he will enter the tub to soak and warm himself again, this process being repeated before he is finally ready to end his ablutions. The Japanese are very fond of bathing in this manner, and bathe very often.

In cases where the house is small and not provided with a bathroom, the people go to the public bath-house. Public bath-houses developed in the cities several centuries ago; and in the old days before the advent of the newspapers and the radio, these bath-houses served as a sort of mass-communication center where gossip and news were passed around.

In spite of the drastic changes in modes of living which took place in Japan from about the middle of the 19th century, the Japanese house, like other phases in Japanese life, still retain many traditional features. In the city residences which are generally much more modern than the farm dwellings, and even in the ultra-modern city apartment houses of today, bathrooms are still constructed in the above-mentioned traditional Japanese manner, and at least a few of the total number of rooms in a house or suite is still laid with the *tatami* mats.

The Japanese people's stubborn retention of old customs is also to be seen in the *kamidana* and the *butsudan* which are to be found in almost all homes, whether of the city, farm, or fishing villages. The *kamidana* is a small family Shintō altar, generally made in the shape of a miniature shrine dedicated to the goddess credited as the founder of Japan, *Amaterasu-Ōmikami*. However, the altar is not dedicated exclusively to this goddess; there are occasions when other gods are enshrined, or

when this goddess is enshrined together with other gods.

As for the *butsudan*, this is the Buddhist family altar. In this, an idol of Buddha is placed in the center, to the right of this a figurine representing the founder of the particular sect in which the family believes, and to the left of the central figure, a plaque representing the family's ancestral god or gods. Every day, and particularly on the death-days of ancestors, this altar is the place of worship in the family. Consequently, in order to facilitate this daily worship, the *kamidana* and the *butsudan* are generally located in the *chanoma* or in a room adjacent to it.

This co-existence of both the Shintō and Buddhist altars in a single house is indeed a strange custom, but it is regarded as nothing out of the ordinary in Japan; and these altars may be considered an indispensable item in all homes whether in the city, or in farm and fishing villages. It may be something quite incomprehensible to the European; but there are cases where *butsudan* and *kamidana* may be found even in households which have embraced the Christianity.

In Farm and Fishing Villages

In Japan, those who live principally by farming number almost half of the entire population. It is thought that the farm dwellings in which these people live are patterned after those of many centuries ago, although there is no way of determining when that style originated, because there are none so old remaining today. However, as mentioned previously, Japan started out as a nation whose economy was based on agriculture, and in the same way, the style of her dwellings also developed from the farmhouses. The rural houses, even when the people are not engaged in farming, but in fishing, hunting or forestry, were built in a manner almost identical with those of the farmers.

A feature of the farmhouse is the fact that with the exception of the *engawa* veranda on the south side, there are no hallways or passageways between the rooms. The house is built as one great room which

is divided into 4 by *fusuma* sliding doors which criss-cross at the center of the house.

The second characteristic of these houses is the *doma* or earth-floor passageway that extends from the entrance to the rear of the house, where the kitchen is located. This, as has been mentioned previously, is a feature which is also to be seen in some of the old houses of Kyoto.

A third feature is the *irori* or open floor-hearth which is located at the entrance to the inner room, at the point where one steps up into the room from the *doma*. This provides warmth in winter, and also serves as a place for cooking some of the foods.

The room farthest in from the entrance is considered the best room in the house, and is utilized as the guest room. The center room to the rear of the house is usually used for storing the quilts, and is also used by the family as its bedroom at night, with all the members of the family generally sleeping together in this one room. Even when the other rooms are vacant, it is very seldom that any member of the family sleeps elsewhere than this one room. This custom, which is found most firmly entrenched in the rural areas, is an example of the pertinacious hold of old feudalistic habits, in which the individual is submerged to the family whole. This feudalistic form of family life is so ingrained that no one senses anything unusual in the fact that rooms in a house are separated only by unlocked sliding doors, with no privacy to be had anywhere, in the European sense of the word.

Intimate family life is centered almost exclusively around the *irori* or floor hearth. The stove in the kitchen is used for preparing the rice; but all other food is generally cooked over the fire in the floor hearth.

As for the earth-floor *doma*, a part of it is used as the kitchen; but there are also cases where the bath is also placed in the *doma*. In this case, there is no privacy for the bath either. Whereas in the city homes, the bath occupies a special room of its own, in the farm home, it is generally merely allotted a corner of the *doma*.

In farm houses in northern Japan, a part of this *doma* is also used as the stable. An enclosure is built inside the *doma* near the entrance, and the horse is kept here. On rainy days, the smell from the stable fills the entire house, but no one seems to mind or notice it. This is because to the farmers with their meager living, the horse is a great necessity in agriculture, and therefore the farmer's most valued possession, with the animal being regarded with as much affection as if it were a member of the family.

The toilet is generally located in outhouses away from the house. The excrement is stored in a pit under the outhouse, and becomes essential fertilizer for the farm. Sometimes a special toilet is built near the guest room, but this is exclusively for use by guests, with members of the family seldom utilizing it except on special necessity, as at times of great rain or at midnight when the outhouse is too inconvenient. The reason for not using the house-toilet is that it is inconvenient to have the excrement-fertilizer located at two different spots.

The well is dug to the rear of the house. Though hand pumps are now to be seen in use, the most numerous type is the old draw-well, the next being wells with pulleys. There are almost no farm houses with facilities for running water, but there are cases where mountain streams or springs have been utilized to form a primitive, common water-system, through the use of bamboo troughs.

The family altars (*butsudan* and *kamidana*) are accorded even greater regard in farm families than in the city, with the space being allotted to the altars being much greater. There are even some cases when a special room is made for the placement of the Buddhist altar, such rooms being used exclusively for the purpose of worship.

Roofs of the farm homes are generally thatched with grass. Some are roofed with thin wood slats, others with the bark of the cryptomeria tree. Thatch-roof farmhouses, surrounded by a grove of trees set in the

midst of orderly fields, form a sight which is typical of rural Japan.

Furniture and drapery

Outline

Due to the love of simplicity, and to the fact that, as described above, the rooms in a Japanese house are not made with any special purpose in mind, there are not so many kinds of furniture to be found in the Japanese home as in the European home. Taking into consideration just the single difference of sitting on the *tatami* instead of being seated on chairs, it can be seen that whereas the European manner calls for chairs, arm-chairs, sofas, tables, desks, beds and the like, the Japanese manner requires only the *zabuton* cushions and the bed-quilts. Moreover, even these items, when not in use, are put away in the closet and are not to be seen in the room.

In general, it would seem that the number of furniture items would increase in later eras, but in Japan, the opposite is true, with more pieces of furniture having been used in the ancient days than in more modern times. For instance, up until about the 13th century, the palaces of the emperor and the mansions of the peers were made up not of small separate rooms, but one great room. Hence, in place of walls and *tategu* fixtures to separate the space into smaller areas, a variety of furniture was used for that purpose. These items becoming unnecessary in a later age, they were discarded, leaving less number of furniture in use than in the previous age.

Most of these old furniture pieces are unfamiliar to the most Japanese people today, being known only through references in old literature, and to the students of old customs. So far as such furniture is concerned, the history of their development and use may be said to have been concluded at about the 13th or 14th centuries. Or perhaps it would be more appropriate to say that furniture used exclusively in the imperial palaces and the mansions of the aristocrats, disappeared together with the gradual decline in the unique structure of

the aristocratic mansions; but on the other hand, the history of furniture as used by the common people continued from very ancient times to the present, always showing the characteristic that only a very few items of furniture were used at any time.

From about the middle of the 19th century, Japan emerged from its long years of seclusion, and began to trade with the outside world, in particular with Europe. With the resulting importation of the western style of living into Japan, the situation changed considerably. In the factories, and in the social structure, slowly but surely a change occurred. As the western style of living came to be adopted in social and public life, the life of the Japanese people came to be of a dual nature; and the people became aware of many contradictions in the ways of their daily life.

Therefore, on the occasion of any such great upheaval as those caused by the Great Earthquake or the ravages of World War II, the life of the Japanese people took sudden leaps in the direction of Europeanization, as a result of which the use of western-type furniture also increased.

However, even in such cases importation of the European style of furniture, consideration was given to the appropriateness to the Japanese house, so that their form and use came to be modified to suit the situation. Particularly evident is the use of materials peculiar to Japan, in an attempt to create furniture which possessed the traditional traits of Japan itself.

Types of Furniture no Longer in Use

Kichō. This was used from the 10th century to the 15th century, for separating a large room into smaller compartments in the homes of the noblemen. It was invariably used by the ladies of high rank, to insure them privacy from outside eyes. They were from 90 to 120 cm. in height, with 2 vertical pillars which supported a horizontal bar. On the bar a drapery called *kyo-katabira* was hung. The curtain was made up of 5 strips, and between each strip was hung a silken cord.

Chōdai. The *chōdai* was a platform

about 60 cm. high which was used as the master's place. It was 270 cm. square in size. A *kichō* curtain at the entrance served to make it the master's sleeping quarters. The platform was made of cedar, unlacquered. On this platform were placed *tatami* with cloth borders.

Tatsugomo. Mats made from the *komo*, a type of rush, joined together to form a shape similar to the *kichō*, were called *tatsugomo*. They were of a portable nature, and were in use prior to the *kichō*. In later years, they came to be used in Shinto rites.

Zushi-dana. The *zushi-dana* was used by the noblemen at about the same era as the *kichō*, and was a sort of small chest or desk which was placed beside the user for laying books and other objects. It was made of cedar, and finished with lacquer. About 60 cm. in height, 86 cm. long and 42 cm. wide, the *zushi-dana* was made up of two layers. The lower portion was provided with a pair of doors to serve as a chest. This too, was a portable item of furniture.

Nikai-dana. The *nikai-dana* were in use at about the same era as the *zushi-dana* and were somewhat similar to the *zushi-dana*, but smaller, being about 42 cm. high, 85 cm. in length and 40 cm. in width. The lower portion did not have doors as in the *zushi-dana*. The material and finish was similar to that of the *zushi-dana*. The upper part was used for placing the *hitori* (incense burner) and for *yusuru-tsugi*, a type of water-container. The lower portion was used for setting the *dako* (spittoon) or for boxes. This was also a portable item of furniture.

Sho-dana. The *sho-dana* too was much like the previous 2 items, and was used mainly for placing books. It was not so decorative as the *zushi-dana* and the *nikai-dana*.

Hitori. This was placed on the upper layer of the *nikai-dana*, and was an incense burner which was used to scent garments or fans. A silver incense-burner (16 cm. in diameter, 4.5 cm. in depth) is placed within a wooden box of octagonal shape (22 cm. in diameter, 9 cm. in depth), over which a basket woven of silver strips (up-

per opening 6 cm., lower opening 20 cm. in diameter, 29 cm. in height) was set.

Yusuru-tsugi. The *yusuru-tsugi* was placed together with the *hitori* on the upper portion of the *nikai-dana*. This was a water-container in which was kept the whitish water taken after washing rice, this water being used for washing the hair. The *yusuru-tsugi* was made of lacquered wood; but in later years, those made of gold, copper or silver also came to be used. It was about 23 cm. in height.

Dako. The *dako* is a spittoon which is placed on the *nikai-dana*, made of silver. This is a receptacle 6 cm. deep, upper opening 4 cm. in diameter, which is placed on a small stand 33 cm. x 30 cm. Over this was placed a *dakohane*, 4.5 cm. deep and with a diameter of 29 cm. across.

Karabitsu. The *karabitsu* is also called the *karado* and is a rectangular wooden case, with 4 or 6 legs, to allow for passage of air underneath the box to prevent moisture. Originally used for storing clothes, it later came to be used for storing scriptural scrolls, books or armor. Some were made of plain wood; some were lacquered and artistic objects.

Tsuzura. The *tsuzura* is a box woven with *tsuzura-fuji* (*Sinomenium diversifolium*) or *ao-kazura* (*Sabia japonica*), both twining trees related to the wistaria. Vines in the tubular form were used for the woof, and split vines for the warp. The corners and edges were covered with leather. There are also *tsuzura* made of bamboo strips or from thin cedar boards, with paper pasted over it and then lacquered; but these are of an inferior quality. The *tsuzura* was used mainly for storing clothes.

Nagamochi. The *nagamochi* remained in use until the 19th century, about which time it was a necessary item on the wedding dowry list. It is similar to the *karabitsu* with the exception that it has no legs, and was also used for storing clothes and bedding. It was made of wood, and was of rectangular shape. There were also some with wheels, called *kuruma-nagamochi*.

Fubako. The *fubako* was used from the 16th century until the 19th century. Made of wood and lacquered, it was used for in-

serting letters to be carried to the addressee. Large ones were 36 cm x 10 cm x 7.5 cm; smaller ones were 26 cm x 6 cm x 4.5 cm.

Shōgi. The *shōgi* was a type of folding stool used at military camps during the feudal period. 2 pairs of legs were made to cross so as to be easily folded when not in use. Across the top, leather and the like was stretched to form the seat. It was 24 cm. high, and 45 cm. square. Today, the *shōgi* is to be seen used by the players of the *kotsuzumi* (shoulder drum) and *o-kawa* (thimble drum) on the Noh stage.

Kagami. It was not until the 19th century that glass came to be used in Japan. Prior to that, mirrors were made of copper, silver, iron or tin. They were round, square, or of various other shapes. Some are to be seen even today in shrines, these, even those of the prehistoric age, having been preserved in the shrines from that time to the present.

Types of Old Furniture still in Use

Byōbu. The *byōbu* (a folding screen) is used to set off large rooms into smaller compartments. Introduced into Japan by way of Korea in the latter half of the 7th century, they became popularly used from the 10th century at the imperial palace and in the mansions of the aristocrats, serving the double purpose of division of rooms and of decorative effect.

At first the parts of the folding screen were hinged together with thread, but later paper came to be used. Even at present, the *byōbu* is seen in use at great mansions. They were originally of a height between 90 to 180 cm, the most ordinary being about 150 cm. However, nowadays they are made in all sizes, some small enough to be placed by the pillowside at night to keep out the wind.

The *byōbu* are generally of a decorative nature, with pictures or poems on the front.

Tsuitate. Similar to *fusuma*, the *tsuitate* is made from a latticed wooden frame over which many layers of paper are pasted. It is supplied with legs, and is used to serve as a partition, as the *byōbu* is. Like the *byōbu*, this too often has pictures or poems on its finished surface. *Tsuitate* are to be

found in various sizes; but they were considerably larger in the past than they are now.

Ikô. This is a type of standing clothes-hanger, on which people hang clothes which they have taken off. They are found in 2 forms, single and double, the double one being hinged in the center. At present the latter is more generally in use, and is about 1.8 to 2 metres in height. They are usually lacquered vermilion or black. Some of the stands have *makie* or designs on the lacquer, and some are supplied with metal fittings.

Hirobuta. The *hirobuta* was formerly the cover for a box in which clothes were stored; but later it came to be used to set clothes on top of it, for which purpose it is now made.

Midare-bako. Like the *hirobuta*, this too was originally the cover for a box for storing clothes. It came to be used as a place to set handkerchiefs or toilet articles. Later the usage changed again, and it was utilized for placing garments and other objects. It is smaller than the *hirobuta*.

Ozen. This is a meal-tray approximately four feet square, made of wood, and lacquered. There are 2 types, those with legs and those without. Prior to the middle of the 19th century, every member of the family had one of his own which served as his individual dinner tray.

Even today, at ceremonial dinners or in Japanese restaurants, dishes are served on the *ozen*, with maids bringing the individual trays to each of the guests. In other words, instead of the guests approaching a dinner table, they sit still while the trays are brought to them. Generally, several dishes are served on the *ozen*.

Kyôsoku. The *kyôsoku* is an arm-rest on which one places his arm when sitting, in order to relax. They were used as far back as the 10th century, with some such old ones still in existence. *Kyôsoku* is still used sometimes in the guest rooms of great mansions.

Kôri. This is a box-shaped container woven from thin willow branches or of thin bamboo strips, and used as a trunk at times of travel. It is also used as a container for storing every-day clothes.

Sudare. The *sudare* was used from about the 10th century, and is still in popular use today. However, whereas in the past they were used as curtains to separate the outside from the interior of the room, they are now used to shut out the hot sun of summer. They are screens woven of reeds, thin strips of bamboo, bamboo grass, and other like materials. When not in use they are rolled up and fastened so that they will not hang down.

Maku. The *maku* is a large curtain made of several broad lengths of cloth sewn together. They were fastened to pillars and stretched across to partition a large room, or to serve as decoration. Of the types of *maku*, the *madara-maku* is one with vertical stripes, and is hung around a site by being stretched across ropes which are passed through rings at the upper edge of the curtain; the *agebari* was used for stretching overhead in the manner of an improvised roof.

Maku in popular use today are the red and white striped curtains utilized on auspicious occasions, and the black and white striped ones used for funerals.

Furniture of the Modern Age

Tansu. The *tansu* is a chest of drawers for storing garments. Generally made of paulownia wood, they were varnished prior to the middle of the 19th century, but are now usually of plain unvarnished wood. It is considered a requisite for a bride's dowery. *Tansu* are to be found in various sizes and forms, but the most popular ones are of three layers, one of which is provided with hinged doors instead of the usual drawers.

Chadansu. This is an item of furniture which is generally placed in the tea-room; and teacups and other such objects are kept in it. They may be thought of as the equivalent of the sideboards in European dining rooms. They are usually made of paulownia-wood, mulberry wood, Zelkova-wood, red-sandalwood, ebony and the like.

Chabudai. The *chabudai* are the dining tables of the Japanese home. They came into use after the European dining table

was introduced in Japan about the middle of the 19th century, as the people came to realize that a common dinner table for the family was far more intimate than when each member used an individual tray. Ordinarily, they are made so that their legs may be folded in, in order to facilitate their being put away after meals.

Chūō-taku. Literally, this is the "central table", and is of a little more formal nature than the *chabudai*. It is used for serving tea and meals to guests in the guest room, and came to be used after the middle of the 19th century. It is placed in the center of the guest room, and when the room is not in use, nothing is placed on it except perhaps an ash tray or cigarette-tray.

Nagahibachi. This, together with the *chabudai* was considered an indispensable item for the tea room. In this, charcoal was kept glowing so that a pot of hot water was always available. On its lower right side were small drawers.

Kyōdai. Over a chest with drawers, a mirror is attached to a stand. The drawers are used for storing toilet articles; and the mirror can be adjusted to different angles on the stand. The *kyōdai* comes in many shapes and sizes. Those in which the mirror is over three feet high, on which the entire figure of a person may be reflected, are called *sugata-mi*. Such large full-length mirrors are used because of the nature of the Japanese *kimono*, which necessitates being able to see the whole figure from the shoulders down to the feet.

Chōzu-bachi. This is a basin for holding water with which to wash the hands, and is generally placed near the toilet. In cases when they are found in gardens, they are there not so much for practical use as in conformance with certain rules in artistic garden arrangement. In such cases, they are generally of stone, but they may be of bronze or iron. Today, those for practical use are generally made of porcelain or of zinc.

Suwari-isu. Formerly, in the mode of life in Japan, there were no chairs except the *shōgi*, but today with the inroad of the Western manner of living, chairs of

many kinds are widely in use. A type of chair which has been modified to fit the Japanese home is the *suwari-isu*, which is a chair without legs. It is set on the *tatami*, and the *zabuton* cushion is placed on it. Whereas without this *suwari-isu* one would have no back-support, this chair allows one to lean back and relax when one is tired.

Endai. The *endai* is a wide bench which is placed in the garden in summer, to be used for enjoying the cool breeze in the evening. They are generally about 36 to 40 cm. in height, and 180 cm. × 90 cm.; but there are also some which are smaller. Most are made of wood, but there are also some made of bamboo.

Bedding

Futon. In ancient days, a mat woven of the bulrush was used as the sleeping-mat, but today the *futon* is used, which is a quilt made of cotton or kapok covered with cloth. One or two layers of this *futon* is laid on the *tatami* floor, and sheets are placed on top of it. During the daytime, they are folded up and put away in the closet. The size of the *futon* is about 1 × 1.8 metre.

Kaimaki. The *kaimaki* is used like the European blanket, being placed over the body of the sleeping person. They are shaped somewhat like the *kimono* garment, but much larger and stuffed with cotton. This is used as the coverlet directly over sleeper's body.

Yagu. The *yagu* is larger than the *kaimaki* and filled with more cotton. This is a quilt which is placed over the *kaimaki*. Both the *kaimaki* and *yagu* are also called *kakebuton*. At present the quilts have become smaller in size, and now *kakebuton* of 1.2 × 1.6 meters in dimension are used most widely.

Makura. The *makura* is the pillow; and in older days, they were made of wood or of grass. Also, porcelain pillows were used, although quite infrequently. These who arranged their hair in the ornate coiffure of Japan used the *hako-makura* or box-pillow which was a wooden box covered with a cloth pillow-case, in order to keep their hair from disarray during the night. However, now most people use the western style of

hair so that such pillows have almost disappeared from use; and pillows filled with wheat-husks, tea-leaves or chaff are used most widely. Rattan pillows and sponge-pillows are also used.

Kaya. The *kaya* are mosquito-nets, made of linen or cotton and of rough texture. They are sold as ready-made items, and come in several standard sizes based on the size of the rooms, so that members of a family may all sleep under one net. They are to be found in white, blue or green.

Cushions

Zabuton. The *zabuton* is a cushion unique to the Japanese way of life in which they sit on the *tatami* without using chairs. These cushions are filled with cotton, and are generally 60 cm square and about 10 cm thick. In summer, cushions covered with woven reed instead of cloth, are also used.

Enza. In the medieval age, the *enza* served as cushions in the mansions of the aristocrats. They were generally made by weaving bulrush into a round flat shape about 66 cm in diameter, and 6.5 cm thick. Even today, they are used in the tea-ceremony rooms. These are made of bamboo sheaths, and are smaller than the former ones, being about 33 cm in diameter.

Mushiro. In the medieval age, *mushiro* woven of bamboo, sedge, rush or miscanthus, were used as rugs. Later however, as the *tatami* came into use, the *mushiro* was used less.

Cleaning Implements

Hōki (broom). The *kibi* brooms made of millet stems are the most common; better ones are made of hemp-palm fibres. The brush-like portion is attached in either case to a handle made of bamboo.

Stiff bamboo brushes are used to sweep gardens. There are also straw brooms, made of rice straw, and brushwood brooms.

Hataki (duster). The Japanese duster is made of thin strips of cloth or of durable Japanese paper, bound together at one end to the end of a bamboo stick. Dust on shelves and on the *tategu* fixtures are removed by flicking off with this *hataki*.

Zōkin. *Zōkin* are cleaning cloths, which are made of several folded layers of cloth stitched together. In cleaning a Japanese house, first the *hataki* is used for dusting, then the broom for sweeping out the dust, and finally the dampened *zōkin* is used for wiping the wood parts of the house.

Kumade. The *kumade* is a sort of rake used for sweeping gardens. It is a bamboo rake; and is used in cases when the broom is impractical, as for instance, for raking a great pile of fallen leaves in autumn. It is also used for sweeping gravel paths or sandy roads. The *kumade* is made of bamboo cut in strips about one foot in length, of which one end is made to crook downwards. These strips are combined in the form of a rake with rough thin rope, and attached to a handle.

Light

History of Light

With the advancement in the degree of culture, racial characteristics become distinct, but in a primitive age, certain characteristics common to all are to be seen more than the unique features of each race. This applies to the matter of light; and as in the case of other primitive peoples, the early Japanese too obtained their light from the fires which were primarily used for warmth.

In the excavated houses of the stone age, there are to be seen traces of fire in the center of the houses, from which we may surmise that the life of the people was centered around the fire. This fire was used as a hearth for cooking, and was also the source of light.

The earliest instance of light for its own purpose is seen in the *taimatsu* (torch light). They were made of pitchy pine wood cut into thin strips and tied into a bundle. Until lanterns came to be made, the torches were the sole light available for walking at night. For night hunting, when there was need for much light, an amount of this torchwood was carried in large containers. These torches remained in use until about the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century.

Meanwhile, the bonfire, not for carrying like the torch, but for providing light in rooms or gardens, was utilized from the 3rd century until about the 10th century.

From about the 10th century, a method of lighting in which oil placed in mud or stone receptors was lit, came into use. It is thought probable that light using fish-oil was used from about a century prior to this, but this is not certain, for the first records concerning light refer to only those after the 10th century. Fish-oil was used at first, but later vegetable-oil came to be used.

Light was obtained by lighting the oil poured in an oil dish, and later the dish came to be attached to a stand which made it more convenient for use. After the 13th century, a paper cover to protect the flame was invented; and in this age, hanging lights were also devised. It is thought that the latter was introduced from China.

At about the same time, the oil-dish lamp was made portable by surrounding the flame with a paper-covered wooden frame with a handle on top. These were called *andon* and used in the place of the former torches as portable light. As the word *andon* is of South China derivation, it may be assumed that this form of lamp was introduced from China together with other cultural importations.

From the 16th century, the *andon* came to be equipped with a high stand and were used for lighting rooms. These were similarly called by the name of *andon*. They were used also for lighting the streets, in which case they were called *tsuji andon*, and were fixed firmly to prevent them from falling down even in strong wind.

It is known from old records that wax candles were used before the 10th century, but evidently only rarely, at special places such as the court. It was not until after the 17th century that it came into common usage in the *chōchin* or lantern. As the word *chōchin* is also of Chinese derivation, it may be surmised that this too was relayed from the Continent. However, those to be seen in Japan today are thoroughly Japanized in both shape and usage.

From the middle of the 18th century, kerosene lamps came to be used. The use

of the glass lamp-chimney made the flame seen very bright, and the kerosene lamp rapidly gained popularity.

Gas light was used for a short time in Japan, but only in a few cities. At first the gas light was just a matter of setting a flame to the gas, but later, after the use of the glass mantle became known, it came to be used in special places such as the drawing rooms of the aristocratic society, in mansions of the wealthy, and as street lamps, because its light was brighter than that of the electric lamps of that time. However, its use was very limited.

Near the end of the 19th century, electric lights came into common usage, and as Japan is rich in water power, the use of electricity increased rapidly together with the development of this water power. In no country in the world did the use of electricity develop so rapidly as it did in Japan. Today, electric lights of many sorts are used in Japan; and in spite of the modernity of the nature of electricity itself, old traditional forms and native taste are to be seen in the design of these modern lamps. So in this field, too, as in the case of the Japanese house itself, it can be seen that the good points of the old traditional forms are retained, modifying the modern elements, and producing a style unique to this country.

Implements used for Lighting Fires

Hiuchi-ishi (flint-stones) are the oldest tools for fire to be found recorded. They are grey, brown, or black, of an opaque quality, the surface being whitish, with a slight luster. These stones were used by all races upon attaining a certain degree of civilization, for creating fire, by making use of the sparks caused when the stone is struck with steel. These sparks were caught on charcoal made through combustion of Indian mallow, or tinder made by mixing the ears of *tsubana-gama* (a type of reed) with gun-powder.

Tsuke-gi were shavings of pine or cypress on the end of which a bit of sulphur was applied. They were used for transferring the kindled flame to other firewood, being a sort of match.

Tsuke-take were in use before the *tsuke-gi*, and were shavings of dry bamboo instead of pine or cypress. Sulphur was applied to this too.

Hifuki-dake was an implement employed as a bellows to blow the fire, and was made of the hollow bamboo stem. One joint of the bamboo stem was retained, with a hole being bored through the center of it, through which the air blown in by the mouth and was expelled on the fire.

The match was introduced into Japan in the middle of the 19th century. Although it was imported at first, Japan now produces enough to export. There is no Japanese word for the match, it being called 'match' in a corrupted pronunciation of the word.

Implements used for Light

Taimatsu were torches made of pitchy pine-wood cut into strips and bundled together. They were used for portable illumination, and were utilized until the 14th century for hunting and for military campaigns.

Shisoku (tallow candles) were used in the court from the 14th century. However, it is thought that the common people used them only on special occasions such as weddings. Whereas the *taimatsu* was used for outdoor illumination, the *shisoku* were used to light room interiors. The *shisoku* were composed of thin branches or twigs of the pine or the cedar, to which pine pitch was applied. They were about 45 cm in length and about 1 cm in diameter. The ends of these strands were burnt and then covered with pine pitch and dried. As paper was wrapped around one end in some cases, they came to be called *shisoku* (paper candles).

Tō-dai is a light-stand. Oil was burned in oil dishes to obtain light; and in order to get the most light, it was necessary to put the dish at some height from the floor. The *tō-dai* served this purpose and came to be used from the 10th century, but only in the homes of the upper class.

The simplest form of *tō-dai* was one in which three sticks were tied together just above their middle, forming a tripod on which the oil dish was placed. Some *tō-dai*

were supplied with a plate on which to place the dish.

From the 13th century, *tō-dai* with paper covers to shut off the wind from the flame, and those with reflecting plates, came to be used.

Andon were at first portable lanterns, used from the beginning of the 13th century. They had handles to facilitate carrying, and were box-shaped, covered with paper on four sides. From the 17th century, they were equipped with stands, and came to be used for illuminating rooms.

Bombori was a type of *andon*, but smaller and round in shape. They were used for the guest room, and were of artistic taste.

Rōsoku (candles) were used in the court from before the 10th century, according to ancient records. However, it was after the 15th century that wax candles came into general use. Prior to that there were pine-tallow candles made of pine-tallow covered with bamboo leaves. But after wax candles came to be produced, the pine-tallow candles ceased to be used. With the introduction of modern industrial ways into Japan in the middle of the 19th century, candles of paraffin came to be used as supplement to electric lighting, and for celebrating special events.

Shokudai are candle-stands, and came into use with the popularization of wax candles. There are *shokudai* of various peculiar shapes among those used in temples and like places, but in the homes, they were not so widely used as the *andon*. In the homes, they generally took the shape of *teshoku*, or hand-lamp, which was a candle-stick holder with a long handle attached to it, used for walking in the interior of houses.

Chōchin (lanterns) were introduced from China, but those used in Japan took on their own unique shapes. Prior to the 17th century, they were box-shaped and were called *hako-chōchin* or box-lanterns. They could be folded into a small box-shape. Later the *chochin* became spherical in shape, and they were equipped with handles for carrying. Subsequently, the lanterns came to be made in various shapes; but in the homes they were used mainly for decorative pur-

poses, their most practicable use being for walking outdoors at night.

Kerosene lamps were used for about a half century from the middle of the 19th century until the general use of electricity. Today they are seldom used except in remote huts in secluded mountain areas. The kerosene lamps designed with stands to be placed directly on the floor, show an example of modification to suit the Japanese mode of life.

Gas-lamps came to be used about simultaneously with the kerosene lamps, but were discarded earlier than the kerosene lamps. However, due to a preference for the color of the light produced by the gas-lamp, they were used together with electric lamps in some quarters. However, gas-lamps were used only in a few cities where there were facilities for the production of gas.

At first the flame of the gas lamp was exposed, but later gas mantles were invented, after which the gas lamps came to be more widely utilized. However, they disappeared from use about the end of the 19th century.

Acetylene lights were not widely used in this country.

Electric lights made their first appearance in Japan in 1885, and since then, with the rapid development of water power, electricity came to be widely utilized, with only the most remote mountain huts being without electric lights today.

As to the technology of electric lighting in city areas, Japan ranks among the first in the world. At the same time, traditional Japanese taste is retained in the design of electric lamps, which are made appropriate for use in the Japanese home. A good example of this is the electric light-stand made in the shape of the old *andon*, to be used in the Japanese guest room.

Heating

History

The heating in Japanese houses began with the blazing fire; in the center of the excavated houses of the Stone Age, traces

of fire can be seen. The fires were doubtless cooking fires; but needless to say, the family must have crowded around it for warmth in the severe cold of winter.

As civilization developed, men came to lay some fire-proof material such as stones in the center, over which the fire was burned, and then provided places for sitting around the fire. Thus originated the *irori* or floor-hearth which is still to be seen in country houses. Later, the process of making charcoal through partial combustion of firewood came to be known; and then the smokeless charcoal was used in the drawing rooms for warmth. However, unlike the stoves in Europe which served to warm the air in the entire room, the brazier used for burning charcoal in the Japanese room did not warm the room, and served merely to warm the person utilizing it.

The *irori*, described above, has no chimney, so houses are provided with ample openings to allow the smoke to escape. Thus it is impossible to warm the room while burning wood in the hearth. The brazier probably came into being because of this nature of the Japanese house, whose open manner of structure made it difficult to warm.

Together with the brazier (*hibachi*) and the floor-hearth (*irori*), the *kotatsu*, which was made by placing a quilt over a wooden framework set over the fire in the hearth, was used. People sat around this *kotatsu* with their feet under the cover, the warmth from the fire in the hearth thus warming their bodies. Almost every home utilizes this *kotatsu* in winter.

From the middle of the 19th century, with the adoption of Western style rooms in the Japanese home, stoves in the Western manner came to be used. From about the same time, coal, gas and kerosene came to be used; and with this, for the first time, heating of rooms in the real sense of the term, came to be seen in Japan.

Types of Heating Fixtures

Irori is a floor-hearth, and is of primitive structure. A portion of the floor is cut off in a square, and this portion is surrounded by stones or other fire-proof substance.

Wood fuel is burned in the square floor-hearth thus produced. As there is no chimney, smoke tends to fill the room, before it finds its way out through openings made for that purpose.

Over the *irori* is hung a *jizai-kagi*, from which pots and kettles are suspended over the fire. The *jizai-kagi* is made of a bamboo cylinder through which is passed a long wooden stick provided with several crooks. This is adjusted to stop at the required height by the use of a small horizontal bar called *kozaru*. Often the *kozaru* is made in the shape of a fish, this being thought to be a charm against fires.

The *irori* is generally 90 cm square in size, and is still to be found in common use in rural villages.

Ro is similar to the *irori* in structure, but generally smaller. Wood is not burned in the *ro*, only charcoal being used. In older days they were 45 cm by 48 cm in size, but at present, they are generally 42 cm square, and are to be found in the *chaseki* or special tea rooms for the *chanoyu*, ceremonial tea.

As for the adjustable hanger, they are also used over the *ro* on occasion. These are of very artistic design.

Kotatsu is a wooden frame which is placed over the *ro* and covered with a *futon* or quilt. People warm themselves in the *kotatsu* by inserting their feet and hands under the coverlet. In cases where there are no *ro*, the charcoal is placed in a small receptor, the *kotatsu* frame being placed over this. In places where the open *ro* (floor-hearth) is not used as such, this *kotatsu* serves as the family center where members of the family assemble. Since the new mode of sitting on chairs became popular in Japan, some *ro* came to be made in large and deep sizes, thus allowing people to sit on their edges with enough depth to allow the feet to be set down over the charcoal fire below.

Anka is a foot warmer. Glowing charcoal covered with ashes is placed in an earthen pot, which in turn is set within a wooden or porcelain receptor and covered with a coverlet. This is used for warming the feet, also utilized at night in bed.

Hibachi (brazier) was also called *hi-oke* in the old days. Ash is put into the *hibachi*, and in this, partially buried by the ash, glowing charcoal is placed. Whereas the *kotatsu* is of a very informal and intimate nature, the *hibachi* is more formal. *Hibachi* are found in many shapes, and with the exception of the rectangular *nagahibachi*, they are generally all portable.

Kairo are 'pocket-warmers', this being a small pocket-size metal container in which is placed powdered charcoal in a paper wrapper. Fire is applied to the charcoal, the case covered, and placed in the pocket. The warmth lasts for several hours.

Yutampo are hot-water bottles, made of porcelain, zinc or other metal. Hot water is poured into them, and then they are covered with several layers of cloth. They are placed in beds as foot-warmers, used especially by patients, the aged, and the children.

Onjaku means literally "warm-rock", and refers to a system of taking warmth in which a clump of rock-salt is heated and wrapped in cloth. Pumice stones and tile fragments are also used in a similar manner.

Stoves were introduced into the country at the middle of the 19th century from the Western world, and together with the increased use of coal, kerosene and electricity in subsequent years, stoves came into general use, with houses equipped for the use of stoves increasing in number. This, of course, is not one of Japan's traditional forms of taking warmth, but even in this case, the shape of the stoves have been adapted to suit the Japanese house.

Fuel

Wood. In general, wood fuel is derived from deciduous trees, but some acrose trees, such as the pine, are also used. Wood fuel is especially necessary in the rural districts, where they are used for burning in the *irori*.

Charcoal. Charcoal is Japan's main fuel, being used in the *ro*, *hibachi*, and *kotatsu* as well as in other ways. Deciduous trees are used for charcoal, and in particular charcoal made from the oak and the

kunugi (also a type of oak, *quercus serrata*) are preferred.

Coal. Coal came to be used in Japan from the middle of the 19th century. At present, the coal produced in Japan does not meet the national demand, making import necessary to some extent. In city houses, and in regions near the mining centers, coal is used for burning in stoves, but it is not universally used throughout the country.

Kerosene. Kerosene came into use also from the 19th century, and was used widely for lighting. However, it was not used very extensively for heating. It was found particularly convenient by city dwellers, who do not have much storage space for wood or charcoal.

Coal-gas. In cities which have coal-gas facilities, gas stoves are installed for warmth, these too being convenient from the point of view of storage space.

Electricity. Because of the abundance of water with which to generate electricity, electric power is convenient, but due to the high consumption costs, it is not used so much for heating purposes.

Implements and Tools used in connection with Heating Fixtures

Sumitori is a charcoal-conveyer, in which charcoal is taken from the place of storage in conveniently small amounts to the place where it is to be used. They come in many shapes and sizes, some being box shaped with a handle on top, some made of bamboo, and many other varieties. They are de-

signed to suit the Japanese home, and some are made with special care as to artistic design.

Hibashi are the Japanese tongs, shaped and used like the chopsticks used at the table, being a pair of thin metal sticks which are from 20 cm to 40 cm in length. There are many kinds, made of iron, silver and other materials, often decorated with silver or gold. There are some pairs which make pleasant sounds when struck against each other. These fire-tongs are used for handling burning charcoal.

Jūnō are small containers made of iron or copper and provided with either a wooden or metal handle. They are used for carrying an amount of burning charcoal from one site to another.

Gotoku is an iron ring supported by three or four legs, which is placed in the ash in the center of a floor-hearth or brazier, so that a kettle may be placed over the fire by being set on this ring. There are *gotoku* in many shapes and sizes, some being made of porcelain. Those which are used in the *chaseki* or formal tea-room for the ceremonial tea, are made with special care to artistic features.

Dōko is a kind of *gotoku*, made of a double layer of copper, allowing water to pass between. Besides allowing water in a kettle placed on it to boil, the water in the *dōko* is also heated. It is used mainly in the *naga-hibachi*, with containers of Japanese *sake* often being set in the heated water to warm the beverage.

Social Intercourse

Origin of social intercourse

There are of course many ways in which a social relationship may start, some as kinsmen through marriage, some through entry of a youth into a group of his own age, and many other means among which the most common is probably the case when 2 strangers come to mutually recognize each other after several meetings. In the

present age, opportunities for making acquaintances are many, and again the means by which such friendships may be formed have become simplified, so that people may become friends merely by self-introduction or the exchange of name-cards, or perhaps even by just accosting a stranger riding together on a train or ship. However, in the past, it was not so simple a matter to start a friendly social intercourse, one requisite being that the individuals in question par-

take of a meal together. Thus, in the old days, it was possible for two people to recognize each other by face, and still be entire strangers so far as intercourse was concerned. Perfect strangers were referred to by the term *tabi-no-hito*, literally traveller, which was used to mean 'an outsider'.

When an outsider came to live in a village, it was necessary for him to have an influential member of the village formally introduce him to the other inhabitants before he could enter into intercourse with them, feting them on the occasion with wine at the village meeting-place. This formal introduction was called *genzan* or *ichigen*, and it was not until after cups of wine had been exchanged at this meeting-place that the newcomer was eligible to enter their company.

In modern communities, this has become much simplified, with the new resident making a round of the houses in the immediate neighborhood introducing himself and leaving his name-card. In some instances, some small gift, as for instance coupons for buckwheat noodles, are also proffered.

Social intercourse and giri (duty)

In the social morals of Japan, *giri* or duty is considered to be of utmost importance. The relationship of relatives and friends to each other, the relationship between farmers and tenants, masters and servants...all were governed by this *giri* code. The words *kugai* and *jingi* also refer to the same code, and adherence to the code was a requisite to social life. Non-conformance meant ostracization from one's companions. There were even cases when *giri* took precedence over the relationship between parents and children, and between brothers. Sometimes, again, there were those who sacrificed their own lives, or who committed what they themselves thought to be wrong or evil, all in the name of *giri*.

What then, did this *giri* call for? Those villagers who were always on hand to help at auspicious events and funerals, who were always ready to take part in services to

the village such as the construction of a road, those who observed the niceties in receiving and giving gifts...these were called people of *giri*. And those who did not conform by these social customs were criticized as lacking in *giri*. A reciprocal give and take was a governing principle, not only with gifts and money, but labor also, each to be returned in kind. Cooperative work was called *yui* or *moyai*, and whenever a villager had been aided in his labor by a *yui*, he was obligated to return a similar service.

Ostracization and reconciliation

When two individuals or two groups, which had been on unfriendly relationships with each other due to some quarrel or other cause, desire a reconciliation, a special reconciliation ceremony is held, in which an influential person is asked to act as mediator. In cases where the men of such occupations as the *tobi-shoku* (firemen in the old days), *kyōkaku* (a townsman-gallant), and the *bakuto* (gambler) held group reconciliations, the ceremony was particularly grand, with a special hand-clapping called *te-uchi shiki* being conducted. In this *te-uchi shiki*, the mediator sat in the center place of honor, with the 2 groups facing each other; and under the mediator's prompting, they all clapped hands in a certain rhythm as a vow of renewed friendship. This ceremony was then followed by drinking and feasting.

Besides the severing of relationships brought about by discord between individuals and private groups, there is the *mura-hachibu* which is a village ostracization. Due to the fact that *hachibu* is written in a way to mean "80 percent", some people interpret this *murahachibu* to mean an 80 percent severing of social relationships, the remaining 20 percent meaning that the villagers will still continue to help in times of fire and of death in the family. But actually, this is an erroneous interpretation, *murahachibu* being actually *mura-hazushi* or *mura-habuki*, meaning complete ostracization or expulsion from intercourse with the other villagers. This *murahachibu* was

sometimes practiced within a smaller community within the village, as well as within other small groups. In general, any who associated with the victim of *murahachibu* was also ostracized. In the villages in former days, this ostracization practically meant the ruin of the victim, because there was no means by which to buy goods or service through the use of money, all village life being entirely dependent on mutual relationships.

The principal reasons bringing about the *murahachibu* punishment were such acts as non-conformance to the rules of the village, not taking part in cooperative labor, and otherwise acting in an independent and wilful manner. In very severe cases, *murahachibu* went to the extent of forcing the expulsion of the culprit from the village. The procedure for inflicting punishment by *murahachibu* was generally decided at a village meeting, and in cases where the culprit's identity was not clear, a sort of vote was taken to determine the possible guilty party, with the punishment being inflicted on that person.

A family thus ostracized generally sought mediation through some relative or friend, sending gifts of *sake* wine to the village meeting-place as a sign of repentment, and having the mediator apologize in their behalf. The wine sent on such occasions was known as *ayamari-zake* or *kotowari-zake*, that is, "apology-wine".

Fete days and social intercourse

In Japan, fete days such as New Year's or the Midsummer Bon festival, as well as weddings and other auspicious events, were clearly differentiated from the *ke* or ordinary days. Whereas daily life tended to be extremely frugal, great expense went into food and finery for the festival days, this expenditure being for the purpose of setting off these special days as impressively as possible. This custom developed to such an extent that today, whenever there is talk of austerity, it becomes the brunt of much criticism, but with no visible effect in actual practice. This lavishness may be due partly to the Japanese love of festivals and of

parties; but it cannot be denied that it is also due to a great extent to the desire to keep up social appearances. Social activities involve dining and drinking, and the giving and receiving of gifts; and vanity often demands excessive expenditures along this line.

Sphere of social intercourse

In the old days, social intercourse was limited to within very small groups or communities. Ordinarily a village community was the unit within which social life revolved, and there was practically no intercourse with other outside elements. Due to the mountainous terrain of the nation which tended to isolate villages even from their nearest neighboring communities, each community was more or less self-sufficient, and all social life too was limited to within that narrow sphere.

Each village community was again divided into the smaller *kumi*, and intercourse within this *kumi* was regarded as of particular importance. Again, relations with the house next-door, called *ichi-donari*, called for special attention, for such neighboring houses often served as a temporary assembly room for attendants at times of funeral, and moreover there was much reciprocal exchange of labor between such neighbors.

Needless to say, relations with one's kinsmen formed an important phase of social intercourse. Young brides who failed to carry out this duty often met with severe criticism. Today, very little distinction is made between the husband's kinsmen and the wife's kinsmen, but in former days, the differentiation was quite marked. Even when relations with the wife's kinsmen were more intimate than with the husband's kinsmen, the husband's kinsmen were regarded as being the more important at weddings, funerals and other events pertaining to the family, and were seated at the place of honor preceding the wife's kinsmen.

In more recent years, and particularly in the city areas, the tendency is an increase in the influence of the wife's kinsmen. However, even in such a case, the

opinions of the husband's kinsmen is often given precedence. And, after the wife's death or divorce, ties with her side of the family are allowed to lapse after 3 generations, subsequent to which the respective families are considered as non-relatives. On the other hand, relations with the husband's kinsmen are more tenacious, and in any family emergency, it is considered necessary that they be called to attend such occasions, even when otherwise the relationship is not very intimate. These kinsmen also often have a voice in the division of estate after the individual's death.

Social groups

Besides village and family relationships, there was another form of social life centered around associations formed by various age groups. For instance, almost all rural village had youth societies such as the young men's groups and the girls' groups. A girl or boy, upon attaining the age of 15-17, joined these youth groups, and companions in the same age groups, known as *hōbai*, kept intimate relations with each other throughout life. It was customary for a member to resign from the youth society upon becoming 40 years of age; but in certain locales, the older groups then formed a *dōnen-kō* society made up of people of the same age, in which the members retained intimate intercourse with each other until death, often holding meetings for merry talk and laughter.

In the cities, with their various businesses and occupations, intercourse occurred mainly among people in a similar business or occupation. Before the establishment of the occupational associations of today, there existed such occupational societies such as the *taishi-kō* which was formed among such workers as carpenters and the like.

Oyabun (boss) and kobun (followers)

In Japan, the term *oya-ko* (*oya*—parent; *ko*—child) was not used exclusively to mean parent and child of a blood relation-

ship. Many artificial or arbitrary forms of *oya-ko* existed; a child could have a *tori-age oya* (the one who acts as mid-wife), *nazuke-oya* (the godfather), *mori-oya* (the nurse) or, in the case of a sickly child, a *hiroi-oya* who "picks up" the child who has been "cast away", as a sort of charm to make the child healthy. After the child grows up, there was the *yado-oya*, which was somewhat similar to the marriage go-between of the present day. In the cities, the custom of *shoku-oya* or occupation-parent came into being, in which a young man entered an occupation through his *shoku-oya*. All these various forms of arbitrary parent-child relationships were held for life, and were considered as binding as the ties between blood parent and child.

Originally, *ko* referred to the laborers who gathered together in a labor or production group under an *oya*, and was centered mainly around a blood parent-and-child relationship. However, from ancient times, it was customary for others than blood-relations to be included in this relationship. For instance, in the Tōhoku and other regions, there existed a group of people who were hereditary servants, called *nago*. Whenever a member of such a group attained independence, or established his own household upon marriage, these became branch-families of the house which they had served. Hence, the so-called *ikke* or *maki*, meaning something like "clan", often held other elements besides blood relatives.

Gradually, as these clan relationships which were centered around the main house of the family began to deteriorate, the minor houses felt insecure, due to the loss of the financial support of the main family. It was to replace this old relationship that the *oyabun-kobun* system came into existence. A member of an influential family was chosen as the *oyabun*, services being offered to him in exchange for his protection.

In the various provinces, there existed the custom of choosing an *oyabun* for a youth upon his coming of age. Yamanashi Prefecture offers the most typical example. Here, an *oyabun* was chosen for a youth

at the time of his growing-up *genpuku* ceremony, and cups of *sake* were exchanged in a vow of *oyabun-kobun* relationship. The *oyabun* was chosen for his influence in the region; and in turn, the *kobun* served him as a parent for life. There were also some cases when an individual might have two such *oyabun*.

The *oyabun-kobun* relationship was maintained through yearly gifts. The *kobun* goes at New Year to offer his respects to his *oyabun*. In the Tōhoku region, for example, it was the custom for land-tenants to visit their *oyabun* and present gifts of *mochi* (rice-cakes) wrapped in straw.

It is a characteristic of Japanese social life that the clan relationship and the *oyabun-kobun* relationships are often utilized to form groups for personal gain or profit, with members of such groups showing much unfavorable discrimination toward non-members. It was this type of group which in the Meiji Era gave rise to the abuses of various cliques, such as the *han* (feudal clan) cliques, school-cliques and cliques of the financial circle. The mutual cooperation and aid within the clique is developed to a high degree, but this mutual cooperation is of a narrow sphere, never including society in general. The blame for the backwardness of Japan in social cooperation, public welfare and public ethics, may well be laid to this factor.

Social relations between men and women

Japan has been known as a nation where men invariably take precedence over women. It cannot be denied that the social position of women was inferior to that of men; but consideration must be given the fact that this was not exclusively the case. In the feudal age which immediately preceded the Meiji Era, the morals of the ruling warrior class was the guiding principle, and the ethics of Confucianism was encouraged as the basic moral ethics of the nation. And, due to the fact that war was the profession of the ruling warrior class, it was only natural that women in this case were regarded as inferior. The same attitude

was evident among the farmers; but in the life of the common people in general, the status of the woman was not necessarily low.

The social status of a matron of a house was higher than that of a non-matron; and the matron's sphere of influence within the household was such that even the master of the house was not allowed to encroach. The duties of a matron of a great household who must see to all the needs concerning food and clothing for all the members of the household including the many servants, was by no means simple. Hence, one of the most important duties of the matron of a farm household, was the preparation of food, and to her fell the *shamoji no ken* or the right to the rice-paddle, hence the right to serve food at meals. The matron sat at the *kaka-za* place near the hearth at meals and served the food, not easily relinquishing her right to the young bride. When the elder matron finally passed on her *shamoji no ken* to the younger woman, a ceremony was held marking the event, called *shamoji watashi* or 'handing over the *shamoji*'.

Aside from this, the matron also had the final say as to what crops and how much of each should be planted; and the entire economy of the household, symbolized by the rice-bin, was in her hands. Particularly in the fishing villages where the men were constantly away from home on their work, the women's authority in the home was strong.

As the woman's authority was established in this manner, it was the custom in former days that even upon marriage, the young bride would not enter the husband's home so long as his mother (or equivalent) wielded authority there as the matron of the house. The husband therefore came to visit his wife at her home. However, in later years, women came to be wed at a younger age, and it became customary for the girl to enter the household of her husband. As the mother-in-law was the matron of the house yet, the new bride had to bear with being treated as a useless addition to the household. As the miserable life of the young wife came to be a common phase of

society, the position of women in social life also fell to a deplorable level.

With the propagation of the principles of Confucianism, which decreed that girls and boys should not be allowed together from their seventh year, the intercourse between the two sexes came to be limited. Marriages were based almost entirely on the parents' will, with no thought for the desires of the individuals themselves. This was based on the social code of the feudal warrior class, and even after the Meiji Restoration, this custom remained to be seen among families of the middle class or higher. After the Restoration, Western influence came to be felt, and there was much advocacy of free intercourse between men and women, and the freedom to marry for love.

In the farm villages, there were to be seen some marks of the influence of the strict code of the warrior class; but in many cases a great freedom of intercourse existed. There were youth organizations known as the *wakodo-yado* for young men and *musume-yado* for maidens; and centered around these two associations, the young people mixed freely, paving the way for love-marriages. Needless to say, there were also examples of the other type of marriage entirely arranged by the parents, even after the Meiji Restoration; but so far as the rural villages are concerned, it cannot be said that such was the rule.

Together with the idea of the superiority of man over women, there existed the idea of the inferiority of women, which is related to the old "taboo" concerned with women. In Japan, strict observance of *mono-im*i or abstinence, was practiced in connection with sacred shrine rites. This abstinence took the form of refraining from contact with all other people. For this purpose, the abstainer refrained from taking food cooked on the same fire as those of the regular people, his food being prepared on a separate fire. Also, there was to be no intercourse between the sexes. Hence, female and male members participating in a sacred rite, secluded themselves from each other. In particular, women during the period when they were "tainted" by child-birth or menstruation, were "taboo". It was as the result of

such practices that women came to be avoided at times of religious seclusion; and that even today some smiths and brewers do not allow women to enter their work shops.

Such an attitude is based on very old superstitions, but nevertheless it has impeded the natural intercourse between the sexes until a very recent age. And this situation came about not only through the fact that men avoided women during religious rites, but that the women too, secluded themselves at the same time for the same reason.

Intercourse with foreigners

Due to the seclusion policy taken by the government prior to the Meiji Restoration, intercourse with foreigners was limited. After the Restoration, Japan was suddenly confronted with many problems arising from the suddenly increased foreign relations. For instance, in the early Meiji Era, there was quite a furor about whether foreigners should be allowed the right to reside in the country or not.

New modes of life were introduced into the country from the West, and many books appeared to inform the people of the manners of the outer world. Today, the Japanese associate freely with foreigners to quite a degree. However, since the period in which such free intercourse has been carried on is very short, the Japanese people still are found to take an unnatural attitude in their association, which is a paradoxical mixture of inferiority and superiority complexes.

Etiquette

As the floor in the Japanese home was invariably laid with the *tatami* mats, all greetings were made from a sitting position on the floor. However, with the introduction of the western manners, upon which chairs and tables came into general use, the Japanese began to make their greetings in a standing position. But although the greetings may be made standing, the custom of bowing from the waist, as in the seated greeting, is still employed. Even when greeting people on the street, it is custo-

mary to lift the hat and at the same time make a bow; and the handclasp is considered a form to be used only among the very intimate or by the young folk, and is not yet a general custom.

Even in the manner of bowing there are many degrees of obeisance. For instance, in the *sai-keirei* showing the utmost respect, the body is bent forward from the waist to practically a 90 degree angle, while if the obeisance is made from a sitting position, the bow is so low that the head practically touches the *tatami*. This is used in making obeisance to the gods, or to a person of very high rank.

The proper style of sitting is the *seiza*, in which the individual folds his legs under him, and sits squarely on them, with the big toes crossed over each other. To put the legs out sideways, or to sit cross-legged is done only within an intimate circle, and is considered impolite on other occasions. In a past era, it seems that women used to sit with one bent knee placed forward in an upright position before the body; but now both men and women sit in the flat *seiza* manner.

In former days, regardless of whether it was indoors or out, it was proper to wear a head-piece when meeting others. Now it is considered impolite to say greetings without removing the hat; but there are still some rural regions in which women will wear the *tenugui* (cotton towel) over the head when greeting guests, with some women always having a fresh towel handy for that purpose.

The so-called Ogasawara etiquette is often spoken of in regards to Japanese etiquette; but this Ogasawara style of etiquette is one which belongs to the warrior class of the feudal period, and is not of such ancient origin. This form of etiquette continued in use even after the advent of the Meiji Era; but it is considered much too detailed and troublesome to be of practical use today.

Much of Japanese etiquette is based on social rank, this being the result of the feudalistic order in which the warrior, farmer, industrial and commercial classes were differentiated in that order. During

the feudal Tokugawa Era, the farmers and the merchants were forced to show extreme respect to those of the ruling warrior class. For instance, at the passing of a *daimyo* lord's company, the commoners were forced to bow in a kneeling position on the ground. A person of lowly rank was not allowed to be present in the same room with a person of high rank, nor was he able to speak directly to him. In other words, there were some who were granted permission of *medōri* (personal audience) and those who were not.

As for visiting, the Japanese people seem to lack temperance in this matter. There are a few people who make use of the system of appointments; but in almost all cases, visits are made at one's own convenience, without consulting the host. There is no thought as to the proper time for a visit, and often people visit friends during office hours, spending quite some time in gossiping and talking about personal affairs. Guests often have a habit of overstaying their welcome, as can be seen from the popular custom of standing a broom upside down as a charm to send the visitor home quickly.

This situation may be due in part to the Japanese custom of treating guests with surpassing hospitality. In a household where old ways are maintained, there is a seldom-used room, the best in the house, which is reserved as the guest-room, while the members of the family live in crowded quarters. There are also many bits of furniture and accessories which are kept just for visitors' use.

Again, it is considered an important point in hospitality to serve guests with food and drink. Even when the guest has come unexpectedly, and not on invitation, it is customary to offer a meal, even if the meal should be only a bowl of rice with tea and pickles. The host or hostess would be considered remiss if he failed to supply this favor.

As for the guest, it is customary for him to take a gift to the house he visits, and if for some reason the visitor arrives without such a gift, he makes apologies to that effect.

In Japanese social life, the use of deprecatory words as applied to oneself is often seen. For instance in presenting gifts, it is customary to say, "This gift is a very poor thing but..." or in presenting food to a friend, to say "This may not suit your taste..." or "This isn't very good, but..." In letters, too, one refers to his own wife or son as *gu-sai* or *gu-soku* (stupid wife or stupid son, respectively), while the addressee is referred to in an oblique manner, through the addition of words meaning 'his servant' or 'beside his knees' to the name to the addressee, the implication being that the letter is to be delivered through his servant, or placed by his side, thus avoiding direct inference. This is the result of the custom of using Chinese word-characters in an oblique manner, and are not necessarily to be taken at face value. However, such usages are considered necessary in proper social etiquette.

Again, the use of *keigo* or deferential words is important in Japanese social life, this being a troublesome peculiarity of the Japanese language. This involves the use of deferential words when speaking to a superior; but the difficulty is that there are many degrees of this deference. Today, the trend is to exercise discretion in the use of these terms; but even yet there are certain circles in which they are used in excess. The latter is particularly true in the polite speech of women. In either case the use of the deferential words is a complicated one, and unless care is taken, a too liberal use of them without proper knowledge, may produce ludicrous results.

Seating procedure in Japanese etiquette

Seating arrangement is a major problem in Japanese etiquette, with age, rank and other qualifications having to be taken into consideration. This is of course true anywhere; there may be occasions in Western etiquette when those to be seated at the main table must be chosen from among the guests. But in Japan, this occurs not only on formal occasions, but in every-day life. A Japanese style guest room always has a

certain spot which is the place of honor in the room, this spot being the seat before the *toko-bashira*, that is, the pillar at the side of the *tokonoma* alcove. The guest of honor always sits at this position.

At weddings and other formal occasions, the seating is arranged before-hand, and it is the duty of the people in charge to see that the seating is taken care of properly without any undue mistake which might cause criticism or complaint. Hence, the person in charge almost always mentions in the course of his table speech that there might be some mistake in seating arrangement, for which possible slip-up he apologizes as a precautionary measure.

As for the guests, it is considered the proper etiquette upon entering a guest room, to at first decline taking the place of honor and urging another to sit there, hence causing a minor delay at the commencement of any such social gathering. This may be seen even on the occasion of entering a streetcar or train, or in taking seats within such public vehicles; and anyone disregarding this custom and seating himself promptly in the seat of honor, is criticized. Even in western style rooms with chairs and tables, the same holds true, with the guests all waiting for the main guest to occupy the best place before sitting down themselves. If the main guest arrives late, the others stand to greet him; and there are also occasions when the best seat is left entirely unoccupied.

In the farm homes, home-life is centered around the *irori*, or floorhearth. Consequently, there is a spot by the side of the *irori* which is the guest's place. At mealtime too, the family sat according to the proper order. The master of the house sat in a position which was before the house altar, where a straw *mushiro* mat was laid by the side of the *irori*. This place was called the *yokoza*.

In the floor-plan of a typical farm house, the entrance leads into an earth-floored space, at the inner end of which is the kitchen. Sometimes this kitchen is to the right side, sometimes to the left. In the case where the kitchen is to the right, the *yokoza* is to be found to the left of the earth-

floor passageway, in the most inner position in the room. The position facing the *yokoza* is called *kijiri* and is the most inferior position. A servant or the young bride generally occupies this position; and it is thought that the name *kijiri* arose from the fact that the person sitting in this place generally took care of feeding wood to the fire. To the left of the *yokoza* was the place for the matron of the house, called *kakaza*, *tanamoto*, *chani-za* and other various names. The matron sat in this position and served the food. In the seat facing the matron's place was the guest's place, called either *kyaku-za* or *otoko-za*. On ordinary occasions, the eldest son or son-in-law occupies this position.

Of all these various seats, the *yokoza* is held to be the highest, and no one except the master of the house may sit there. When the old master of the house retires in favor of his heir, the heir then occupies the *yokoza*, while the father takes the *otoko-za*.

In the Japanese home, the *tokonoma* alcove and the *toko-bashira* pillar mark the place of honor; and these architectural features are the products of the *shinden* style employed by the feudal warrior class. The position directly before the *toko-bashira* is the equivalent of the *yokoza* by the floor-hearth; and the guest is accorded the honor of occupying the rightful position of the host himself, who vacates it to honor his guest.

The *miyaza* is a type of seating arrangement which clearly represents social distinction. The *miyaza* are seats which are prepared at the time of a ritualistic ceremony at a shrine. They served to symbolize a specially privileged class, because only those who belonged to the *miyaza* had the right to occupy those chairs. Membership in the *miyaza* could be obtained freely in some villages; but there were others in which the right was hereditary. In villages with a great number of family, the *miyaza* seats were arranged in several groups, with a certain one of those groups being considered of special prominence. Seating arrangement was generally based on the social prominence of the house from past generations; and as it was in the main hereditary, new-

comers had difficulty in being accepted as a member of the *miyaza*. Particularly in cases when a *miyaza* involved common property or sources of income on the part of the members, this was true. There were also cases when an adopted heir or son-in-law would not be accorded the right to the *miyaza*. However, today, there are districts where money will buy the right; and the *miyaza* is beginning to lose the exclusiveness it once possessed.

As detailed above, the order of precedence is an important factor in social life in Japan; and although requirements may not be so strict now as they were in former days, the old habits still remain.

Gifts

The giving and receiving of gifts play a large part in the social life of the Japanese. There are many occasions for this gift-sending: congratulatory gifts for weddings and condolence gifts for funerals, gifts at New Year's, at the *Bon* mid-summer festival, at the various *sekku* holidays. In particular, the summer *chūgen* gift and the *seibo* gift at year end are considered of special importance, not to be neglected. These twice-yearly occasions are faithfully observed among people of all manner of relationships: between blood-parent and child, as well as among all the other types of arbitrary parent-child relationships to be found in social life in Japan; between the *oyabun* and *kobun*; between employers and employees; between stores or firms and their patrons or suppliers. Every year, as these gift-giving seasons draw near, the various department stores hold great sales. The salaried people draw their bonuses at these seasons; and the amount of purchases runs high.

In the New Year and the *Bon* seasons the ancestral spirits are believed to visit their homes, so it is the time for fetes to greet these visiting spirits. Hence the year is divided into two at these two points, with all old debts and obligations being cleared at each time to allow a fresh start for the new season. With the adoption of the solar calendar at the time of the Meiji Restora-

tion, this custom declined to some extent, but is still very much in evidence, particularly in rural districts.

Among types of gifts, food is the most common, this probably most natural when it is remembered that the old custom was for the giver and receiver to partake of the same food as a symbol of a mutual bond. This had the same significance as the custom of offering foods to the gods, and then partaking of the same food to create a bond between man and god.

Formal gifts are wrapped in *hanshi*, *torino-ko* or *hōshi* which are all types of Japanese rice paper. This is tied with the *mizuhiki*, a type of paper-twine, and a folded bit of paper called *noshi* is applied to the upper right-hand corner. On the wrapping are generally written such words as *soshina* (trifling gift) or *sunshi* (slight token of...), with the name of the giver written below. For gifts on congratulatory occasions, the words *oicai* or *kotobuki*, both felicitous words, are written, while on the occasion of death, the words *gorei-sen* or *gobutsu-sen* (offering to the spirit of the dead) are written. At *Bon*, the customary word is *chūgen*, while at year-end, it is *osembetsu* (going-away gift). In other the words *omimai* (expression of sympathy), and a going-away gift has the words *osembetsu* (going-away gift). In other words, there are more or less specific words for each time and occasion.

There are several ways of applying the *mizuhiki* in binding a gift. On ordinary or on congratulatory occasions, red and white are used, while for deaths, black and white are used. In either case, they are used in such a way so that the white one appears on the left side of the packet. For wedding gifts, gold and silver *mizuhiki* are used, and the tie is made in a special way called *myōto-mizuhiki*. The ends of the tied *mizuhiki* are sometimes turned downwards in cases of bereavement or condolence gifts. There is a custom to this day in the rural districts, to differentiate between the methods of binding, on a congratulatory occasion and a funeral.

The *noshi* is a unique feature of gift-giving in Japan. There are cases now when

gifts are presented without applying this *noshi*, but for formal exchange of gifts, this is considered a necessity. However, there are certain occasions when a *noshi* must not be applied, as for instance on condolence gifts, or on gifts of fish or bird. The application of the *noshi* is for the purpose of showing that the occasion is not one for fasting from meat, the *noshi* being a symbol of meat. Fish or bird is already meat in itself so does not require the added symbol; and as death calls for fasting, the *noshi* is not applied to condolence gifts.

Noshi is an abbreviation for *noshi-awabi*, which is dried abalone cut in very thin strips and pressed flat. In the old days there used to be some made into long thin strips, this being presented with all gifts. In later years, the *noshi* was much simplified, with a small piece of paper folded over an artificial strip being used in its stead. Later yet, this was simplified still further, with many occasions now when just the words *noshi* are written, with nothing applied. In some regions, women use the words *imo* in place of *noshi*, the custom having about the same significance.

The *noshi* was not necessarily restricted only to abalone. Sometimes *kombu* (kelp) was used, or *tazukuri* or *iriko*, both types of small dried fish. Sometimes the dried fins or tails of fish served the purpose. They all symbolized food which were essential in a feast on an auspicious occasion. Even today, the decorative *sambō* tray of New Year, called *otekake* or *kuitsumi*, have long strips of *noshi* or of kelp placed on them.

In Japan, all auspicious feasts required the serving of sea-foods; but on certain occasions of fasting, no fish was taken. Hence the custom of the *noshi* was for the purpose of differentiating between the two. Besides the *noshi*, there are instances when pine needles, *nanten* (nandin) or *yuzuri-ha* (type of fern) are used. These leaves were considered to be charms against evil spirits, and were used on felicitous occasions.

Certain habits are to be seen in the choice of gifts. For instance, although tea is an indispensable item in the household, it is rarely used for ordinary gifts, because it is

so often used as a return-gift at the time of a funeral. However, tea may be given as a gift in cases of very intimate relationships.

Footwear such as *geta* (wooden clogs) and *zōri* (slippers) are not presented to superiors.

Again there are certain habits concerning the number of items in a gift. In the case of handkerchiefs and the like where the gift is of a western-style nature, a half-dozen or dozen may be presented. But Japanese cakes or any other item of a Japanese style are usually presented in threes, fives, sevens or other such odd number. It is only on the occasion of memorial services that gifts are presented in an even number.

In making a gift of *seki-han* or red-bean rice, it is the custom to lay a sprig of nanten leaf over it, while a gift of fresh fish is placed on the leaves of bamboo-grass.

When the presentation of gifts is to be made with the utmost show of respect, it is proper to present it on a tray or stand, with a silken *fukusa* cloth spread over it.

Return-gifts

When a gift is received, a return-gift must be made within a certain time limit as required by the occasion. For instance, when a visitor brings a gift, there is no need to make a special return-gift; but when the visit is returned, one must similarly take a gift to the other person. As for the custom concerning weddings, funerals and the like, it varies with the regions. On the occasion of a birth, it is customary to make *mochi* rice cakes on the 3rd or 7th day after birth, or on the 33rd day which is the day for the *miya-mairi* (visit to the shrine) or on the 75th day called the *ubu-aki*, this *mochi* being distributed to all friends and relatives who had sent presents feting the birth.

In the case of return-gifts for condolence offerings, the custom is to wait until after the 49th day, when the period of mourning ends. However, today the period has been shortened to 35 days in many cases, this simplification having started in the cities, where a long period of mourning proved troublesome in view of the busy life.

Again, there are instances seen recently in which instead of making individual return-gifts in such cases, an amount is donated to charity. Return-gifts in the case of funeral offerings were generally made in halfvalue of the original gift; but on some occasions, a return gift equal in value to the received gift is given. At all funerals, a list is made of all the people who made offerings, and this list is referred to in making the return gift.

When a gift is received from a friend wrapped in a *furoshiki* or contained in a *jūbako* food-container which must be returned, there is a custom of returning the empty wrapper or container with some *han-shi* paper or matches or the like enclosed. This is called variously as *outsuri*, *otobi*, *otame* or *toshinomi*. When *sekihan* (red-bean rice) has been received in a *jūbako* container, there are some people who return the container, purposely leaving a small quantity of the rice still in it, or putting fruits or candy in it instead. This was in accordance with the custom of not returning a container empty. Again, when a child has come on the errand of delivering a gift, some coins are sent back in the container, this being a reward for the child. This is called *odachin* or *outsuri*, and the current usage of the term *otsuri* to mean 'change' (coins) is derived from the latter word.

The terms mentioned above, which are used to mean 'return-gifts' now, were formerly used to mean the original gift also. For instance, the word *tobi* (or *otobi*) is still used in Kyushu to mean a gift, and refers to the *toshidama* gift of New Year, consisting in the main of gifts of food. This term was also used to mean the washed rice or *mochi* rice cakes used as offering to the gods. The offerings made to the *yama-no-kami* (god of the mountain) at New Year, and the *mochi* and the little packets of rice suspended to various household furniture at New Year, are also called *tobi*. From this varied use of the term, it can be seen that the origin of giving and receiving gifts lay in the idea of partaking of the same food. This accounts for the fact that a portion of the received gift is

returned to the giver, or for the custom of sending other foods such as fruit in return. In other words, a system similar to that of making offerings of food to the gods was employed among people, with the eating of the same foods meaning the formation of a bond between the 2 parties.

The Japanese people are enthusiastic givers of gifts, and they also are very fond of dining and drinking together with others. In the case of a dinner party, if an expected guest fails to arrive, there is a custom of sending the food to his home, this showing how much importance was attached to the matter of partaking of the same food.

Social gatherings

Drinking parties: In the social life in Japan today, there is evidence of excessive use of liquor. Formerly, *sake* was used only on such special days such as holidays and on days of ceremonial rites on auspicious occasions. First, the *sake* was offered to the gods, and then the people partook of it, in this way enjoying the exuberance of a felicitous occasion. *Sake* was not for drinking alone, but for drinking together to promote a feeling of excitement and of comradeship. However, with the advent of the modern age, it became necessary quite often for complete strangers to become acquainted with each other; and the drinking party came to be utilized for this purpose. Moreover, the taste of the wine improved in later years, and the containers becoming convenient for use anywhere. Also, the manner of conducting a drinking party changed considerably.

In former days, a drinking party was made to conform to certain rules of procedure. Ordinarily, a set of three wine-cups was each passed three times from the chief-seat in order down the line. This etiquette is known as *san-san-kudo*, and great significance was attached to the fact that the same cup was used by all.

Due to the fact that only one set of cups was used, it took a good deal of time for the drinks to travel the line to the last person. In an attempt to remedy this situ-

ation, sometimes 2 sets came to be used, one for the left side and one for the right side. Again, after the cups had been passed around several times, the last round would be passed around from the opposite end of the line. At any rate, drinking was thus a social ritual of a sort; and it was not until the recent age that people came to use individual *sake* containers and cups, this new custom bringing an end to the former etiquette. The new manner made it possible for an individual to drink as much or as little as he himself wished, and also gave rise to the custom of 'exchanging' cups of *sake* with another, and also to the habit of sipping *sake* alone.

In general, there is a tendency in Japan to overdo hospitality by forcing guests at a party to drink themselves into insensibility. At weddings, after the event is over and the guests are taking their leave, there is a custom in certain districts, to chase after the guests to the gateway to offer them one last drink of *sake*. This habit holds true not only in the matter of drinks, but in food also, it being considered a sign of hospitality to feed guests well. In this practice too, the origin can be laid to ancient religious rites, called *kui-matsuri*, which was an orgy of feasting, the belief being that stuffing themselves with food on that day would unite them with the will of the god.

For the purpose of serving guests at parties, professional entertainers called *geisha* are employed. In the Kansai regions, they are called *geiko*. The *geisha* made their appearance in Japanese society during the Kambun era (about 1670) as the talented courtesans of the gay quarters. Their social rank was low, but improved after the Meiji Era. In most cases they are women from impoverished families who have been bonded to service in a certain household of that nature; but there are also cases in which they work independently. They are employed as the need arises, to attend parties and gatherings held at restaurants, teahouses, inns, and also to outdoor garden parties.

Sake was generally considered the beverage for all auspicious occasions. On the other hand, green tea was used both for

such days and regular workdays, being considered an indispensable item. The custom of tea-drinking originated among the priests and gradually spread to the people. Guests are invariably served cups of green tea, with no business being discussed until a cup of tea has been served. When a guest leaves soon before tea has been served, the host is sure to apologize for his remissness in not offering tea. At government offices and other places of business also, tea is served to all guests. Tea is partaken of during working hours at the office; and tea is always served at all business meetings or other like gatherings.

Chadō (ceremonial tea) developed as an artistic pastime from the Muromachi Period (14th-16th centuries), and the conventions of the tea ceremony greatly influenced etiquette in general. Particularly women still practice the tea ceremony as a means of developing graceful physical movements appropriate to the Japanese style of life; and in spite of the popularity now of Western-style tea parties, the Japanese tea ceremony continues to play a large role in Japanese social life.

Kō gathering and other social meetings

The term is of Buddhist origin, and was used in the Heian Period (9th to 13th centuries) to mean a gathering for the purpose of hearing lectures on Buddhist scriptures. It originated among the court people of the Heian Period, but in the Kamakura Period and later, it came to be common among the populace, being held mainly at temples and halls. However, in the latter case, many such *kō* no longer had much relationship with Buddhism; and consequently, the *kō* of today too, is of a considerably different nature from the ancient *kō*, with less related to Buddhism than otherwise.

There are *kō* which are concerned with the Shintō belief and tied in with certain shrines, such as the *Ise-kō*, *Haruna-kō*, *Ōyama-kō*, *Fuji-kō*, *Asama-kō* and others of a similar nature. In most of these cases, it is the custom for a *kō* group to send a representative every year to the particular

shrine of their belief. This representative brings home the *ofuda* or charms sold at the shrine, to distribute to the other members of the *kō*, with a *kō* meeting being held at the time or the representative's return to the community. The *Ise-kō* is particularly popular, and found distributed widely throughout the country.

In general, these *kō* are formed as private groups by individuals; but there are certain cases where the *kō* has a semi-official nature, as in the *hi-machi-kō*, *yamano-kami-kō*, and the *keiyaku-kō*, all of which might reasonably be called *buraku-kō* or a meeting of the village elders. The masters of the households in the community gather at these *kō* to discuss community business, and to have a social meeting also.

Whereas the above is in the main made up of men, there are also *kō* for women. These are called *koyasu-kō* or *ama-kō*, with the women gathering to spend a day gayly together. There are also certain village *kō* such as the *Kōshin-kō* which was formerly a form of festival for the Kōshin god; but this has now degenerated to a mere social gathering with no religious meaning.

The *nembutsu-kō* is a society formed for the purpose of mutual aid, particularly at funerals. There are also some *kō* now which are purely financial in nature, such as the *tanomoshi-kō* or the *mujin-kō*, in which the members put in a monthly deposit, with loans being made to members by lot.

In this manner, the word *kō* came to have many different connotations. It even came to be used to mean a social gathering for the purpose of eating and drinking. The term *burei-kō* is an example, *burei* meaning disregard of etiquette, so that the full term meant to eat and drink and make merry without regard for the usual social etiquette. Today, the word is often heard used in such sense as "Let's do it *burei-kō* today", meaning informality.

After the Meiji Restoration, the manner of party-giving changed considerably also. With the increasing number of people living in cities, it became the custom to hold *Bōnen-kai* (Year's End Party) and *Shin-nen-kai* (New Year Party), this custom rapidly

spreading throughout the country. In the early years of the Meiji Period, January 5th was established as the New Year celebration day; but later the New Year party came to be held on other days during the early part of the month. However, today, the *bōnen-kai* at year-end is more common, with fellow-workers and fellow guild-members all holding their respective parties.

Western-style parties are also quite popular these days; but in the early days after the Restoration, they were limited to the Imperial Court, to government parties and social gatherings of the nobility or the wealthy. At present, the cherry blossom party and the chrysanthemum party are

held yearly by the Imperial Family, to which noted guests of all nationalities are invited.

As for social clubs in the western manner, it is thought that the National Club, established in Tokyo in 1872 by Nishimura Shōzō, was the first. Later the Kōjunsha, Kōgyō (Industrial) Club and others came to be formed. With the increasing popularity of such social clubs, many club buildings came to be built, and at present, each guild has its own hall. In the rural villages too, there is a trend now to construct public meeting halls, and this is taking the place of the individual home, the temple and the old youth-centers called *wakōdoyado*, as a meeting place and recreational center for the villagers.

Calendar

Calendar

History of the Japanese Calendar

In old times, the Japanese people had no calendar of any sort. They knew the elapse of time in their daily life by the changes of the 4 seasons. But it does not follow that they took no interest in astronomy or calendar, for the ancient books of Japan contain many descriptions concerning the astronomical phenomena. For example, the solar eclipse is described in the well-known myth that the earth became dark when *Amaterasu-Ōmikami*, the goddess of the sun hid herself behind a cave of the heaven, called *Amano-iwato*. According to the investigation of a certain archeologist, moreover, the construction of the ancient tombs in the 5th century was evidently based upon the observation of the pole star. This fact may remind us of that relationship which existed between pyramids and astronomy in the ancient Egypt.

As early as in the 3rd century B. C., agriculture was practised in this country, and ever since the 1st century the Chinese culture exerted a great influence upon her. Taking these facts into consideration, it is not difficult to suppose that some kind of

calendar must have been invented by the ancient Japanese. But, to our disappointment, not a record nor a relic of it has not yet been found, therefore it remains a problem of surmise to be proved by archeologists or folk-lore students.

There is a record which tells us a historical fact that in the year of 554 A. D., a specialist of calendar, usually called *ko-yomi-hakase* came over to Japan from the country of Pakche in South Korea. He must have brought a calendar with him, but nothing definite is known. About the years between the 6th and the 7th century, the Chinese learnings on astronomy, calendar and almanacs were introduced into this country.

In 690, the Imperial Court adopted the Genka Calendar, originally called the Yüan-Chia Calendar which was invented by a Chinese scholar, Kashōten (Ho Ch'eng-tien) by name. This is the first calendar in Japan about which something definite is known in reality. This is the calendar which was originally adopted by the Sung Dynasty (420-479AD.) in the epoch of the Southern and Northern dynasties (Nampai Ch'ao).

All the Chinese calendars are the lunar-solar calendar in which a year consists of twelve lunar months. As the calendar of this sort is short of ten or eleven days in

comparison with the solar year, one must harmonize it with the changes of the natural seasons by setting the leap-year of the lunar month every two or three years. Accordingly, some years are obliged to have thirteen months. The Genka Calendar belongs to this kind of calendar. In those days the Japanese used five kinds of the lunar-solar calendars of China origin, invented before 1685 A. D., which were used in practice in China.

The Chinese calendar are at once of civil and astronomical services, in other words, it is not only an astronomical calendar, indicating astronomical phenomena but a civil one, regulating the daily life. In those days, it was impossible to know the accurate numerical values concerning the astronomical phenomena, because science was not highly advanced. The result was that with the long use of one calendar, though elaborately made, an error increased gradually until it became next to impossible to forecast with success the dates of solar and lunar eclipses. The ancient people in general regarded these eclipses as the signs of ill omens or of the unworthiness of their rulers. The Japanese and the Chinese were no exceptions. To them, therefore, this forecast was of great significance. As their calendars were of civil service as well as of astronomical, it often happened to misforecast in the long run and they were obliged to establish a new calendar. In China, for instance, when a dynasty changed, the calendar was altered together with other various systems. It is recorded that about 50 different calendars were made use of in the space of about 2 thousand years. In Japan, four kinds of calendars were adopted for the first 150 years after the introduction of the calendar. The 50th calendar, usually known as the Semmyo Calendar (the Hsüan-ming Calendar), was adopted in 861 A. D. and continued to be in use for the next 823 years. It was used for so long a while, not because it was good or accurate, but because there was nobody in those days who could revise it by dint of the declining influences of the Imperial Court in the long period of civil wars which

caused to stop the activities of the astronomical and calendar offices.

In the beginning the Imperial Court set up the astronomical office, called *onyō-ryō*, which consisted of the fortune-telling section, the astronomical observatory, the calendar section and the time announcement section which kept the water clock, named *rōkoku*. The almanacs made by this office was dedicated every year to the Emperor on the last day of November. Its manuscripts were distributed to the government offices and the nobilities. But this almanac was written in Chinese writing, which was unintelligible to the common people, and besides, the number of its manuscripted copies was limited to only 100. Therefore, the common people did not come in contact with this almanac and they lived with the changes of the seasons as their inaccurate calendar.

Meanwhile various superstitions, attached to this calendar, began to seduce the minds of the people. As the Imperial Court declined, the publisher of the almanacs was shifted to the influential temples and shrines, thanks to the development of the art of printing. These calendars of temple or shrine make were all written in *kana*, a kind of Japanese alphabet, intelligible to the common people. Many articles of superstition were inserted in them in compliance with the demand of people.

The chief publishing places were as follows: Ise (the city of Ise), Mishima (in Shizuoka Prefecture), Ōmiya (in Saitama Pref.), Kyoto, Edo (Tokyo), Yamato (Nara Pref.), Satsuma (Kagoshima Pref.), Senshū (Ōsaka), Aizu (in Fukushima Pref.) Nambu (Iwate Pref.). Each almanac was called with the name of the publishing place in its title; for example the almanac published at Ise was called the Ise almanac, etc.

In thus way, the calendar spread far and wide over this country, but it was yet too valuable a thing for the common people and in actuality not a few people continued to lead an agricultural life, consulting with no calendar but the changes of the seasons, the wax and wane of the moon.

The old saying that "we have no calendar day in the mountain districts", proves the fact that they had no calendar of any sort

in the remoter districts. And, as the most people in those days were illiterate, a kind of calendar in which no letter was used was published for such people. For example, the *mekura* calendar, or the calendar for ignoramus, published in Nambu, is a picture calendar. The dates and seasons, such as solar and lunar eclipses, rice-plantation, vernal equinox, dog-days and so on are illustrated with pictures. To cite an instance, the Japanese word for winter is *tōji*, which is illustrated by means of a picture of a tower which is the homonym of the word *tō* and of a picture of a part of a Japanese musical instrument, which is the homonym of the word *ji*. Thus the two pictures stand for *tōji*, or the winter solstice. The dates are illustrated by the pictures of a lunch-box, circle and polygons; the first letter of a lunch-box, *jū-bako* by name, indicates stands for ten or *jū*, and a circular, triangle and quadrangle indicate the numbers from one to nine. According to this calendar, the winter solstice of the year 1955 is equivalent of November the 10th of old calendar.

During the Tokugawa Era which extended from 1603 till 1867, the Shogunate Government prohibited the publication of calendar except to those few persons who were permitted. As a result, it was not easy for the common people to get an almanac. According to the lunar-solar calendar, each month has not the fixed number of days and the leap month cannot be easily guessed, so that a new calendar is demanded every year. In order to get the new almanac, people used to visit the shrines which were its publishers. The prevalent habit of making a pilgrimage to the Ise shrine is partly ascribed to this sale of the almanacs.

In the 17th century, the date of the calendar showed the difference of two days from the astronomical phenomena. This was caused by the inaccurate numeral values upon which the *Semmyō* Calendar was established 800 years before. In those days, the Shogunate Government patronized the development of culture, and before long the students of astronomy came to appear. Yasui Shunkai (Santetsu) who took charge of *go*, the Japanese checker,

engaged in the investigation of the Chinese Juji Calendar or Shou-shih Calendar, established in the era of Yüan Dynasty (1206-1368). He made this calendar suitable for the Japanese use by regulating with his own observation and the fractional value of *ri*, a Japanese league. The Shogunate adopted this adjusted calendar which he had presented. This is called the Jyōkyō Calendar. This calendar, though based upon the Juji Calendar, showed a remarkable progress in comparison with the old one which had been adopted without any adjustment from the Chinese one. But, it happened that this Jyōkyō Calendar was obliged to be abolished seventy years later because of the inaccurate numeral values of the original Juji Calendar which was established under no influence of European astronomy.

In 1755, the Hōreki Calendar was established, which became of no use in 43 years, an account of scanty improvement from the former calendar.

In 1798, the Kansei Calendar was adopted. This was the adaptation of the Chinese Go Jiken Calendar (2nd Shih-hsien Calendar), accomplished under the deep influence of European astronomy during the era of the Ch'ing Dynasty. The new calendar was made suitable for the Japanese use by the co-operation of the civil astronomers, such as Takahashi Yoshitoki, Hazama Shigetomi and others, who studied the European sciences through the books written in Chinese or Dutch.

According to this calendar, however, a delay of thirty minutes from the movement of the heavenly bodies came to pass in 40 years, because a solar year was reckoned as 365.24235 (which is practically about 365.24219 days). Thereupon, Shibukawa Kagesuke who was the successor to Yasui Shunkai and Takahashi Yoshitoki, played a most active part in the accomplishment of the new calendar, generally known as the Tempō Calendar, which continued to be made use of as far as 1872. He consulted with the book, entitled "Astronomie" which was written by J. J. de Lalande, a French astronomer. From 1867, the first year of the Meiji Era, onwards, Japan made a start as a modern state. The feudal system

topped with *Shōgun* or *Taikun* gave place to the modern centralized state with an emperor as her sovereign. The former policy of seclusion was abolished on one hand, and the new policy of free trade was adopted on the other. The products of Western civilization were introduced one after another; relics of the preceding age such as palanquins, couriers, old ceremonial dresses, top-knot, were all superseded by the western things such as train, telegraphic communication, brick building, western clothes, meat-diet and lamp-light.

A little earlier than this new trend, some people asserted in vain the adoption of the solar calendar instead of the inconvenient lunar-solar one which had been made use of, and others advocated a new sort of calendar which was based neither on the Gregorian nor on the Julian Calendar, but on the peculiar, Asian style, indicating the vernal equinox the first day of the year.

The enlightened leaders of the new government realized the necessity of adapting the inconvenient lunar-solar calendar to the solar or the Gregorian one. They were afraid that the new Japan might be regarded as the uncivilized country because of their usage of the old-fashioned calendar. And as the modern industries developed and the daily life of the people became improved year by year, they felt inconvenience of the old, lunar-solar calendar, to a great degree now inconceivable. Fukuzawa Yukichi, a pioneer of the period pointed out the inconvenience and unreasonableness of this calendar in his book, entitled "On the Calendar Reform", that according to this calendar, an employer had to pay a monthly salary 13 times, or an apprentice had to work without reward for a month, in the leap year.

Thus, the Gregorian Calendar was to be adopted by the strenuous efforts of Okuma Shigenobu and other staff members of the new government. The practical task of the Calendar reform was undertaken by the scholars of the calendar office and the astronomical observatory, including Tsukamoto Neikai (Meiki) who studied the science of Dutch and German schools. In order to regulate the date, one must change the 3rd of

December of the 5th year of the Meiji Era (1872) into the 1st of January of the 6th year of the Meiji (1873). Thus they brought into effect the new calendar that is common to the calendar of the occidental countries.

But this does not mean that the solar calendar had not been known to this country. Already in the midst of the 16th century, the Julian Calendar and the new version of the Gregorian Calendar, revised by Gregory the 13th, were introduced by the Catholic missionaries. For a time, these calendars were regularly observed by the Japanese Christians, but when the persecution became severe in the 17th century, these calendars disappeared together with the Christians before they were put into general use.

In short, the people of Japan were acquainted for the first time with the solar Calendar by the revised new calendar in the Meiji Era. At first they were not a little perplexed at it, for the lunar-solar calendar had been familiar to them.

Here arose much trouble among the common people as to the adoption of this new calendar. In all ages and places, the masses are apt to take a precarious attitude against everything unfamiliar. They try to remain just as they have ever been. They feel repellent against the new institution, whenever it is forced upon them.

Now the New Government of the Meiji Era hurriedly implanted the institutions and civilized things of the Occidental countries. People were obliged to receive them in the name of a modernized nation like any European country. New military system, foreign trade, European style education, modern tax system—these unfamiliar things were stiffly opposed by the common people. The new calendar too did not fail to be a focus of public censure, especially of such reactionary counter-movements as are seen in the riots of farmers and ex-samurais.

The publication of any calendars, founded upon the old style of the lunar-solar system, was prohibited by the Government. At the same time, the superstitious descriptions attaching to them was forced to be

washed away, while Tokyo Astronomical Observatory was asked to make a new almanac based on the accurate, scientific investigations. On the other hand, the new calendar of cheap price and the diaries printed with dates were freely published for the convenience of the common people.

All the official observances were practised according to the new calendar. Government offices, schools, railways made use of it. The people in the cities got accustomed to it before long, but it was not so easy for those in the rural and fishing villages to give up the old calendar which they had made use of for twelve thousand long years. Besides, the old calendar was filled with many familiar and superstitious articles which had been a guide in the daily life of the illiterate and credulous. They felt inconvenient to adopt the new, scientific and concise calendar at first. The adoption of it rather meant the loss of a support of their daily life.

Because, the old calendar had a number of useful articles on agriculture and fishery. Needless to say, such articles as the season of rice-plantation and reaping, for instance, in the old, lunar-solar calendar was described in reference to the way of the solar calendar and entirely irrespective of the wax and wane of the moon, but we must not forget that the daily life of the common people depended faithfully upon these articles. In the case of the new, solar calendar, it is not necessary to print such articles, for each season is given its own fixed date, and quite contrary was the case with the old calendar. In addition to this, such articles in the old calendar were mixed up with the superstitious articles so closely that it was very difficult to differentiate one from the other. Therefore the people had come to be convinced that the old calendar was the most suitable to their agricultural or fishing life.

Moreover, it is a conspicuous characteristic of the Japanese people to observe the old manners and customs faithfully. They keep a habit of preparing special dishes and arranging the flowers of the seasons on such occasions as the New Year's Day, the *Bon* or Feast of Lanterns, and the

moonlight party seasons. But, as the date of the solar calendar precedes that of the old one by month, they were obliged to abolish all such observances if they made use of the solar calendar in place of the old one. Consequently, the people in those days clung to the old lunar calendar.

According to the old calendar, the New Year's day is equivalent to the first of February of the solar calendar. This New Year's day was observed in China as well as in Japan. This is just about the season when the mild spring is going to take place of the severe winter. We found the same habit in the Middle Age when people in many parts of Europe reckoned the present, vernal equinox as the New Year's Day.

In the ancient Japan, the calendars were established such a way that the New Year began to at the first day of spring. The division of the four seasons were different from that of the Occidental countries, as follows.

Occidental	Japan	Season
February	January	Spring
March	February	
April	March	
May	April	Summer
June	May	
July	June	
August	July	Autumn
September	August	
October	September	
November	October	Winter
December	November	
January	December	

According to the investigation carried on after the War, by the Education Ministry 44 per cent among all the people of this country keep their functions by the old calendar. In great towns the old calendar is not used at all but, in middle and small towns people are observing "A month Later Calendar", that is a calendar dated a month later than the new one and in the greater part of farming and fishing villages they still go by the old calendar.

These facts make the Japanese life much complicated. Two kinds of dates by the old calendar and new are usually printed in many Japanese calendars and almanacs. And the radio broadcasting station must three times broadcast special programs for the New Year's Festival or the Bon's on a national network, and such a frequent repetition of the special programs make the listeners sick of them. The National Railways too must three times organize the special time tables for those passengers who go home to keep their festivals in their native places.

Such a disorder and a confusion of the calendar, however, is being gradually settled. Japan Calendar Association (Osaka, Yotsubashi) and other social education bodies are trying to remedy these confusions.

Besides, the international introduction of the World Calendar will be useful for the improvement of such a situation.

Japanese Way of Counting Era

Nowadays the Japanese use the Japanese Era together with the Christian Era. According to the Japanese Era, A.D. 1955 is equivalent to the 30th year of Shōwa. The era was formally adopted for the first time in the year 645. A.D. It is now quite a habit with the Emperor to use only the name of an era in his reign, but in old times the names used to be frequently altered during a generation—2 hundred and 43 names have been used about one thousand 2 hundred years—consequently the Japanese Era may be used with some convenience in the count of a short space of time, but it is unfit for counting a long space of time.

Therefore in the reformation of the calendar in the year 1872 the Japanese form of Anno Domini was established. The year when the Emperor Jinmu, the Emperor of the first generation by tradition, acceded to the throne was appointed the first year according to the calendar. The year by the calendar is called the year after the accession of the Emperor Jinmu or the year of the Imperial reign. The first year of the Imperial reign is equivalent to B.C. 660. This calendar, however, was abolished after the Second World War.

In Old China a decade was represented by the following 10 symbols.

甲 *kō* 乙 *otsu* 丙 *hei* 丁 *tei* 戊 *bo*
己 *ki* 庚 *kō* 辛 *shin* 壬 *jin* 癸 *ki*

They are called Ten Kan, that is, Ten Trunks. Moreover the following symbols were indicative of twelve months.

ne ushi tora u tatsu mi
子 丑 寅 卯 辰 巳
shi chu in bō shin shi

uma hitsuji saru tori inu i
午 未 申 酉 戌 亥
go bi shin yo jutsu gai

They are called Twelve *shi*, that is, Twelve Branches. These 2 kinds of symbols serve as the signs to stand for time, year and direction, and also as the marks of the student's records, and as the other various pronouns.

Ten Kan and Twelve *Shi* are fixed together and form the following sixty combinations. These combinations are called Sixty Kan-Shi.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
甲子	乙丑	丙寅	丁卯	戊辰	己巳	庚午	辛未	壬申	癸酉
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
甲戌	乙亥	丙子	丁丑	戊寅	己卯	庚辰	辛巳	壬午	癸未
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
甲申	乙酉	丙戌	丁亥	戊子	己丑	庚寅	辛卯	壬辰	癸巳
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
甲午	乙未	丙申	丁酉	戊戌	己亥	庚子	辛丑	壬寅	癸卯
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
甲辰	乙巳	丙午	丁未	戊申	己酉	庚戌	辛亥	壬子	癸丑
51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
甲寅	乙卯	丙辰	丁巳	戊午	己未	庚申	辛酉	壬戌	癸亥

In the Orient the date was specified with the aid of *Kan-Shi*. In the time of old Orient when the way of counting era was unsettled this way was very convenient. Besides, the way furnishes the present historians with a key for the determination of the periods in old Orient.

According to the Way of *Kan-Shi*, the 1st January, 1951, is equivalent to the day of *mizunoe-inu* in the month of *ue* in the year of *kinoto-hitsuji*.

Accounts in the Calendar

According to the lunar and solar calendars, the dates which tell the seasons do not agree with the actual seasons. Therefore in the calendar it becomes necessary to mark the divisions to indicate the actual seasons and weathers, as well as the dates.

Among those divisions the simplest one is four seasons. 4 seasons are respectively divided into 6 parts, and 24 short seasons are produced. They are called 24 *sekki*. They begin with *risshun*, that is, the first day of spring, which falls on the 4th or 5th February according to the Gregorian Calendar. The Vernal Equinox, the Summer Solstice, the Autumnal Equinox and the Winter Solstice are in the middle of their respective seasons among four ones, but in the beginning of the seasons in the Western countries. 24 short seasons have the names which tell the weathers of their times.

72 weathers are produced when 24 short seasons are respectively divided into 3 parts. They have the suitable names by which we can know changes of the weathers more precisely. They are fixed on the basis of the observation of the progress of the sun, and the users of the old calendar can know the proper weathers by them. But the Chinese divided and named them. As there is a little difference of the time between the Chinese weather and the Japanese one, the Japanese scholars of the calendar added to the calendar several accounts which tell the Japanese weather. The accounts are called *zassetsu*.

Among them, *setsubun* tells a change of each season of four ones. When it falls on the day before *risshun*, that is, the begin-

ning of the spring, special importance is attached to it, because the day indicates a change of the year.

Higan is the equinocal week. The Buddhist worship their ancestors during this week. It is also about the time when the farmers begin to work.

Shanichi is the day of *inu* nearest to the equinox, and is connected with agriculture. This day originated from superstition.

Hachijūhachiya is the 88th day from *risshun*. In these days frost does not fall and the farmers begin to be very busily occupied with teapicking and other agricultural affairs. It falls about May the 2nd according to the solar calendar.

Nyūbai tells that the rainy season begins. It falls about June the 11th.

Nihyaku-tōka is the 2 hundred and 10th day from *risshun* and falls about September the 1st. It is the season when Typhoons visit Japan proper. It is also the most important period for a rice crop because rice becomes ripe then. And *Nihyaku-hatsuka*, the 2 hundred and 20th day from *risshun*, comes ten days later than *Nihyaku-tōka*. Much attention is paid to both days.

Time

Idea of Time

Wherever you may go in Japan, you will find a clock there. You will always see clocks hung on the walls which are open to the view at the stations, the offices, the hospitals or the squares. Besides, to your surprise, there are found clocks even in the poorest farmers' houses. As far the watches, almost all the pedestrians take their watches or wrist-watches with them. And every day the radio announces the correct time at intervals of half an hour. Even a long-distance train which traverses Japan proper is run according to the time table, shown in seconds, more punctually than the trains in western countries are. Judging from these facts, the Japanese may seem an unparalleled people throughout the world in that they take much interest in, pay much attention to, and punctually observe, time. The fact is, however, that the

Japanese is not the people who think so much of time. It may rather be said that they take so little interest in time that they are far from being entitled the modern nation.

For example, the Japanese have the custom of being behind time appointed. The degrees of being late are respectively fixed in each district of Japan. They are vulgarly called "the standard time in some district". Therefore almost all the districts have their own standard times.

The opening time of a wedding, a funeral or a meeting is not punctual in accordance with the custom. The degrees of being late are settled according to the custom which the attendants follow. The commencements of meetings are usually late by some standards among the local societies, labour groups or schools. Among the Japanese, therefore, even if one gets a date with the other and is kept waiting half an hour or an hour, it does not mean that the date will not succeed. Being behind the time appointed is little with consideration among them. Besides, when a late-comer appears, he hardly makes an excuse for being late; while the other who waits for him is not nervous about being kept waiting so long. In some districts a funeral or a wedding sometimes begins half a day later.

This bad habit arises from various causes, and so its over-all improvement can not be immediately hoped for. But the Life Betterment Movement and the New Life Movement have ever taken up this problem. Such untiring efforts of the people are improving this habit day by day.

National Time Day which was established in 1920 has been very useful for making the Japanese pay more attention to time. The day falls on June the 10th. It was kept as a memorial day because a clock (a water-clock) was used in Japan for the first time on the day.

Methods of Announcement of Time

80 years have only passed since clocks began to come into wide use in Japan. There had of course been clocks before then, but in those days the use of them had been confined to a certain circle of the

gentry. The common people used to guess time from the atmospheric, astronomical, animal and botanical phenomena. Besides, the announcement of time of which they could avail themselves was only the sounds of the temple bells or the castle drums mornings and evenings. In addition to them, the habitual practice of Temporary Hour aggravated their careless idea of time.

The use of clocks began to spread in the latter half of the 19th century. In Tokyo a signal gun had been fired at noon since 1871. Among the Japanese signal was known by the familiar name of *don*, which was the onomatopoeia of the sound of the gun. In course of time the noon guns were fired in other towns than Tokyo. This was the good way of announcement of time to the people. But it had gradually been abolished since about 1920 because it cost much. And the siren has replaced the gun.

The wireless announcement of time has been practised since 1911. The radio has put on the air the announcement of time for the convenience of people's living since the commencement of broadcasting. This announcement is accurate enough for the general life. All these announcements of time are practised on the responsibility of Tokyo Astronomical Observatory.

Ways to Measure Time

It was AD 660 when for the first time the clock, strictly speaking, the water clock stroke time in Japan. This clock was produced by the method of Chinese origin. In those days, they observed heavenly bodies according to a kind of a sidereal calendar, called Chūsei Calendar, made at intervals of eighty years, and fixed the standard time on the basis of the observational results, and knew the correct time by the water-clock. This water-clock was equipped in the Imperial Court. The office which cared for the water clock and announced time was established in *Onyō Ryō*. In the Imperial Court they had to know the correct time to conduct the affairs of state, so that the water clock was always carried with the Emperor when he went out of the Imperial Palace. The officials in charge of the water

clock beat the drum 12 times and rang the bell a hundred times a day to announce the correct time.

A day was divided into 96 or 100 equal parts, and one of them was called one *toki*. One *toki* is 14 minutes 24 seconds. In addition to this methods, there was practised the way to divide a day into 12 equal parts. According to this way, one twelfth of a day was called one *koku*, and all *koku* were named with the aid of Twelve *Shi*. *Neno-koku*, for instance, is from 12 to 2 o'clock in the morning.

These ways to announce and to measure time followed the Chinese systems, but the Equinoctial Hour which was akin to the modern system had already adopted to them. Besides, the systems in that time can be said to be better than the modern Equinoctial Hour in that they accepted the decimal scale instead of the sexagenary scale. These ways were, however, significant in the Imperial Court in the capital city, and had no connection with the common people.

The people guessed time from the repetition of morning, noon and night. They found it was the early morning when they saw the sun rise, and felt it was a noon from the broad daylight, and when the sun set down, they thought the night came. As almost all the Japanese then followed the plow, it was unnecessary for them to know time more precisely. Because they had the splendid natural clock. By the observation of various phenomena they knew the correct time. It may perhaps come from this habit that the Japanese language is very abundant in the words which mean seasons and time by the observation of natural phenomena.

When the influence of the Imperial Court declined, time too became in confusion as the calendar did so. The scholars and the officials who had cared for the water clock and announced time had gone somewhere. As the results, the divisions of 100 *koku* and of 12 *toki* according to the Equinoctial Hour had gradually sunk into oblivion.

And the Temporary Hour which the farmers had adopted from old times had come into general use. According to this division day and night were respectively

divided into 6 *koku* on the basis of the division of dawn and evening. That is, the space from dawn to evening was divided into 6 equal parts, while the space from evening to dawn was also divided into 6 equal parts. These parts were named with Twelve *Shi*. The midnight, for instance, is named *ne*; the dawn is called *u*; the noon, *uma*; and the evening, *tori*.

In this case, the dawn means about 40 minutes before sunrise, and the evening means about 40 minutes after sunset. The space from dawn to evening is the daytime, so that the daytime at this account is always longer than that at the modern account by about an hour and 24 minutes. Even on the Vernal and Autumnal Equinox Days the spaces of day and night are not of the same length, and the ratio of day to night is not 50 to 50, but 55 to 45. And on the summer solstice the ratio is 65 to 35; while on the winter solstice 45 to 55.

In this way the daytime is divided into 6 equal parts, one of which is named one *koku*, while the night is also divided into six equal parts, one of which is also named one *koku*. But one *koku* in the daytime is not always of the same length as that at night.

As the lengths of day and night are altered, the length of one *koku* also changes.

About the winter solstice one *koku* in the daytime is an hour and 48 minutes, and one *koku* at night is 2 hours and 12 minutes. About the summer solstice, on the contrary, one *koku* in the daytime is 2 hours and 36 minutes, and one *koku* at night is an hour and 21 minutes.

In the time of the Tokugawa Shogunate, this system was consolidated and the drums were beaten or the bells were rung to announce time to the people in the middle of each *koku*. These ways of announcement of time were practised in the *daimyōs'* castles and in the large temples in various quarters, including the Edo Castle which was the Shogun's palace.

Those methods to announce time have something that suggests the way of the bells now practised in vessels. In this way the number of the sounds of the bell tells time.

Neno-koku is 9 sounds of the bell, *ushino-koku* is 8, and *torino-koku* is 7. In such a way the number of the sounds of the bell decreases so far as 4 at *mino-koku*. But it resumes 9 at *umano-koku*, and gradually lessens again so far as 4.

Neno-koku was also called 9 at night. *Umano-koku* at dawn was also called 6 at dawn; and *torino-koku* in the evening, 6 in the evening. 6 at dawn and 6 in the evening were the standard of the Temporary Hour, so that the temple bells pealed these 2 times even in the remote and secluded places among the mountains.

One *koku* was further divided into four parts, but the common people had little to do with it. The smallest time unit employed by people in general was a quarter of a *koku*, equivalent to 20-30 minutes.

On the other hand, astronomers, unable to rely on the temporary hour, employed a constant time system in which a day was divided into one hundred *toki*, and were applying it to observations and compilation of almanacs.

Around the Restoration of 1868, Japan's contact with countries in Europe and America was growing frequent, and Japan entered into trade relations with them. Time-pieces flowed rapidly into this country. Consequently, there arose opinions which recommended adoption of a constant time system in place of the inconstant one. At government offices, the Europe-American equinoctial hour was being put into practice, though informally, and in order to avoid confusion with *koku* or *toki* heretofore in use, they were calling one o'clock, for instance, as *ichi no ji* (the hour hand on the numeral of I) and two o'clock *ni no ji* (the hour hand on the numeral of II), which were then shortened to *ichiji* (numeral I) and *niji* (numeral II). Because numeral and hour are homonyms in Japanese, these presently came to be called *ichiji* (the first hour) and *niji* (the second hour).

With the proclamation of revision of the calendar in 1872, the time system was altered to the equinoctial hour after the European and American fashion.

It is remnants of the old method of indicating time by the 12 horary signs that we now call a.m. *go-zen* or before (the Hour of) the Horse, and p.m. *go-go* or after (the Hour of) the Horse.

Nowadays, the old temporary hour, the 100-*toki* division system and the indication of time by the number of tolls like "nine tolls", "eight tolls" and so forth, or by the twelve horary signs such as *ne* (the Mouse), *ushi* (the Ox) and *tora* (the Tiger) have all fallen into disuse, and instead, the Europe-American way of time measurement which divides a day into 24 hours and repeats the twelve hours of the clock twice is in practice. This is in marked contrast to the fact that, insofar as the calendar is concerned, there still remain the use of the old calendar and superstitions in connexion with it.

The 24 hours time system, according to which p.m. begins at 13:00 hours and ends at 24:00 hours, was strongly advocated by a certain group of astronomers. It was first applied to the quasi state-owned South Manchuria Railway for the sake of efficiency and internationalization, and then came to be widely used by the military and other railways. During the war the twenty four hours time system was observed partially under compulsion in every aspect of the people's life with a view to increasing efficiency, and at one time clocks and watches with 24 hours dials were on sale, but before the efficacy of this time system could be rightly evaluated, the war ended, and the twelve hours system was restored. At present the 24 hours time system is utilized only by transportation concerns such as state railways.

Standard Time

What had been in use by way of a standard time from old in Japan was true solar time. In the days when there were only palanquins and horses as means of conveyance, and express messengers and post-horses as that of communication, the inequality of time mattered little in the ordinary life.

As telegraph wires and railways spread throughout the country, however, true solar time which is diverse in different localities

was found to be inconvenient. Japan's territory ranged west and east from the Ryūkyū Islands to the Kurile Islands, so the necessity of establishing a standard time was keenly felt. Hence the adoption of mean solar time in 1879, and the putting into practice of the standard time in 1888. In accordance with expansion of territory the west standard time was established in 1896, and furthermore, three additional standard times were set up after the First World War, inasmuch as the South Sea Islands were placed under the mandatory rule of Japan. The central standard time of Japan which is based on the meridian at the 135th degree of east longitude is nine hours earlier than Greenwich Standard Time.

In 1937, the west standard time was abolished, and since the Second World War, only the central standard time is in practice.

Summer Time

One of the reforms of all sorts carried out after the Second World War is summer time, which was inaugurated in 1948. According to this, clocks and watches are set one hour ahead of the central standard time during the period from the first Saturday of May to the following day of the second Saturday of September every year, and it is 10 hours earlier than Greenwich Standard Time.

Summer time was favourably commented upon in some quarters, but was unfavourably received by the greater part of people who take little thought of time. Moreover, the actual circumstances after the defeated war were such that even though daylight could thus be saved, there were neither facilities to enjoy leisure hours at nor money to spare for amusement for average Japanese people. Summer time went out of use in 1952, and there is no prospect of resuming it for the time being.

History of Horological Machines

The most ancient form of clock on record that ever existed in Japan was, as mentioned before, a water-clock introduced from China. This is a *rōkoku* or a clepsydra which sig-

nifies a device for measuring time by dripping of water. Roughly speaking, its mechanism is such that time is indicated by proportions of the flow of water from the upper vessel to the lower one. Time-pieces of this kind are found in various parts of the world, not to speak of Greece and Rome.

Though not on record, it is believed that at one time, people in general were using sun-dials, but they could not have been made much use of in Japan where the weather is frequently changeable. More universally used than the sun-dials were such fire-clocks as will be described below:

A joss incense stick was utilized as a sort of time indicator. An incense-stick is erected and fire set to its top, and the degree of combustion indicates time. However, as every incense-stick varies in density and mixture of materials, it does not burn at the same rate. The rate of combustion is further influenced by supply of air and humidity.

A match-cord clock consists of a piece of cord with several knots. The cord is lit on one end of it and let to burn. The rate of its combustion is, much the same as in the case of the joss incense stick, subject to changes. Nevertheless, this match-cord clock was more handy than the incense-stick clock because cordage was more easily obtainable.

An ignited candle with degrees marked on it was also used as a clock. In common with the foregoing two, candles do not burn at a constant velocity.

Any of these clocks can not serve as a permanent clock. They only could measure a very limited length of time, and that inaccurately. Clocks of a permanent nature were first introduced into Japan with the influx of mechanical clocks from Europe.

Spanish and Portugal missionaries who were actively engaging in mission work in various parts of Japan from the latter half of the 16th century to the middle part of the following century brought into this country the latest scientific knowledge together with the doctrines of Catholicism. Reports of missionaries of the time indicate that Japanese people were deeply interested in astronomy. Though in the field of the

calendar, no direct effect was ever produced on this country, clocks and fire-arms were received, as they were, into Japan. Owing to the exclusion of foreigners from the country, the domestic manufacture of these two kinds of articles advanced in a peculiar manner; the technical side of it eased its progress, whereas proficiency was attained in art technology.

What those missionaries brought over here across the sea were small lantern clocks, of which they made presents to *daimyō*. They must have been a novelty to the feudal lords, but are seemed to have been of not much practicality. When something went wrong with the clocks, it lay exclusively with the missionaries to perform the repair work. The first clock of Japan-make was manufactured with certain missionaries rendering guidance to Japanese workmen. Presently, Japanese developed their skill enough to manufacture clocks all by themselves. At the latest, some clocks had been constructed by Japanese workmen prior to 1598.

In those days, clocks could not be obtained so easily and were so expensive that the private ownership was confined to *daimyō* with the exception of a few, very wealthy men. Most *daimyō* retained horological engineers in their employ. These engineers received fiefs and protection in the capacity of vassals, and engaged in the artistical manufacture and repair of clocks using simple tools.

What Japanese watch-makers did first of all was to reproduce imitations of European-made clocks. But in due course of time they were entering upon a systematic production of Japanese clocks conformable to specific circumstances in Japan. There are four types of Japanese clocks; so-called tower clocks, rule clocks, pillow clocks and others.

The tower clock is a sort of a reformed lantern clock with its pendulum encased in a pyramidal stand. It is shaped just like a Japanese fire-tower, hence its appellation. It is the oldest of all types of Japanese clocks, and its mechanism is, in most instances, rather simple.

At first the Roman figures (I, II, III,XII) were used after the European fashion for the numerals to be marked on the dial, but they were replaced later on by the Japanese 12 horary signs or numerals complying with the way of counting tolls in which the order of numerals is reversed, beginning with 9 and ending with 4. However, in Japan where the temporary hour was in practice, clocks manufactured on the basis of the equinoctial hour had little utility value. Efforts were, therefore, directed to the designing of clocks in conformity with the temporary hour.

Whereas the lantern clock heretofore in use was equipped with a single foliot balance, a remodelled clock has two foliot balances for day and nighttime use, and on the ends of them are attached weights so as to adjust them at every change of season.

The dial of the clock is divided into 12 equal parts, and it makes only one rotation per day. The numerals on the dial are arranged either clockwise or anti-clockwise, and some clocks rotate the dials, while others the hands.

Afterwards the clock developed into a device whereby it was workable by a spring. The double foliot balances were then no longer used, and instead, the intervals between the numerals on the dial were expanded or contracted so as to accommodate the clock to the inconstant time system.

For instance, around the summer solstice, 65% of the dial was apportioned to 6 *koku* in the daytime from the Hour of the Hare to that of the Cock, and the remaining 35% to the nocturnal 6 *koku*. Adjustment of the intervals between the numerals on the dial 24 times a year enabled the clock to indicate time always following the temporary hour. For this purpose the dial was devised so that the numerals thereon could be easily moved by means of pliers.

But this method necessitated calculation and measurement of the intervals whenever moving the numerals, and in order to cope with this inconvenience and the inaccuracy which were brought about occasionally, a simpler and more exact method was conceived. Dials adapted to the respective sea-

sons of the year were created, and at every change of season, the dial on the clock was replaced by another one for that particular time of the year.

Rule Clock

The mechanism of this clock is much simpler than that of the lantern clock. By reading the degree to which the poise once rolled up has lowered through its gradual loosening, time is known. Because the graduated measurement on the clock looks like a foot-rule, the clock is thus named. The poise lowers at the constant rate, so the respective spaces between the degrees on the measurement are properly determined so that the clock can inform hours in accordance with the temporary hour. In this case also, the required number of differently graduated plates were prepared for replacement at every change of season. An improvement made afterwards on this clock was to indicate the graduation for each season of the year on one and the same measurement.

Pillow Clock

This is what we call a table-clock. Manufacture of this kind of clocks commenced far behind the tower clock and the rule clock. The pillow clock, worked by a spring, is of smaller size than the tower clock. Usually the clock is richly ornamented, so it is also known as "Daimyo's Clock".

Similar to the tower clock in its later stage, the figures on the dial of this type of clocks are movable, and there are some clocks that have bells or music boxes. In general, clocks of this kind are attached with various, precise devices.

A clock constructed by Tanaka Hisashige (1799-1881), which is named *Mannen Dokei* or "Perpetual Clock", will keep going for 400 days with one time of winding, and can simultaneously indicate with accuracy the European equinoctial hour, the Japanese temporary hour, days of the week, 24 changes of season, phases of the moon, the sexagenary cycle and the revolution of the sun and the moon.

As another kind of time-pieces, watches were used habitually. Some of them were

of Japan-make, while others the machines of which were made in Europe were decried in Japan. There were the other ones of smaller sizes which were set in swords and rings.

These Japanese clocks and watches were being manufactured for a period of 2 centuries and several decades, but the technical side of horologe manufacture was improving little, even though considerable advancement was made in at technology. Furthermore, it was impossible to produce them on a large scale. Therefore, at the end of the 19th century when Japan entered on commerce with Europe and America, American-made wall-clocks which were inexpensive and kept good time flowed into this country like a tide.

With the putting into practice of the new equinoctial hour in 1893, most Japanese clocks and watches became unserviceable.

The old-fashioned and expensive Japanese time-pieces were no match for modern, inexpensive, foreign clocks and watches that were being imported. On the other hand, all *daimyos* were deprived of their dominions due to a new national policy, and the horological engineers who had been retained in their service lost their jobs.

Most Japanese clocks and watches were put away in closets and storerooms, and then flowed out abroad as mechanical art works.

Clock and Watch Industry in Japan

Owing to importation of moderate-priced accurate time-pieces from Europe and America, clocks and watches came to be more universally used. Payment for the imported clocks and watches amounted to a colossal sum.

In 1875, an attempt was made by a certain person to set about this new industry, but it ended in a failure. In 1886, the undertaking of horologe manufacture made its debut in Nagoya. By 1892, there were already several makers in this line, and the industry was making development with Nagoya, Tokyo and Osaka as its leading manufacturing districts.

The characteristic of clocks and watches produced in Japan consisted in their lowness in price dependent upon low wages.

When wall-clocks imported from the United States cost 15 *yen* per each, the unit price of Japanese-made ones was 4-5 *yen*, and a certain manufacturer went so far as to sell clocks at the price of 24-25 *yen* per dozen.

During the second decade of this century, the output of the Japanese horological industry was increasing to the extent that the greater part of the demand of the nation could be supplied with domestic products. Technics were also advancing. In 1924, there came into being a large, modern factory with the working force of 500. Japan, once an importer of clocks and watches, was

turning into a great exporting country. The annual output reached the amount of one million pieces in 1936, and, in the succeeding year, jumped up to four million 200 and 70,000, exclusive of electric clocks.

The horological industry of Japan declined during the Second World War, due to the shortage of materials, its shifting to munition industries and war disasters, but its post-war reconstruction is remarkable.

There are at present about 70 horologe manufacturing companies in this country, and the total number of employees is approximately 13,000.

Annual Events

History

Life in Japan is spiced with a big variety of annual events. Some are strictly local, others are observed throughout the country. But even the nationwide ones are observed in many different ways and on different scales in different parts of the country.

These annual events can be roughly divided into 5 groups:

1. Events that originated in court and aristocratic society.
2. Events that were started by the warriors.
3. Events that were developed by the peasants and merchants.
4. Events with a religious significance.
5. Events that were imported from the West.

The religious events themselves can be divided into Buddhist, Shintō, Confucian and Christian affairs. Christmas celebrations are now observed on a wide scale but without the religious significance it is usually associated with in Western countries.

Traditional events observed at court, especially those based on the Shintō creed of ancestor worship, form the nucleus of Japanese events.

In old Japan, the basic principle of administration was to listen to the voice of god and to respect and carry out his will.

Shintō rites therefore formed an important part of life at the court of the Emperor, who was also the administrative ruler of the country. The many Shintō rites observed at court today started in ancient times and have survived through the ages with the Imperial Family.

In the 6th century, Buddhism spread far and wide in Japan and picked up devout converts in the Court and among the ruling aristocracy and eventually among the common people. It remained virtually the national religion of Japan until the establishment of modern feudalistic society in the 16th century.

During this period, Buddhism played an increasingly big part in life at Court and Buddhist events, like the birthday of Buddha, came to be observed on a wide scale. These Buddhist events were held in between Shintō events.

Chinese culture, which exerted an overwhelming influence on Old Japan, naturally affected its rites and festivals. The Court and nobles, who formed the center of Japanese culture until modern times, adopted many Chinese celebrations and events. Among those that still survive are New Year's *Aouma-no-Sechie*, *Tango-no-Sekku* of May 5, the Star Festival of July 7, and the *Chōyō-no-Sekku* or Chrysanthemum Festival of Sept. 9 by the old calendar.

In Japan, the lunar calendar formed the basis of determining the timing and date of the festivals and regulated the lives of the

Japanese people before the Meiji Restoration. (1868) Like the concept of the 12 horary signs, the lunar calendar system was imported from China.

The farmers for their part have conceived and observed rites and festivals of their own since ancient times. These events are held alongside *Niinamesai* and *Kannamesai*, the Japanese version of Thanksgiving, which are still observed at Court and were set aside as national holidays before the end of World War II.

The rise of the merchants in the modern era sparked the birth of many folksy events. Festivals and rites that were formerly observed exclusively by the Court, aristocracy or warriors were also "democratized" to suit the means and tastes of the townsmen.

The *yabui*, the holiday for apprentices every Jan. 15; the *chūgen*, or exchange of gifts in mid-summer; the *seibo*, or exchange of year-end gifts; the summer fireworks, and firefly catching were all customs started by the townsmen.

The Dolls Festival of March 3 and the *Tango-no-Sekku* of May 5 were both originated by the nobility but it was the townsmen who firmly established them as national festivals. It was also the townsmen who developed the beautiful decorations as they are observed today.

Flower-viewing—dining and wining parties held under the blossoming cherry trees,—is another event that started at Court and spread among the common people. It is still an important Court event, and the Emperor holds cherry viewing parties in spring and chrysanthemum viewing parties in autumn for the members of the diplomatic corps and government and civic leaders.

Every region has its own historic shrine where famous festivals are held in spring and autumn. These festivals have lost much of their religious significance, and crowds flock to the shrine precincts to take in the spectacular shows and to revel in holiday spirit.

The festivals at Nara's Kasuga Shrine, Kyoto's Kamo Shrine, Osaka's Temmangū Shrine, and the Sansha Sai of Asakusa, Tokyo, are among the most famous.

In addition, the countless, nameless local shrines usually hold festivals in spring and autumn and sometimes in summer.

The Buddhist temples hold rites and special observances on Buddha's birthday on April 8, the *Bon* or Lantern Festival on July 15, and also hold periodic gatherings to spread the teachings of Buddha. These events have come to play an important part in the lives of the common people.

The pilgrimage to the 88 sacred places of Shikoku is an ancient practice among the townsmen that is just as widely followed by Buddhist converts today.

The Ise Shrine, the main sanctuary of the Shintō religion, holds many festivals in spring and autumn. The Emperor and ranking officials and the common people pray to the Ise Shrine on New Year, and some devout men and women make personal pilgrimages to Ise on New Year. Before the end of World War II. Cabinet Ministers and high ranking officials and generals made it a practice to "report" to the Ise Shrine on assumption of office.

Since the Meiji Era, the tendency has been for some of the traditionally Japanese events to fade away into obscurity. Into their place came the manners and customs of western countries in the wake of the introduction of Christianity.

Christmas and birthday celebrations are two western events that were most widely adopted in Japan. Birthdays are now being observed not only in private homes but also in schools and organizations.

Calendar of Events

January. New Year—New Year is celebrated in the first part of January.

On Jan. 1, the Emperor observes the *shihōhai*, an ancient rite in which he prays for bountiful crops and the prosperity of the nation to the gods in four directions. Similar rites are held at many of the shrines.

The people put up many decorations in the last days of December to welcome the god of the New Year. In some districts, offerings are placed on shelves.

On New Year's Day, everyone makes it a practice to rise early and, if possible, see the sunrise.

Toso, a sweetened sake, and *mochi*, or rice cakes, are served at breakfast for the first 3 days of January as a means of praying for longevity and health. Men and women in formal clothes make courtesy calls on friends and relatives. Greeting cards are exchanged with acquaintances too distant to visit. These cards often bear the pictures of horse, rabbit, bird, monkey, or whatever the New Year happens to be according to the zodiacal calendar.

On Jan. 2, the year's first load of fish, meat and grocery reaches the market. Trucks bearing these *hatsuni* are decorated with beautiful banners.

This is also the day for *kakizome* or first calligraphy practice of the year. Men, women and children write poems and proverbs with new brushes by way of praying that they will acquire beautiful penmanship.

Hatsuyume, or the year's first dream dreamed on the night of Jan. 2, is believed to indicate the individual's luck throughout the year. Many people place pictures of treasure ships beneath their pillows in hopes their dream would be an auspicious one.

The first 3 days of the New Year are national holidays and everyone goes to town in their best finery or invites friends over for games of card and refreshments. Kite-flying and battledore and shuttlecocks are favorite New Years games with the children.

Jan. 4 is the *shigotohajime* (*goyōhajime*) or the first day of work for government and public offices. In many of the farming and fishing villages, the *shigotohajime* does not come until Jan. 11.

Jan. 6 is the *dezomeshiki*, or day when the fire brigade goes back into formation after the holiday celebration. The acrobatic performances atop ladders and demonstrations staged by Tokyo's firemen at the Palace plaza is a delight to behold. Costumes of firemen of the Middle Ages are worn for the occasion.

The *kadomatsu*, or pine tree decorations gracing the entrance of each household, is removed on the night of Jan. 14. The 2 weeks while the *kadomatsu* is decorated is called *matsunouchi*, or inside the pine. The

recent tendency in Tokyo is to remove the trees on Jan. 7.

Jan. 7 is also the day for eating *nana-kusa-gayu* or gruel cooked with seven varieties of herbs.

On Jan. 11, the *kagami-mochi* or two tiered rice cakes that were placed on the alcove of the living room and kitchen are cut up and eaten. This custom, called *kagami-biraki*, was originated by the samurai class.

On this day, New Year is celebrated again on a miniature scale in the farming villages. It also marks the first day of work for the farmers.

Apprentices and employees in downtown districts are given one day off between Jan. 13 and 16. This is called *yabui*. In the olden days, contracts for maids and apprentices covered the one-year period from Jan. 13, and it was deemed appropriate to give them time off to visit their folks back home before starting work under a new contract.

Dondoyaki or *ombeyaki* an ancient Chinese custom which takes place on the night of Jan. 14, is an occasion for much merry-making, especially for the children. On this night, *kadomatsu*, *shimekazari* and other New Year decorations are gathered from the households and burned in a huge bonfire. The participants sing songs, roast rice cakes and indulge in fortune telling.

On Jan. 15, or Small New Year, *azuki-gayu* (gruel cooked with red beans) is eaten to drive away evil spirits and illness for the coming year.

This day is also a national holiday called *Seijin no Hi* or Adults Day and dedicated to young men and women who reached the age of 20. This is a postwar holiday, but the practice of marking the adulthood of young men—known as the *gempuku*—on this day is an old one.

On Jan. 18, the annual *outakai-hajime*, or poetry party is held at Court. Poems on a given theme selected from entries submitted by the public are read aloud on this occasion.

New year decorations: The *kadomatsu*, placed at the entrance of each household and building, is made of pine and bamboo. These 2 trees were chosen partly because

they are evergreens and partly because of their longevity. Japanese legend has it that the pine trees live for 1,000 years and the bamboos for tens of thousands of years.

The *wakazari* and *shimenawa* are made from the stems of rice plants and citrons and placed on the doorway, alcove, altar and in the kitchen.

The *kagamimochi*, or round rice cakes, come in 2 or 3 tiers and sizes and are placed in alcoves and kitchens in square, unpainted wooden containers. They are decorated with tangles, citrus fruit and leaves and sometimes dried shrimp.

The tangles and citrus fruit signify durability, and the shrimp signifies longevity.

Mochi or rice cakes are eaten on New Year and other felicitous occasion throughout the country.

Their shape and the way they are cooked differ however, according to each locality.

February. Setsubun.—*Setsubun* comes around on Feb. 3, the day before the *Rishun* or the opening day of spring by the Japanese calendar.

Setsubun is known mainly by the *mame-maki* or bean-throwing ceremony that takes place at homes, shrines and temples after dark.

Roasted beans are placed in square, wooden containers for measuring rice and thrown at the doorways and the rooms, by men and children who shout "Away with the devil. Welcome, good luck!"

In private homes, the father or children scatter the beans. At the temples and shrines, the task goes to celebrated persons born on whatever zodiacal year it happens to be. For instance, if the particular year happens to be the year of the rabbit, then men born on the year of the rabbit 3 or 4 or 5 cycles before are given the job. It is considered a big honor to be made a *toshi-otoko*, or bean throwing man, and formal Japanese *kimono* are usually worn for the occasion.

In Japan, there is a belief in *yakudoshi*, or unlucky year, when misfortunes are supposed to happen to individuals by workings of the cosmic forces. For men, the *yakudoshi* is 25 and 42 years old and for women, 19 and 33 years old.

Superstition has it that you can get rid of *yakudoshi's* bad luck if you eat as many beans as your age on *Setsubun*. Feb. 8—*Harikuyō*, or memorial services for sewing needles, is an old custom observed by girls but it is fast disappearing. On this day, women take a break from sewing, gather up needles broken during the past year, and offer them to the altar or comfort them by plunging them into soft bean curds. *Hatsu-uma*—Refers to the first day of the horse in February as indicated by the zodiacal calendar.

Big festivals are held on this day at the Inari Shrines throughout the country dedicated to the god of the crops. This particular day was chosen for the occasion because the chief Inari Shrine in Fushimi, Kyoto, was completed on Feb. 9, 1371, which happened to be the year's first day of the horse.

Huge banners bearing the name of the Inari deity in big letters are planted around the big red archways to the shrines, and drums are beaten in turns by the flock of worshippers and spectators. In the olden days, parents used to send children to calligraphy lessons on this day.

March. In the olden days, sorcerers were summoned to drive away evil on the first day of serpent in March. The evils were transferred to paper dolls by the sorcerers and floated down the river.

Later, the dolls were made of mud and materials other than paper and placed on shelves instead of floating them down the rivers. Wine and sweets were also offered to the dolls.

Later, the *hina* dolls which existed since ancient times became the prescribed dolls for this rite.

In the Tokugawa Era, the *Hina matsuri*, or Dolls Festival, was designated as one of the five festivals of Japan, and March 3 of each year was set aside for the festival.

In those days, the *hina matsuri* was not merely a festival for girls but a national festival when all the feudal lords were supposed to pay homage to the Tokugawa Shogunate.

The *hina matsuiri* decorations as they are known today were developed in the Edo Era. Before that time, there was no set pattern for the dolls and their way of arrangement and the clothes of the dolls were patterned after that of the court nobles.

Since the Edo Era, the *hina* dolls were remarkably developed, and there appeared many famous doll makers. Fine workmanship also went into the small, lacquered chest of drawers and other little paraphernalia that went with the *hina* dolls. Eventually, the *hina* dolls came to be regarded with such importance that many girls included one set in their trousseau.

The *hina* doll set consists of the 2 dolls representing the Emperor and Empress; the three ladies-in-waiting; the Left and Right Ministers; the 5 musicians; the laughing man, the weeping man and the angry man; a set of miniature furniture; and a cherry tree and a mandarin tree.

Lozenge rice cakes in red, green and white, colored popped rice cakes, and sweet white *sake* are offered to the dolls on *hina-matsuiri*.

The Dolls Festival is sometimes referred to as the Peach Festival because peach blossoms are used as decorations for the day.

Higan—The *higan* comes twice a year and corresponds to week of the spring and autumn equinoxes. On the middle day of the *higan*, the Japanese visit their family graves and distribute rice cakes and *sushi*, the Japanese counterpart of sandwiches, to their friends and neighbors.

The *higan* observance comes from a Buddhist belief that when the night and day are equally divided, Buddha appears on earth for a week to save stray souls and lead them to Nirvana.

April. First day of school. April is the beginning of the academic year in Japan, and an occasion for cooking *sekihan*, or rice cooked with red beans, and celebrating for families whose little girls and boys enter school for the first time. Relatives and family friends give presents to the brand new first graders.

Kambutsue (*Bussō-kai*)—Buddhists celebrate this festival on April 8 to mark the birthday of Buddha. The statue of

Buddha is placed in a small temple especially built for the occasion and decorated with flowers. Hydrangea tea is then poured over the temple. In some regions, the bedecked temple is drawn through the streets by a horse or an ox.

Hachijūhachiya (88th Night) This night corresponds to the 88th night after *Risshun*, or the beginning of spring. This is the time when tea leaves are picked and the farmers guard against damages from frost.

May. *Tango-no-Sekku*, or Boys Festival. This was one of the 5 big festivals established in the Tokugawa Era. Before it was held on the first day of the horse in May, but since the Tokugawa Era, it has been observed on May 5. The feudal lords were required to pay homage to the Shōgun on this day.

The *Tango-no-Sekku* was celebrated as far back as the Nara Period, but it is not clear when the practice was imported into Japan and whether or not it had been combined with some old festival that already existed in Japan.

On this day, the Japanese take iris-scented baths, sip iris wine, and stick iris leaves on the roof. The iris, considered a miracle flower that drives away evil spirits and bad luck, was first associated with the *Tango-no-Sekku* in the Nara Period when officials wore wigs made of iris leaves to celebrate the day. The custom of sticking iris leaves on the roof was originated in the Heian Era and is still observed in some districts today.

Huge red and black carps made of paper and sometimes cloth are flown on poles on this day because carps were considered to symbolize manliness. In some families, smaller carps are decorated indoors.

As in the case of Dolls Festival, dolls of warriors and toy armors are decorated on tiered stands covered with green felt cloth. The special delicacies of this day are *chimak*, or rice dumplings wrapped in bamboo leaves, and *kashiwa-mochi*, Japanese cakes wrapped in oak leaves.

Legend has it that May 5 was chosen as the day for making and eating *chimaki* because that was the day when a Chinese youth named Chū-yūan plunged into a river and his neighbors threw rice in bamboo

tubes into the river to console his soul. Another version has it that Kutsugen's sister made *chimaki* and offered it to his soul.

June. *Nyūbai*, or beginning of the rainy season. The 135th day from *Risshun* or the first day of spring is called *Nyūbai*. This is the time for farmers to crop barley and plant rice.

Kawabiraki—June 1 is the day when the *ayu* or sweetfish fishing season begins. This is called *kawabiraki* or opening of the river. Fireworks are shot along the banks of the rivers around this time to celebrate *kawabiraki*. The most famous *kawabiraki* fireworks at Ryōgoku, Tokyo, are now held in July.

July. *Tanabata* or the Star Festival. This festival is dedicated to the heavenly stars Altair and Vega who are supposed to meet once a year on this day on the Milky Way. It is an old Chinese festival that was observed as far back as the Tang Era and came to Japan in the Nara Period.

The name *Tanabata* was picked for the festival after a Japanese goddess who was very clever at weaving just like Vega.

Since ancient times, the Emperor and his family placed offerings to the 2 stars in their garden and made poems on *Tanabata*. The common people also started observing *Tanabata* in the Togugawa Era, and eventually, it became a custom to hang strips of colored paper on bamboo branches and float them down the rivers on this day. Eggplants, cucumbers and other vegetables of the season are also offered to the stars.

It is believed that if you write poems or proverbs on the strips of paper, you will acquire good penmanship. And if you offer threads of seven colors on this day, you are supposed to become a good weaver and a good seamstress.

Bon, or Lantern Festival. This Buddhist version of All Souls' Day is held on the week of July 15. The custom of worshipping ancestors on this day was started in the reign of Emperor Suiko (592-645) by priest Nichiren who held Buddhist memorial services on July 15 to atone for the sins of his mother. Many rites and events are associated with *Bon*. While these differ according to each locality, the most univer-

sally observed practices are: July 13—On this night, a small fire is built before the entrance of homes to welcome back departed souls. July 14, 15—The family Buddhist altars are decorated with flowers, fruit, vegetable and dumplings, and priests are invited to read sutras and conduct memorial services for the dead members of the family. Visits are also made to the family graves on either of these days. July 16—Fires are built again at the entrances of homes to send off the dead spirits back to Nirvana.

At homes close to a river, the bon offerings are placed in a candle-lit straw boat and floated down the river. Later, real paper lanterns were floated down the rivers and on the lakes, and today lantern floating has become a widespread summer event.

The *Bon-ichi* or *kusa-ichi* is a fair held just before *Bon* and features decorations and offerings for the *Bon* festival.

The *Bon-odori* or community dance is held before and after *Bon*. Many colored paper lanterns are hung for the occasion. Phonographs and drums beaten by the town and village youths provide the accompaniment.

Chūgen Presents—*Chūgen* is a Chinese word. In China, Jan. 15 was called *Jōgen*, July 15, *Chūgen*, and Oct. 15 *Kagen*.

Gruel cooked with red beans were eaten on *Jōgen* by way of chasing away illness, and this practice is still widely followed in Japan.

Chūgen and *Gegen* were sort of ancestor worship days, and the revelers made merry throughout the night.

On *Chūgen*, the Japanese individuals and companies send gifts to their bosses, relatives, friends and clients to whom they owe debts of patronage and guidance.

The *Gegen* is not observed in Japan.

As on Jan. 15, the apprentices and servants are given a day off (*Yabūiri*) on *Bon*.

The Court, temples, shrine and private homes usually air their belongings around this time.

September. *Nihyaku-tōka* and *Nihyaku-hatsuka*, the 210th and 220th day after *Risshun*, or the start of spring, are days when typhoons are said to strike Japan.

If the rice plants survive these 2 days, they are said to bear abundant crops.

Chōyō no Sekku, or Chrysanthemum Festival comes on Sept. 9. This was an important festival in the Edo Era and a day when the feudal lords were expected to call on the *Shōgun*. The Emperor used to hold banquets on this day, but this festival is practically forgotten by the general public today.

Tsukimi or Moon viewing—The Japanese sit around offerings of liquor, pampas grass dumplings, and potatoes on the verandas and wait for the full moon to rise in mid or late September. The full moon of this month is considered to be the most beautiful of the year.

Higan—The autumn *higan* is observed on the week of the autumn equinox in the same way as the spring *higan*.

October. *Tsukimi* or Moon Viewing—Moon viewing parties are held this month on the 13th night: The full moon of this month is called *kuri meigetsu* (chestnut bright moon) or *azuki meigetsu* (red bean bright moon) because chestnuts and red beans are offered to the moon this month.

September's full moon is called *imo meigetsu* (potato bright moon) because potatoes are offered.

Kannamesai, the Harvest Festival on Oct. 17 was a national holiday before the end of World War II, but today it is observed only at Court and the Ise Shrine. New crops of the year are offered to the Imperial Palace sanctuary and Ise Shrine on this day.

November. *Tori-no-ichi*. This is a fair held at shrines on the day of the bird in November. Bamboo rakes and masks are sold at the stalls lining up the approaches to the shrine.

Merchants pay homage to the shrine on this day and buy the toy rakes in the belief they will rake in money for them.

The *Tori-no-ichi* is held 2 or 3 times depending on the number of days of the bird in November of a given year.

Shichigosan, or Festival of Seven, Five and Three comes on Nov. 15. Girls aged 3 and 7 and boys aged 5 are dressed up and taken to shrines this day in hopes they will grow up into healthy and good citizens.

The custom started in Court in the Heian Era.

December. *Susuharai* or Soot sweeping. Since olden days, big house cleaning has been carried out on Dec. 13 which is supposed to be a lucky day for sweeping away soot and dust. Worn out *tatami*, or floor mats, and paper sliding doors are renewed around this time also.

As the years' end approaches, fairs are held to sell items for New Year celebration. In the countryside each family starts pounding rice cakes.

In some districts, soft, newly pound rice cakes are tied to willow branches and offered to the gods. These are called *mochi-bana* or rice cake flowers.

As in the case of *chūgen*, presents called *seibo* are taken to acquaintances and clients by way of thanking them for the patronage during the year.

A series of *bōnenkai*, or year-end parties, are held among friends and office employees.

Dec. 28 is the last day of work for most government and public employees.

Ōmisoka is Dec. 31 or the last day of the year. At some villages, salted salmon, or yellow-fish, is eaten on this day to celebrate the passing of the old year.

A common practice in most families is to eat buckwheat noodles on New Year's Eve. One theory has it that this custom started in hopes that if you eat noodles at the turn of the year, you would live as long as the noodles. Another theory claims that it was originated by merchants who were so busy collecting bills on this day that they ate *soba* which takes little time to prepare and eat.

Joya. At the strike of 12 a.m. midnight, the temples toll their bells 108 times to drive away the 108 evil human passions. Most people stay awake this night to hear the bells of *joya*. Some people start on New Year's pilgrimage to the shrines when the bells start ringing.

Nationwide and Public Annual Events in Contemporary Japan

Following are legal holidays newly established after the end of World War II. These are quite different in nature and origin from the prewar holidays, and opinion on them is divided among the people.

1. New Year's Day. Jan. 1. is observed as a holiday to celebrate the start of a new year.
2. Adults Day. Jan. 15. This day is dedicated to young men and women who observed their 20th birthday during the past year. The idea originated in the *gempuku*, an ancient custom observed by the samurai class to mark the adulthood of their sons. The boys changed their clothes and hairdressing from that of children's to adults' on this day.
3. *Shumbun-no-Hi*. March 21. This celebration of the turn of the season started with the custom of observing *Higan* on this day.
4. Emperor's birthday. April 29. This same holiday was called *Tenchōsetsu* before the end of World War II.
5. Constitution Day. May 3. This day is set aside to mark the promulgation of the present Constitution in 1947.
6. Children's Day. May 5. This day was formerly a boy's festival called *Tango-no-Sekku*, but it is now dedicated to both boys and girls.
7. *Shūbun-no-Hi*. Sept. 23. This is the autumn counterpart of *Shumbun-no-Hi* and a successor of the autumn *Higan*.
8. *Bunka-no-Hi*. Nov. 3. This holiday is meant to foster love and respect for culture.
9. *Kinrō-Kansha-no-Hi*. Nov. 23. This is the day when rice and other crops are harvested. The day is designed to instill a sense of gratitude to workers and the fruits of their labor. In prewar days, the holiday was known as *Niname-sai*.

Folk Faith and Folk Superstitions

Introduction

Origin. The faith of today has its origin far back in the pantheistic past, when the sun and the moon, the mountains and rivers, trees and rocks, and even the beasts and insects were all personified as deities, and when all the vicissitudes of nature on her natural course were attributed to the works of these various gods. This primitive pantheistic view is to be found deeply entrenched in our daily living even today. In this day of advanced medicine, when even the remotest provincial cities are provided with modern hospital facilities and when the newest of medicines are being widely utilized, there are still Japanese people living within this very same highly modernized nation, who even now rely on toasted snake powder as a cure for tuberculosis, and who hand magic talismans by the doorway to frustrate the coming of the god of epidemic disease.

Folk-faiths are of many kinds. For instance, there are cases in which a formerly pure religion or faith, falling out of pace with the times, lost its original high purpose and significance, and degenerated into mere superstitious beliefs. Again, the so-

called *shinkō shūkyō*, the newly founded religions which are generally of very low standards, are rejected by the educated people, but find a strong following among the lower classes. This is often classed as a form of folk-faith. Also the mode of faith found among the lower ranks of religious workers, who although connected with great established religions, are not closely in touch with the religion itself, may be grouped under the term of folk-faith, as may also the faith of the great majority of people who are guided in their faiths by these religious underlings.

In other words, folk-faith may be considered to be a medium which lies half-way between true religion and the simple daily life of the people. The guardian god of the clan, the various deities of the land, and other beliefs concerned with superstitious phenomena, all belong to this medium. From these developed *zencho* (prophetic signs), *yochi* (foreknowledge), *bokusen* (divination), *jūjutsu* (magic incantation), *kinki* (taboo), *minkan-ryōhō* (folk therapy), *yōkai* (goblin), *yūrei* (ghost) and *tsuki-mono genshō* (state of demerol produced by being "possessed" by some spirit) and other such varied forms of folk superstitions.

Thus, the so-called folk faith and folk superstitions are the products of varied experience and knowledge garnered from daily living and based on ancient beliefs, which, instead of becoming organized and elevated to a true religion, remained in a fragmentary, disjointed state and became firmly entrenched in daily life as the superstitious faith and customs of the people.

Significance. Thus, folk faith and folk superstitions are the vestiges of ancient knowledge and art of life, and of the old faiths upon which that ancient life was based. Consequently, an inquiry into the existing folk faiths should reveal the spiritual and religious life, the philosophy and the faith peculiar to the Japanese people, as well as provide material to scientifically clarify the history that lies behind the mode of daily life as it exists in Japan today.

Japan is scientifically well abreast of the newest international scientific developments, and religiously, it has many believers in Christianity and other foreign religions. But on the other hand, it has also clung firmly to the ancient simple knowledge and techniques transmitted, with gradual change, through the long centuries to the present. This tends to make Japan a complex combination of the old and the new, this complexity being one of the characteristics of the Japanese nation. While busily absorbing the most advanced of scientific knowledge and techniques on the one hand, Japan at the same time retains the products of a past age which are actually no longer abreast of the times. Little by little, the most impractical and the most unscientific among these are discarded; and this slow, gradual process is a characteristic mark of the way of Japanese culture. Knowledge which has become too outmoded to have meaning, a mode of life that has ceased to be practical. These remain tenaciously in daily life habits of the people as folk faith and folk superstitions.

Influence on society. The continued existence of such varied and widespread folk faith and superstitions among the people, tend to make Japanese daily life complex and paradoxical. For instance, Tokyo is a great metropolis boasting a population that is third largest in the world. But even in

this great city, the construction of one of its modern buildings must be preceded by rituals dedicated to the land-god of the building site, before the laborers will willingly start work on the project. And, when the construction has been completed, even if the owner happens to be a great newspaper firm boasting a circulation of several millions daily, the building will be provided with a shrine on its roof to house a protective deity.

Even Tokyo's International Airport at Haneda has a shrine for its guardian deity, in order to ensure against the occurrence of mishaps. Factories and passenger vehicles all prominently display protective cards from various shrines. It is this tenacious retention of old customs that is proving to be a great obstacle to the realization of modernization and scientific adjustment in daily life.

For instance, these old customs and superstitions that still prevail in various forms in the average home today, are very often in direct opposition to the practicalism and scientific efficiency taught in the schools. The progressive young folk and the conservative oldsters often come in open conflict with each other over these differences. Again, this same gap is very much in evidence between the city dwellers with their more advanced way of life, and the older way of life still to be seen in the provinces.

Folk faith

Nature worship. In the face of majestic mountains and boundless oceans, in the teeth of terrifying storms or entranced by the matchless beauty of sunset and sunrise, man is apt to forget all his scientifically acquired knowledge of physics, and become lost in sheer wonder bordering on acceptance of the mystic. Primitive nature worship was a development of this awe-struck wonder; and it endowed all natural objects and natural phenomena with a god-character, to be sanctified and worshipped.

The deification of the sun and the moon, and the offering of prayers to these gods entreating their beneficence, were practices common to all the primitive races of the world. However, in present-day modern

Japan, in spite of the advanced studies of physics and astronomy, there are people who even now pray daily to the rising sun, and believe that any prayer voiced during the brief appearance of a shooting star will be granted.

In the provinces, such rituals as *hi-machi* (sun-wait) in which worshippers stay awake all night to wait for the rising of the sun, or the *tsuki-machi* (moon-wait) in which the worshippers wait for the rising of the moon of the 23rd night of the lunar calendar, are carried out even today. *Chūshū no meigetsu*, the night of the full moon in September, is still widely observed, with offerings laid out by open windows where the light of the full moon falls. Even in great cities where on ordinary nights the moon is unseen and forgotten amid the brilliance of man-made lights, this practice is commonly observed on this particular night.

The fact that lightning is caused by electricity in the upper atmosphere, is commonly accepted knowledge. But in spite of this knowledge, villagers even today worship piously at shrines dedicated to the thunder god, and ceremonious rain-rituals are carried out on the shrine grounds in some districts, to pray for the advent of rain.

As for water, the more primitive and simple the way of life, the more the regard for its importance for drinking and for farm irrigation. The modern water-works system, and before that, the propagation of well-digging methods, greatly improved the way of life of the people. But prior to such man-made means of obtaining water, the natural fountains and springs which provided the people with clear drinking water, were highly regarded, and the water-god was enshrined without fail by all such water sources. Later, when wells became the common source for water, the well-god came to receive its share of worship. The prevalence of shrines whose names coincide with those of rivers and streams is also evidence of this worship, the shrines being dedicated to the river gods to prevent floods and to ensure against drought.

Belief in the land-god is also prevalent. Many people believe that the occurrence of mishaps during even slight construction

projects, are the results of the anger of the land-god, whose presence on the site had been unfortunately overlooked at the time of the construction. It is for the purpose of appeasing the spirit of the god of the land-site that the ritual of *jichin-sai* is offered at the time of the breaking of the ground for any new bit of construction, whether for private home or office.

Belief in the sanctity of fire is also still much in evidence. There are certain hearth fires which are claimed to have never been extinguished for generation after generation. On the other hand, there are farmers in certain provinces who faithfully observe the custom of putting out the hearth fire once a year, on the last day of the year, and re-kindling a new fire on New Year's day. If an infant should happen to urinate into the hearth, salt (considered to be a purifying element) is sprinkled in the hearth to re-purify the fire. Generally, the god of fire (also known as the god of the hearth) is also worshiped as the guardian deity of the house.

Again, the fear of storm winds, and gratitude for favorable winds, led to the observance of rituals called *Kaza-matsuri* (Wind Festival) dedicated to the gods of the wind, as is evident from the enshrinement of wind-gods, and from the existence of sites still called *Kaza-matsuri* from the Wind Festival which used to be observed there.

There are also many stones which have been deified. Near the famous Ise Shrine which houses the ancestral gods of the Imperial Family, there are two reefs standing in the surf at Futamiga-ura beach, which are worshiped as the Wedded Rocks, the wedded god and goddess. Also, in various provinces throughout the land, there is a common belief in a stone-god, or god of the stone, which is said to be a mysterious pebble that yearly grows larger and larger and eventually pierces and damages house roofs, no matter how often or how high the roof may be rebuilt in an attempt to prevent the mischief of the sprite.

In Japan, such beasts as the fox, the wolf, the horse and the swan are deified; but it is generally supposed that this deification was not the result of a belief in the godly

nature of the creatures themselves, but from the belief that these certain creatures were the messengers of other higher gods. This belief eventually led to the worship of the creatures themselves. The wolf has now disappeared altogether from Japan, but it was once considered the messenger of the mountain god. Meanwhile, the fox came to be widely worshiped as the messenger of the Inari or harvest god; and even in such great cities as Tokyo, there are large Inari shrines at which the fox is enshrined as the Inari god, and which boast a large following of believers.

Trees too, upon attainment of great stature or great age, or when connected with some seeming minor miracle, or when growing within shrine precincts, are often regarded with awe, and worshiped as *shimboku*, the "sacred tree" or "god's tree".

Worship of jubutsu or fetishes. In the practice of any form of magic or sorcery, all primitive peoples recognized and utilized certain objects as fetishes. In Japan too, certain animals, plants and minerals in their natural state, and man-made objects as well as talismans such as written words or pictures, were used, each according to its special purpose.

For instance, the comb was considered from ancient times to possess magic powers. This belief is thought to have arisen from ancient practice, in which those few people possessing combs were considered to be the special envoys of the gods, and the comb thus came to be a sign of godly authority. Another old practice concerned with the comb was the casting away of a comb, which act denoted the divorce of a married couple.

The belief that a godly spirit resided in sword blades, also existed from ancient times. Tales concerned with certain "cursed swords" are based on this belief, the superstition being that once the blade of such a cursed sword is taken out from its scabbard, its spirit will not rest in peace without tasting blood. The custom of placing an exposed sword blade over a dead body during the period before burial is even now observed widely, with some other blade being substituted when a sword is not readily available, this practice also reflect-

ing the widespread belief in the spirit of the blade.

Belief in the magical powers of stones also exists, it being said that wishes will come true if a certain stone is caressed with the hand, or that embracing a certain stone will make a barren woman fertile. And, as is detailed in the chapter on phallism, stones in the form of the male and female sex organs were also considered to possess magic powers.

Aside from these, other fetishes include the wooden paddle used for the cure of eye disease and to stop coughs; the broom that is stood upside-down to hasten the departure of an unwanted guest; the ashes that are used for protection against snakes, and other objects in infinite variety. Among them may be listed the following:

The pictures, straw dolls and carved objects representing the figures of such creatures as the fox, the horse, the tiger, dragon, monkey and eagle, are often placed in shrines or used in festivals, for the purpose of gaining good fortune. Such usage probably originated in the belief that these creatures were in some way related to other higher gods, and thus later came to be worshiped in themselves, and used as superstitious fetishes.

There are many objects believed to be efficacious in the cure or prevention of various diseases. Among them, aside from the so-called "folk therapy" which makes use of simple herbs and medicines, there are many other "cures" which fall in the category of superstition. An example of the latter is the use of the abalone and earthworms in the prevention of smallpox, pigeons for the cure of respiratory diseases, and the frog for brain diseases.

Ancestor worship and tutelary gods. It may be said that ancestor worship forms the core of the Japanese people's native faith. However, this ancestor worship is not easily definable, for the word *sozen*, denoting the ancestral god, is an ambiguous term, including the spirit of the founder of the clan or family, as well as the spirits of all the ancestral dead from the ancient "days of the Gods". The word *Hotoke* as used in the Japanese language, is often con-

fused with *Butsu* (the Enlightened) of the Buddhist religion; however, *Hotoke*, in the original sense of the word, refers primarily to deceased blood-relatives or their spirits, and is not related to *Butsu*. Among the Japanese people, it may be said that there is no faith which is not connected, either directly or indirectly, with some form of ancestor worship.

At present, this ancestor worship has become corrupted into many forms, resulting in general confusion; but a probe into the origin of each of these beliefs reveals the same *Sorei* (ancestral spirit) to be its source. The *Toshi-gami* (Year-god) who ushers in the prosperous new year, the *Hino-kami* (god of fire) or *Kamado-gami* (god of the hearth), the *Tano-kami* or *Tsukuri-gami* (god of the fields) who descends to the fields in spring to supervise the cultivation of the land, and who after the harvest returns to the mountains to become *Yama-no-kami* (god of the mountains), are all related in some way or another with the *Sorei*. The god of fishing, and the *Suijin* (god of water) and *Ryūjin* (dragon-god i.e. water-god) also have their source in the ancestor worship of the past.

The *Oshiro-gami* that is worshiped by the housewives of old families in the Tōhoku (Northwest) region of Japan, was originally the *Shugo-shin* (guardian deity) of the house, in other words, a form of the *Sorei*, although in recent years, the *Oshiro-gami* has come to be considered more as the god of sericulture and of the harvest than of the family.

Although the contamination of the dead is generally greatly shunned, the spirit of the dead is believed to become purified and noble after the passing of 33 years, the deceased becoming a god after that period. Consequently, the concept of the *soshin* or ancestral god, includes the spirits of all the dead ancestors, from the ancient past up to and including the more recently dead who died 33 or more years previously. And this *Gōdō-jin* (the united spirit of the ancestral dead) is worshiped yearly in a *Gōdō-sai*, the annual festival which is

dedicated to the combined spirits of the dead ancestors.

The tutelary god, *Uji-gami*, was considered at one time to be the guardian deity of the *uji*, a certain form of ancient clan or tribe relationship, when the *uji* was the prevailing social unit in the land. However, the *Uji-gami* is now generally considered to be the tutelary god of the individual village. In certain regions where the *Uji-gami* is still considered to be the clan-god and not the village-god, it is referred to specially as *Maki-no Uji-gami* (*Uji-gami* of *Maki*) etc., in order to prevent confusion with the common village-god. Again, there are regions in which the *Yashiki-gami* (the house-god) is referred to as *Uchi-gami*, or as *Uji-gami*.

Yashiki-gami developed from the *Sorei* (ancestor-gods) that were formerly enshrined at some site within the house or adjoining estate. Two instances are to be found in the worship of this god. In one, the *Yashiki-gami* is found enshrined in only one house; in the other, the same *Yashiki-gami* is enshrined in many houses. Of the two, the former is the older form of practice, reflecting the custom in which the god was enshrined in the main house of the direct family line, with the other minor houses of the same family worshipping the same god at the single altar. Later, the minor houses also took up the custom of making an altar for the family god, and this resulted in the worship of such various gods as *Inari*, *Shimmei*, *Gion*, *Kumano*, *Tennō*, *Hachiman*, *Atago*, *Hakusan* and others, each as the *Yashiki-gami* of the various houses.

The term *Uji-ko* refers to those who fall under the protection of a certain tutelary *Uji-gami*; and in the present sense of the term, it includes all those citizens who reside within the sphere of influence of the particular shrine. When there are more than one shrine within the same area, the individual is the *Uji-ko* or protegee of either one or the other of the gods, but not of both. However, with the change in the mode of life brought about by the development of transportation and modern production, the movement of the people has

become greatly pronounced, as a result of which their feeling of allegiance to the *Uji-gami* has become more and more negligible.

At the time of a baby's birth, the parents make it a custom to report the birth to temples and to the *Uji-gami* shrine, in order to ask the various gods' blessings on the newly-born child. But whereas the *Uji-gami* shrines are stationary, the modern *Uji-ko* is constantly on the move, with the result that even brothers of the same family end up by having different *Uji-gami* gods. Office workers are often forced by circumstances to live far away from the *Uji-gami* of their *Hatsu-miyamairi*, that is, the protective god to whom they had been taken in infancy on their first shrine visit. As an inevitable result, the ties between the *Uji-gami* and the *Uji-ko* became more and more remote; and it has now become customary for the people to take the local *Uji-gami* of the site of their residence for their own *Uji-gami*, with no regard to the *Uji-gami* whose blessings had been invoked at their birth-site.

Phallicism. Phallicism, as found in Japan, involves the belief that a good harvest will be gained through the mime of sexual intercourse at the time of festival. Again, similar to the *linga* worship in India, phallic symbols in the shape of female and male sex organs are reproduced in metal, stone or wood, and worshiped. These two forms of phallicism, common to all the races of the world, existed in Japan also; and traces of the worship is still to be found here today.

The more remote the time, the more openly these practices were observed; but due to repeated intervention on the part of the government, the custom has gradually died out, leaving only bare traces, mostly retained merely as gossip among connoisseurs of the risque.

The retention of traces of sexual license in connection with certain festivals, may be laid to the common belief that through the grace of a particular god, a woman might become pregnant with a healthy child, or that divine providence will provide the young people with appropriate spouses.

In olden days, at the time of the planting of rice seedlings in the paddies, it was the custom to dedicate a religious festival to the *Sakumotsu-no-kami* (god of crops). At this festival, brightly bedecked young people went through the motions of sexual intercourse before the god's altar, suggesting to the god through the mimed rites of reproduction, the people's prayer for a fertile harvest. Among the public entertainments held in connection with such a festival, there were to be found dances and mimed motions which, with the decline of the religious significance, can only be taken now as degraded and obscene performances.

The belief in the magic power of phallic symbols led to the custom of setting up a huge *linga* at the entrance of a village at the time of an epidemic, or attaching a wooden *linga* on the ceiling as a guardian god or as a fetish against fire, at the time of construction of a new house.

Again, among the so-called stone *Dōso-jin* (travellers' guardian deity) to be found at the boundaries of a village or at crossroads and by the wayside, there are some made in the shape of a *linga*, or of a male and female embracing each other. The hollow of huge trees, holes and depressions, or stones, which from their natural shape suggest the female sex organ, are still worshiped for the purpose of fertility or for the cure of sexual diseases. Again, among the simple and superstitious merchant folk, the belief is still strong in the efficaciousness of a miniature reproduction of the male or female sex organ, or of public hairs, as a charm for good luck.

Common beliefs and superstitions

Zenchō (prophetic signs). As a result of man's desire to foresee future happenings and be prepared for them, there has been transmitted through the generations in Japan, as in other foreign nations, certain knowledge based on experience, for the purpose of prophecying future fortune or misfortune.

This type of prophetic knowledge can be divided into 3 categories, as those being concerned with abnormal phenomena oc-

curring in (a) celestial or meteorological order, or among plants, animals and minerals (b) certain human behaviors, and (c) religious beliefs.

Sayings such as "A large comet is an omen of war", or "Rain follows morning glow" fall in the category of prophetic knowledge concerning celestial or meteorological observations. "A snake climbing a tree foretells a flood", or "Blossoms out of season portends evil", or "The wailing of a stone portends some disastrous event", also belong to group (b).

As for group (c), this includes certain phenomena which the people themselves, believing that the gods of their faith will certainly reveal future dire happenings or disasters through some special means, interpret as prophetic signs. For instance, any untoward happening on the first day of the year, the first day of the month, or the start of a day, is taken as a special portent foretelling the fortune or misfortune of that particular year, month or day at the beginning of which it occurred.

Also, there are instances in which certain very aged people, or certain priests, believed to have possessed special powers either natural or acquired, are said to have foretold the dates of their own death or the coming of a calamity.

Of the so-called *zenchō* or prophetic signs—actually a type of knowledge—the process in which that knowledge was derived by recalling the "prophetic sign" which preceded a given result, is older than the opposite process in which a certain result was foreseen from given circumstances. From these initial processes or "knowledge" arose the *bokusen* (divination), in which, instead of waiting for the natural appearance of the *zenchō*, a more positive attitude was taken for foretelling the future.

Bokusen (divination). *Bokusen* (also called *uranai*), in its more passive aspect, is similar to *zenchō*, being concerned with prophetic signs of natural occurrence. But *bokusen*, as the term is usually applied, refers to the more positive art involving the application of various knowledge and methods in auguring the future. Among

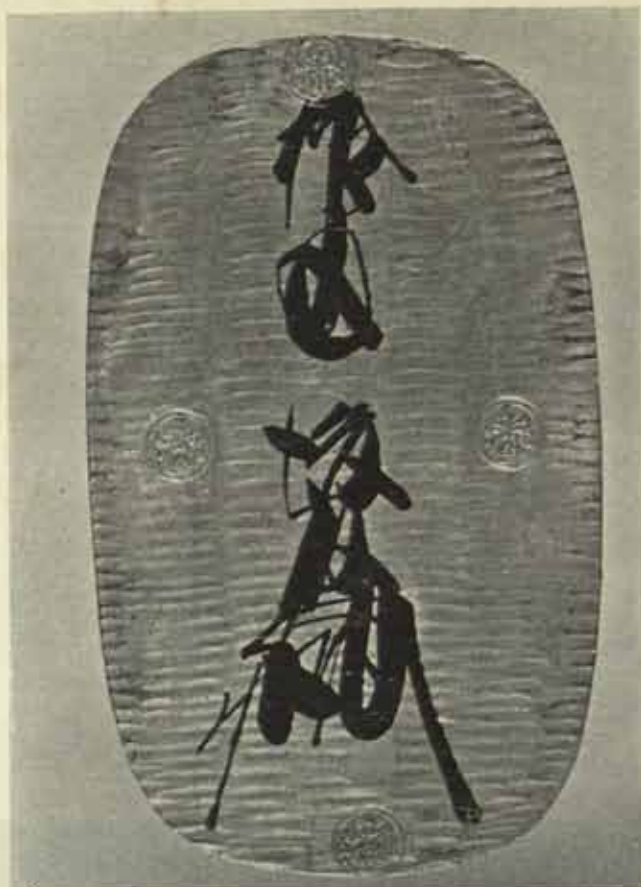
such methods, still to be seen today, are those which have been transmitted to Japan from the Asiatic Continent. For instance, there are even today many people who make their living by divining which way a building should face for luck, or by foretelling a man's future by reading his face or the lines on the palms of his hands, these professional fortune-tellers, the so-called "sellers of *bokusen*", to be often encountered along the side streets of the cities. Again, *ekigaku* (Doctrine of Changes), which might be called a sort of *bokusen-gaku* or science of divination, is also widely practiced.

A method of divination popular in olden days, of foretelling the future from reading the cracks produced in tortoise shells and deer bones by firing, is now retained only as ritualistic practices in a few limited shrines. But on the other hand, the use of playing cards and coins after the manner of the West, is highly popular today.

Omikujī, printed messages of good or ill fortune, are available at all large temples and shrines, the people receiving a card in exchange for their offerings; and these printed messages of *kichi* (good fortune) or *kyō* (ill fortune) are taken to be divine disclosures of the individual's fortune. However, in spite of the wide retention of this custom, it is now only a small minority of the less educated who actually believe in the efficacy of the practice.

Seimei-handan (name divination) is also still practiced widely, the belief that an individual's personal name has a bearing on his fortune being strong even today, particularly among theatrical and professional people.

Meanwhile, among the farmers and the fishermen, certain processes of divination, both individual and communal, are still retained today. For instance, at the beginning of the year, farm villages try to foretell the outcome of the year's crop, while fishing villages seek to foretell their catch for the year. Horse-racing and *sumō* (Japanese wrestling), now considered more as mere sport or a means of gambling, are thought to have once been contests con-



↑ "Keichō Ōban", gold coin cast in Keichō Era. Length: 15.5 cm



↑ "Wadō Kaihō", copper coin used in Wadō Era. Diameter: 2.8 cm



↑ "Kanei Tsūhō", cast in 17th and 18th centuries. Diameter: 2.8 cm



↑ Left: Paper money issued by Dajōkan (Cabinet).
Right: Paper money issued by Mitsui-Gumi (Clique).



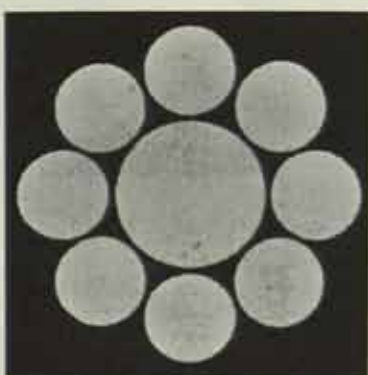
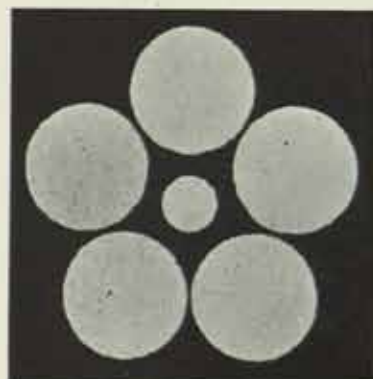
↑ Left: Paper money issued by Government.
Right: Local paper money issued by Fukui Clan.



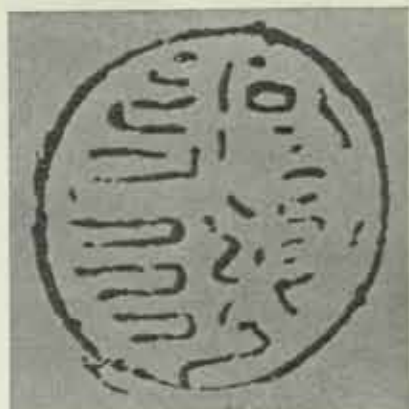
↑
"Tosa Tsūhō", local currency used by
Tosa Clan in Edo Period. Length: 4.8 cm



↑
"Nishugin", silver coin
in Ansei Era (circula-
ted during 1859-1874).
Length: 2.7 cm



Various family crests



Various seals
(Heibon-aha Ltd)



Postage stamps with design of scenic beauty



Ordinary postage stamps



Commemoration postage stamps



Postage stamps (buildings and vehicles)



↑ Shichi-Go-San (celebration of seven, five and three year-children)



↑ Marriage ceremony by Shinto



↑ Funeral ceremony by Buddhism



→ Graveyard



↑ Man's under-wear of kimono



↑ Man's kimono (winter)



↑ Wedding kimono for woman (visiting dress)



↑ Man's haori with family crest



↑ Man's things for formal wear: —Tabi or socks, (left), sashes, (right), —hakama, (above).



↑ Wedding things for woman: sash, long undergarment and beltings



↑
"Uchikake" wedding garment to be put on the formal kimono.



Wedding kimono for woman, formal one →



←
Window dummy in wedding clothes.



→
Sewing a kimono.



↑ Shinshi-bari (or stretching of washed cloth by tender hooks of bamboo)

← Washing with a "tarai" (basin) and a washing board



↑ Housewives put on a "tenugui" (towel) on head and a "kappōgi" (a coverall apron) to keep away dust and dirt



↑ A girl in a "yukata" (informal kimono for Summer)



↑
A child in a "yukata"



↑
Women's costumes



↑
Costumes of elementary school boys and girls



↑ Secondary school students in uniforms



↑ Costumes of university students



↑ Such an artisan as carpenter usually wears a "happi" (workman's livery)



↑ A woman working in a paddy field. She puts on a "sugegasa" (sunbonnet)

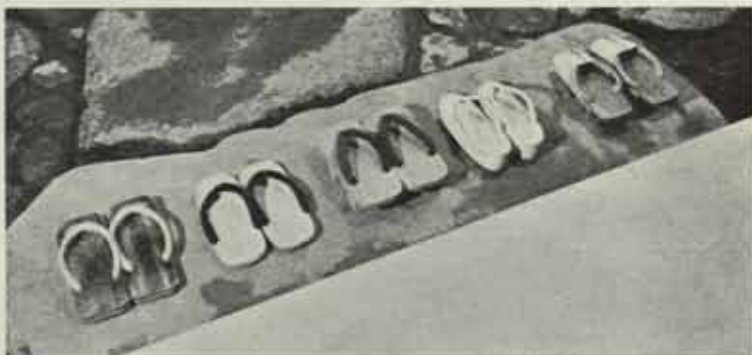


← "Mamunage" style is seen on special occasions



← Various footwears on the street

→
Left to right: Niwa-geta (used only at home), man's zōri, man's geta, woman's zōri and woman's hiyori-geta with taumakawa (for rainy day).



← Handbags for kimono



↑ ↓ "Kaiseki"



↑
A meal for guest



→
"Tempura" restaurant. They
eat while a cook makes



←
At a "soba" restaurant



↑ To eat "sushi" fingers can be used



↑ Japanese cakes



↑ A family at table



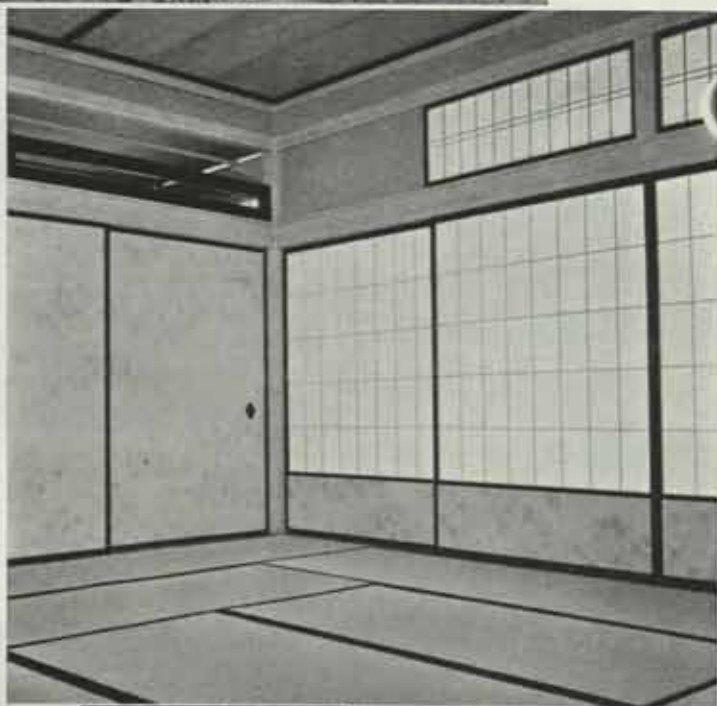
↑ At a green grocer's



→
"Sukiyaki"



← Inner terrace (used also for corridor) and outer terrace



← Fanlight, sliding screen, paper sliding door and "tatami" mats



→ Framework of a wooden house



↑ "Tokonoma" (alcove) right, and
"chigaidana" (side-alcove shelves) left.



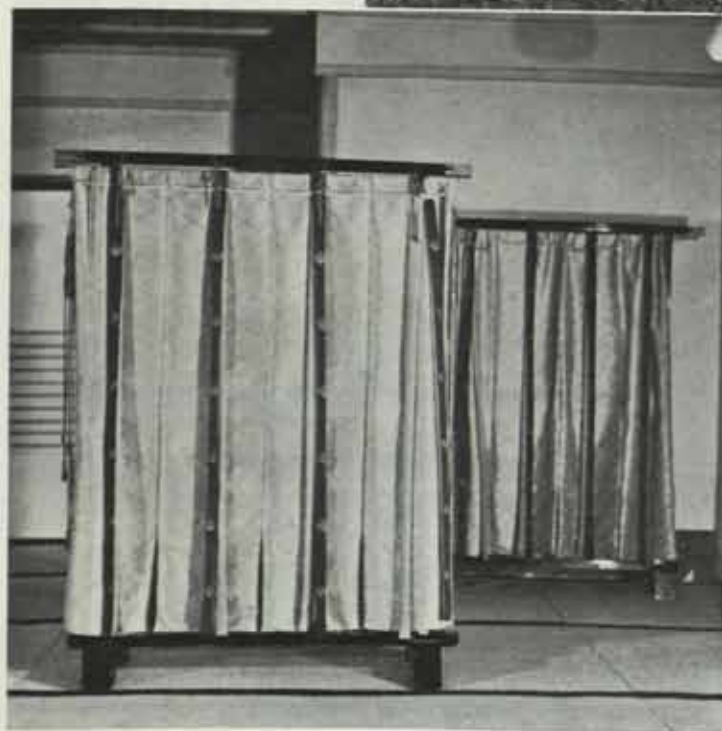
↑ A corner of "tokonoma"

← "Shoindana" (characteristic shelves of "shoinzukuri")



← Middle class house in city area

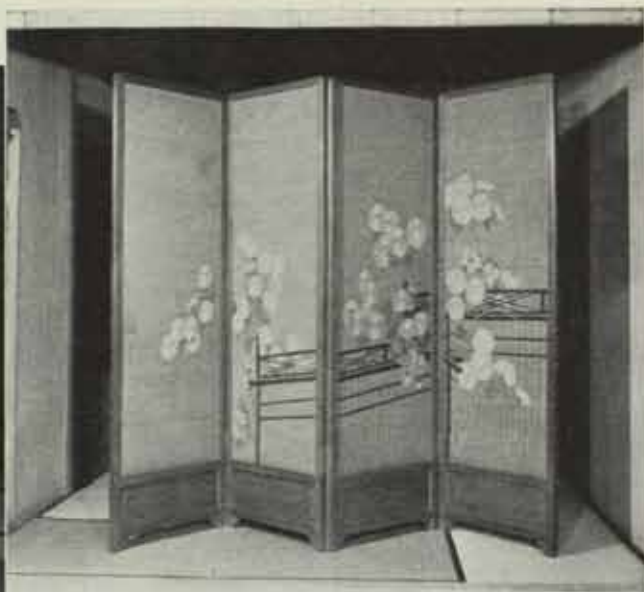
→ Farmhouse



← "Kichō" (screens): seldom used now



↑
"Tsutate" (single leaf screen)



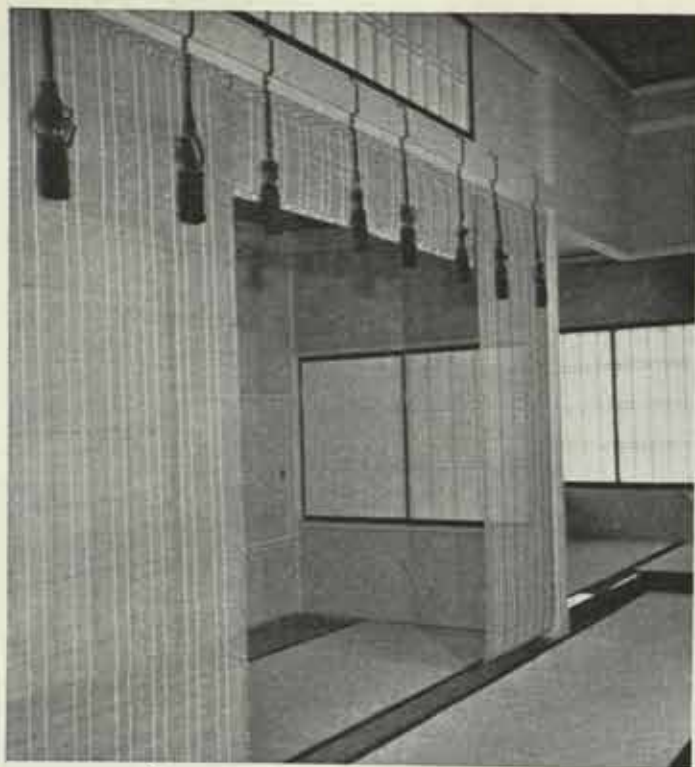
↑
"Byōbu" (folding screen)



←
"Ikō" (clothes rack) and "midare-bako" (clothes box)



↑
Mirror and "zabuton" (cushion)



↑ "Sudare" (rattan blinds for summer)



→ Sweeping things (Left to right—
dust pan, brooms, "hataki" or
dusters)



→ Two sets of "tansu"
(closet of drawers)



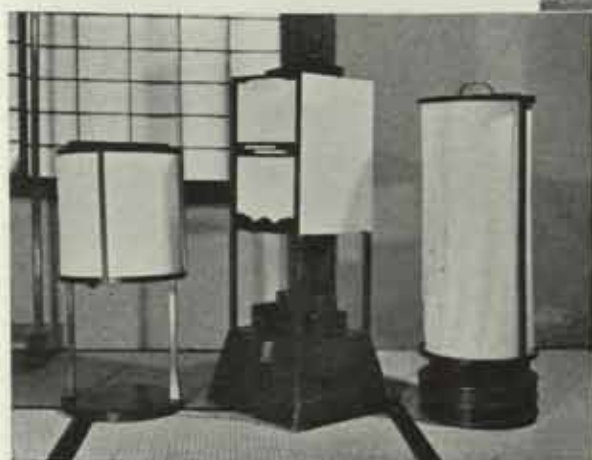
↑ Electric shade in the style of old "andon"



↑
Candle-sticks



↑
Fans and round fans



←
"Andon" (old paper covered lamps)



←
"Irori" (fireplace) in a farmhouse. Tea set, cushions, ash tray, "jizakagi" (hook for hanging kettle) and "andon" are seen.



←
"Hibachi" (fire boxes)

→
"Kotatsu" (foot-warmer of wooden frame in which a charcoal fire pot is placed and on which a quilt is covered)

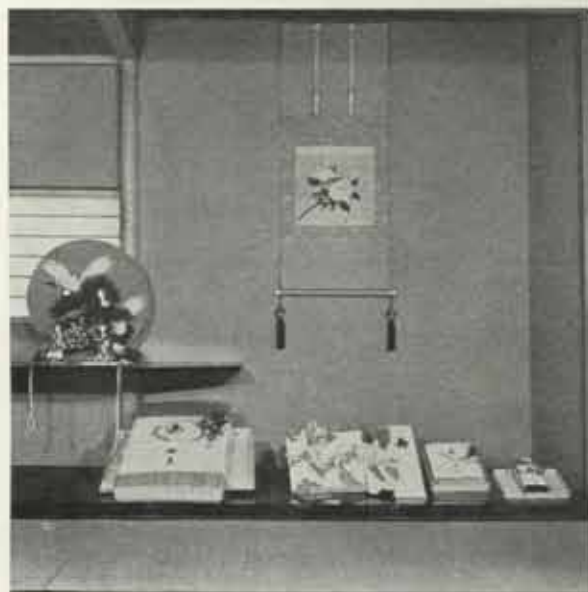




↑
Bowling (outdoors)



↑
Salutation (indoors)

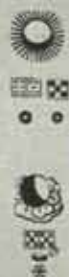


←
Usually presents are decorated with "noshi" and "mizuhiki"



→
Japanese style banquet

市部くの暦



昭和三十三年十一月一日



← A picture calendar for the illiterate

↓ A present day calendar



← An calendar book called "Jingūreki"



2

日 月 火 水 木 金 土

							1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
23	24	25	26	27	28		

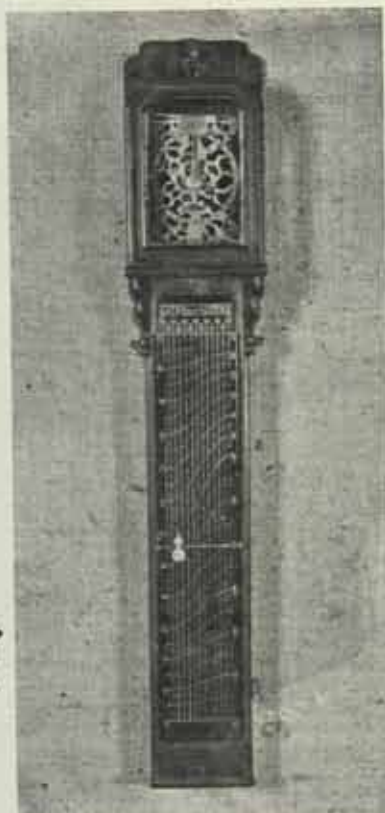


↑ An old Japanese clock owned by the Tanakas



← An old Japanese clock owned by Mr. Y. Okada

→ An old Japanese clock owned by Japan Folcrafts Museum, Tokyo





←
"Kagamimochi"-set placed at the "tokonoma" (alcove)
on new year's day



↓
"Kadomatsu" at the gate in new year's day



On January 15th, "dondoyaki" takes place by children in hope of their excellence in writing and learning.



← Beautiful decorations of the street in Tanabata Festival (of the Weaver) on July 7th. (Photo—Japan Tourist Association)



← "Mamemaki" or bean-scattering ceremony on the eve of the springtide (usually February 2nd)

→ The Doll's Festival (March 3rd)



← Set of "koinobori" (carp streamers) in "Tango-no-Sekku" (May 5th, Boys' Festival)



↑ Offerings to the moon in "tsukimi" or viewing of the moon on August 15th on lunar calendar

← Various festivals take place in summer with gay demonstration of "mikoshi" portable shrine (Photo—K.B.S.)



↑ Fire works in the River-opening Festival at Ryōgoku, Tokyo (usually July 23rd)

→ "Awa-odori" of Tokushima



← During "Gion" Festival days (latter half of July), streets in Kyoto are crowded with sight-seers.

→ Christmas decorations of a department store





← Once clan god, "chinjusama" is deified in the center of a village



→ Women, hoping easy delivery offer presents or stones to this "jizōson"



← People deified "dōsojin" to keep travellers from accidents



← Meditation and praying under the water-fall

→ "Ema"—sometimes prayers offer pictures on the boards



← Fortune-teller



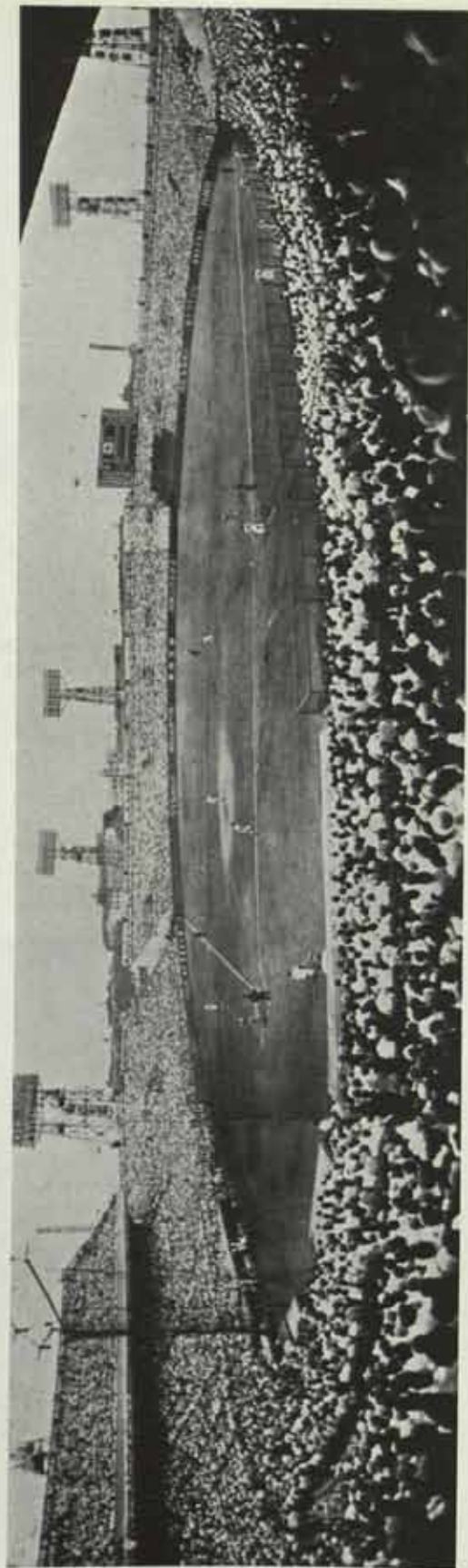
←
Jūdō



←
Sumō (Photo—Sumō Museum, Nihon Sumō Kyōkai)



←
Swimming (Photo—Amateur Swimming Federation of Japan)



↑ Baseball match (Photo—Hochi Shimbun)



← Soccer (Photo—Kyōdō Press)



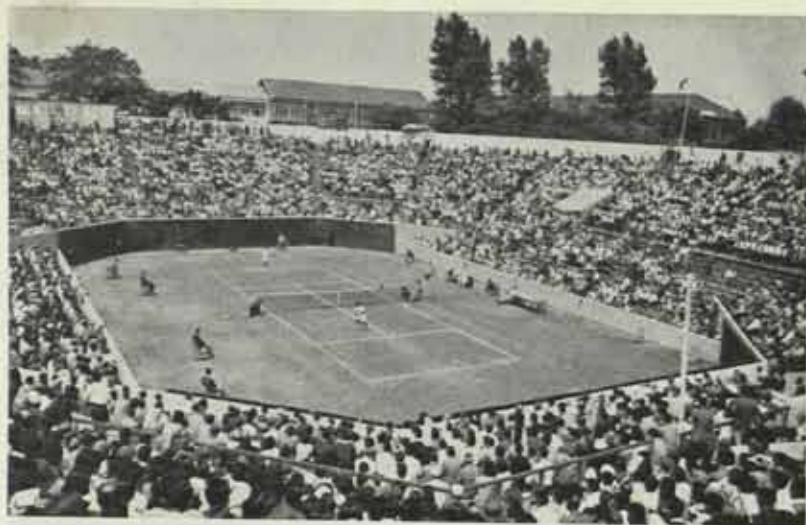
↑ Horsemanship (Photo—Japan Equestrian Federation)



↑ Wrestling (Photo—Japan Amateur Wrestling Association)

↓ Table tennis (Photo—Kyōdō Press)





← Lawn tennis (Photo—Japan Lawn Tennis Association)

Gymnastics (Photo—Japan Gymnastic Association)



↑ Annual national athletic meeting (Photo—Japan Amateur Athletic Association)



← Archery (Photo—Amateur Archery Federation of Japan)



↑ Skating (Photo—National Skating Union of Japan)



← Sports facilities in the Meiji Shrine Outer Garden
(Photo—Asahi Shimbun)

- (1) National Athletic Stadium
- (2) Tokyo Metropolitan Gymnasium
- (3) Tokyo Metropolitan Indoor Swimming Pool
- (4) Meiji Jingu Swimming Pool
- (5) Meiji Jingu Baseball Stadium
- (6) Prince Chichibu Rugby Stadium
- (7) Tennis Court
- (8) Volley-ball Court



← Mountaineering



← Skiing (Photo—Japan Tourist Association)



← Flower viewing in Edo Period (Photo—Prof. Yamaguchi)



← Vega Festival in Edo Period (Photo—Prof. Yamaguchi)



Dwarf plant. Height: 40 cm
(Photo—K. B. S.)

Tea ceremony





← Kite flying



↑ Camping



← Flower viewing



↑
Flower arrangements



Chess



Checkers



Popular singers





← Lake Mashū, Hokkaidō
(Photo—Japan Tourist Association)



← Imperial Hotel, Tokyo



← Cable car at Nikkō,
Tochigi Prefecture

→ Observation car of limited
express train on the
Tōkaidō Line





←
Yōmeimon Gate of Tōshōgū Shrine,
Nikkō, Tochigi Prefecture

Mt. Fuji and Lake Ashinoko, Hakone,
Kanagawa Prefecture



↑
Trees covered with snow, Mt. Zaō, Yamagata Prefecture



→
A view near the Imperial Palace, Tokyo



↑ Japan Alps, Nagano Prefecture



← Miyako-odori, Kyoto (Photo—Japan Tourist Association)

→ Deers at Nara Park



← Cormorant fishing at Nagara River, Gifu Prefecture (Photo—Japan Tourist Association)



← Kinkakuji (Golden Pavilion),
Kyoto

Kiyomizu Temple, Kyoto



← Old store-houses, Kurashiki,
Okayama Prefecture



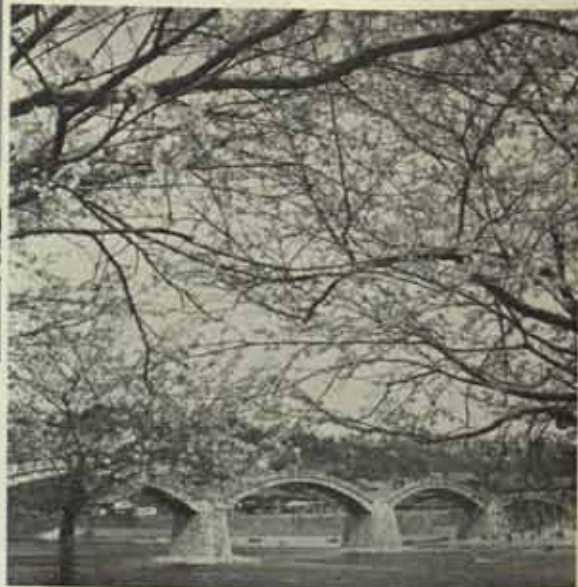
← Sakurajima Island seen from Kagoshima City

↓ Erupting Mt. Aso, Kumamoto Prefecture



↑ Dragon dance, Nagasaki
(Photo—Japan Tourist Association)

↓ Kintai-baishi Bridge and cherry blossoms, Iwakuni,
Yamaguchi Prefecture (Photo—Japan Tourist Association)



ducted between neighboring villages, with the outcome of the contest being taken as the omen for the good or bad fortune of the village for that year.

Among these varied forms of *bokusen*, there are many which have degenerated into mere games of chance, as in the practice of drawing straws to determine the winner. Again, some have become children's games, as the custom of throwing up a slipper or *geta* (wooden clog) into the air, auguring rain if it lands wrong-side up, fair weather if right-side up.

But whatever it may be now, *bokusen*, in its original significance, was the method by which the people sought manifestation of divine will in one form or another.

Majinai (exorcism). The *majinai* which is still practiced today is generally of a personal nature, and mostly have to do with means of folk therapy. In Japan, as in other foreign countries, early methods of treatment were generally tainted with some form of sorcery or black magic; but from among these early beginnings in treatment, those utilizing medicinal substances developed into modern pharmaceutical science, those concerned with magic gradually developed into modern medical science. The old means of folk therapy in stopping a toothache or in curing various diseases, might be considered to be exorcism to some extent; but on the other hand, it may also be said that in their way, they served their purpose as the science, the medicine of their particular time. Among personal *majinai* practiced popularly in Japan today are those directed toward the removal of warts or sties, or for curing numbness of the foot, or for stopping the hiccoughs, or for making a weakly child healthy. The belief that wrapping a child in pieces of cloth received from seven separate houses will insure the child's healthy growth, is based on the belief that the life-power of the many donors will thus become attached to the weakly child's power to live.

Also, there are many forms of *majinai* for promoting a good harvest of crops or fruits, practiced as a sort of advance celebration for the harvest to come.

Again, when an epidemic strikes a village, a custom that is known as *ekibyō-okuri* (sending off of pestilence) is practiced for the purpose of chasing the disease out of the village limits, with a parade of representatives from each house in the community walking through the streets to the village edge, beating drums and striking gongs. Another similar custom is the *Mushi-okuri* (sending off of insects), which is practiced as a *majinai* to rid the village of insects harmful to the coming harvest, in some remote villages where the level of civilization is comparatively low. Thus, it may be seen that in spite of the widespread use of modern insecticides and chemicals, the old-fashioned *majinai* still continue to exist side by side with the more scientific practices.

The above-mentioned *majinai* are all more or less concerned with the welfare of the people; but on the other hand, there are also certain types of *majinai* which are *noroi*, or magic for the purpose of bringing evil to bear on a certain prescribed individual. However, needless to say, there are only a small number of very poorly educated or fanatic people who believe in the *noroi* as a means of bringing illness or death to a despised or resented individual.

In the practice of *majinai*, it is customary for the act of conjuring magic to be accompanied by certain *jumon* or magic incantations. There are many types of *jumon*, as those for preventing snake-bite, to stop pain, or to be rid of injurious insects. But all are based on the belief that beasts, plants and inorganic matter all possess some form of spirit from which promises may be exacted, or which might be persuaded to a favorable attitude.

Sei-sū (sacred number). In Japan, the number 1000 is said to be a lucky number; on the other hand, the number 13 which is so abhorred in the West, is by no means similarly disliked in Japan. 2, 4, 6, 8 and other such even numbers are usually avoided when presenting gifts, odd numbers being preferred. And the number 8, being written in the Chinese character as 八, a *sue-hirogari* shape, that is, a shape which

develops or broadens, is considered a very propitious number because it promises "development in the future".

The odd numbers of 3, 5, 7 and 9 are also generally considered lucky numbers. An instance of the fondness for these numbers may be seen in the fact that girls of 3 and 7, and boys of 5, have special festivals to celebrate their attaining that age; while the reverence for the *shichi-fuku-jin* (Seven Gods of Luck) also shows the attachment for the number 7. Incidentally, it is said that this reverence for the numbers of 7 and 9 reflects the influence of the culture imported from the Chinese continent.

Yume (dreams). In olden times, the Japanese people believed that any strange dream was a revelation of the spirit of *kami* (god), and consequently interpreted such dreams to be a *zenchō* (prophetic sign) from which the future could be foretold. As a result of this belief, it became a not unusual practice for an aspirant to perform purification rites and serve *kami* for a fixed period of time, in order to seek an oracle in the form of a dream. The word *makura-gami* (pillow-god) is still heard frequently today; and not a few old men believe firmly that they have been visited by the *kami* at their pillowside, and been delivered *takusen* (oracles) from the *kami*.

Today, dreams have little relation to religious beliefs. Nonetheless, swayed by the fear that there might by chance be some prophetic element in dreams, a large number of the Japanese people still worry considerably about the good or bad aspects of a strange dream.

In the belief in *yume-uranai* (dream-reading), mutually inconsistent interpretations exist; some believe that the dream itself is to come to pass as reality, while others believe that reality will turn out contrary to the dream. "To dream of the loss of a tooth means the loss of a close relative" is a superstition which falls in the prior category; "To dream of having riches is unlucky" is an example of the reverse interpretation.

Tatari (curse). The belief that *tatari* or divine punishment will follow the viola-

tion of a sacred taboo is still widely prevalent today. This punishment, or curse, was believed to be not infrequently inflicted, not only on people for their own fault alone, but on innocent individuals for some profane or evil deed enacted by their ancestors or relatives. Again, it was believed that even when a taboo had been violated entirely unconsciously on the part of the individual, the gods were not averse to nonetheless punishing the unfortunate culprit.

Tatari attended not only the desecration of the various *kami* (gods) and their associates, of holy sites, sacred trees and the like, but also the killing of such beasts as the snake, cat, fox and others. Such acts were believed to be attended by subsequent haunting by the spirit of the murdered beast. Again, there was a widespread belief that a man who went into the woods to work on a day when a female member of his household was menstruating, was sure to receive the *tatari* of the god of the mountain, for the various gods of Japan are said to have a particularly strong aversion to blood.

Tatari takes the form of blindness, lameness, dumbness, madness, disease, injury and the like; and it is generally believed that such inflictions are the results of some form of *tatari*. In the days when superstition held sway among the simple people, the consciousness of guilt was so strong that it is not improbable that some persons were driven to death simply because of this guilt-consciousness, to all outward appearances as the result of *tatari*.

Tsukimono (demoniacal possession). It was long believed in Japan that the fox and the snake and other such beasts were the envoys of the *kami*, or perhaps the temporary being of the *kami* in a disguised form. Again, there was a widespread belief that certain non-existent forms of animals, or such beasts as the cat and the weasel, possessing supernatural powers, were able to impose their spirits on human beings and thus "possess" them.

Later, as the early primitive religion gradually lost its original simplicity, these dark superstitions, abetted no doubt by self-seeking sorcerers, came to take on an as-

pect of black magic. The resultant *tsuki-mono-genshō* (phenomenum of demoniacal possession) is one of the representative superstitions still prevalent in present-day Japan. It was believed that some form of demoniacal spirit "possessed" a certain family, as a result of which that family came to be isolated from society in general. Unable to mingle or intermarry with any ordinary "unpossessed" family, the "possessed" family became entirely unable to live a life of natural social intercourse.

Such "possessed" families are extremely few now, and are distributed mostly in limited areas of western Japan. It is said that in certain extreme cases, the "possessed" individuals fall into fits which border on the stage of dementia. A characteristic of this phenomenon is that it is not found to exercise any influence on individuals of sufficient common sense and scientific knowledge.

Amagoi (prayers for rain). Although now clouds are "spiked" with iodide of silver and other chemicals to produce rain-fall, the farmers, in times of extremely long drought, often still resort to the time-honored custom of holding a special communal rain-invoking festival known as *Kigan-sai*, dedicated to the *Suijin* (water god). Means are diverse in the rain-invoking ritual, and vary with the district. A fire may be built on a hill or a high mountain top, or the *Suijin* may be incited to anger or tormented in various ways, or continuous prayers may be offered in long periods of confinement in the shrine. Ritualistic performances with musical accompaniment, offered to the gods, and other various customs numbering in the thousands, are to be found throughout the land. In short, all are believed to be means by which man's heart-felt desire for rain might be best relayed to the ears of the god in question.

In the reverse case of an overly long period of rain, special festivals called *Ten-ki-sai* are held to invoke the advent of fair weather.

Gisei and ikenie (sacrificial offering). Although both *gisei* and *ikenie* are now used as terms referring to animals killed to

be offered to the *kami* (gods), there are not a few old stories in existence throughout the country that tell of men who were buried alive as a sacrifice to facilitate the successful completion of such difficult construction projects as bridges, dikes and castles. These stories are most likely the products of popular folk-literature, and it is quite doubtful whether such *Hito-hashira* (human sacrifice) actually existed in the past or not.

However, the practice of offering live fish and chickens to the gods, and of killing animals, also for offering, is still widely observed today. The carp swimming in the shrine pond, the deer wandering in the shrine garden, may too, in a way, be considered a sort of *ikenie* or sacrificial offering to the shrine god.

Okomori (religious confinement). For the purpose of asking a special favor of the *kami*, or in preparation for the advent of the *kami* for a periodic communal festival, it is customary for a period of purification to be observed, in which the concerned individuals purify their bodies and disengage themselves from all taint both physical and spiritual, confining themselves for a specified period within a certain building. In some instances all the members of the community take part in this *okomori*, in others, only those leading members who are to participate in the actual main festival, observe the custom. Consequently, of the various taboo observed in connection with the *okomori*, some are considered of greater, and some of lesser, importance. As for the period of confinement, this too varies, with the procedure beginning a full day before the main ceremony in the case of the Imperial Court.

Of the various taboo observed in the *okomori* the most prevalent example is the practice of spending the night before the main festival in sleepless vigil. Other practices include the avoidance of making any noise, of not stepping outdoors, of partaking only of food specially prepared on a separate "pure" fire, apart from the taint of the rest of the household, etc. these various practices still being strictly

observed in many festivals throughout the country.

However, in recent years, the general practice is for the devotees to assemble in special *okomori* sites prepared near the shrine, in groups of either all men or all women, and to spend the night before the main festival in drinking and feasting in sleepless merriment.

Kami-kakushi (abduction by a demon). In the old days, the belief was strong that whenever a child strayed away, or whenever anyone disappeared unaccountably, he had been spirited away by a *kami*, this abduction being known as *kami-kakushi*. The difference between the victim of a *kami-kakushi* and an ordinary stray child or lost person, appeared in several of more or less specific ways. For instance, one might disappear into thin air, leaving his slippers carefully and neatly arranged side by side; or again one might disappear entirely for some days and then suddenly reappear in a dazed state; or again one might return alive by suddenly falling from the sky onto a roof-top. The belief among the Japanese people is that certain demons such as *tengu*, *oni*, or *kakushi-gami*, the goblins who spirit away their victims and hide them from earthly sight, are responsible for all inexplicable disappearances; and those who claim to have returned from such an abduction have related their experiences of flying through the sky in the company of such demons.

Such experiences are no longer heard recounted in the cities; and even in remote mountain villages, such tales have become rare. However, it appears that in the past there was a considerable number of people who walked away as if bewitched into the depths of the mountains, never to return again. This tendency might be explained as having been due to the belief that the ancestral gods lived in certain holy sites in the mountain depths; or to the belief that to live a life hidden from the mundane world, deep in the mountain depths, meant spiritual intercourse with the world of the gods.

At any rate, certain rituals which the villagers conducted in the search of such

missing persons, are still preserved in the people's memory.

Kigan (supplication). *Kigan*, or supplication to the gods, may be divided broadly into three types; firstly, that in which the supplication is personal and is carried out by the individual himself and his family, secondly, that in which the entire village joins in the supplication for fulfillment of a personal petition, and thirdly, that in which a petition common to the entire village is rendered by a large number of the people concerned.

Communal supplication: Among the communal supplications are those in which representatives of each house in the community gather to pray for a common cause, such as for victory in time of war, or again such instances as that in which representatives from neighboring houses, or perhaps of each house in the village, likewise gather to make a common supplication for, say, the recovery of a certain individual member of the village.

The *amagoi* (supplication for rain) in times of drought is a representative example of a supplication which applies to the entire village. Rituals known as *kumo-aburi* (cloud-scorching) or *kumo-yaki* (cloud-burning) were conducted, in which great fires, seeming to reach into the heavens, were built on mountain tops and on plains. These rituals also came to be called *senda-taki* (the burning of a thousand bundles of firewood), and it is from this term that such sites as Sendagaya and Sendagichō in Tokyo came to be named.

The previously mentioned *tenki-sai* (festival for fair weather), *kaze-matsuri* (wind-festival), *gaichū-okuri* (sending off of harmful insects), *mushi-kitō* (prayers against insects) are all rituals that fall in the category of communal supplication.

Personal supplication: Communal supplications being concerned as they were with the welfare of the entire community, it was the custom in olden times to attach great importance to these rituals; so much so that those individuals who refused to cooperate were severely ostracized. Moreover, the gods of old Japan were believed to be more communal deities than personal

gods; hence they were thought to be less inclined to listen to personal supplications than to common petitions. Consequently, the more ancient the age, the fewer the examples of personal selfish supplications.

In the old simple society, when all members of a specified community worshipped the same deities, and when their lives were mutually bound together under a common economic interdependence, the *kami* seldom had occasion to take on a personal nature inducive to individual supplications. However, as the old form of society disintegrated, and as the old faiths weakened, the ways of supplication became more diverse and complicated, with a resultant increase in the number of personal prayers. Prayers for the peace of the household, for protection from illness, for cure of disease, for the successful consummation of love, for prosperity in business, for the birth of a fine child, and other such personal matters, to the various, now rather remote, gods, came to be offered freely and widely in the later age.

Occupying an ambiguous place mid-way between communal and personal supplications is the type often seen nowadays, in which a certain club or members of a friendly group make up a sight-seeing pleasure trip, with a secondary purpose of praying at some shrine or temple which they visit on the way. This form of "supplication" has become quite popular with the advent of modern times and modern means of transportation. In this case, the outward appearance may be that of a communal supplication; however, as each individual prays for his own personal cause, each of entirely different nature from the other, and as the "supplication" is no longer the real motive behind the outing, it can hardly be properly called *kigan* in the former sense of the word.

Koyomi (the calendar). The belief, similar to the astrology of the West, that the movements of the sun and the moon and other heavenly bodies are related to divine will, and that they possess the power to determine man's fate, exists in Japan even today, exerting its influence on the daily

lives of even the more or less well-educated people of the nation.

Besides the ordinary designations for each of the seven days of the week as *Nichi* (Sun), *Getsu* (Moon), *Ka* (Fire) etcetera, there is also the custom of applying the names of 12 beasts (representing the 12 signs of the zodiac) in the designation of days and years. For instance, 1956 falls in the *Saru-no-toshi*, or the Year of the Monkey. Hence, all persons born during this year are said to possess characteristics peculiar to the monkey. Those born in the Year of the Tiger are said to be brave and daring; those born in the Year of the Mouse are said to be timid and flighty. Even in the choice of one's spouse, such beliefs exert their influence; and there are still a considerable number of people who take into consideration whether the *hoshimawari* (position of stars) or the *aishō* (astrological affinity) are favorable, that is, whether the stars are favorable or not for the marital union of the two.

Moreover, certain days are designated as *tai-an*, a day of "great peace" in which success attends all attempts made during the day. Again there are *tomobiki* (friend-pulling) days. There are days of *Kichi* (good fortune) and days of *Kyō* (bad fortune). Weddings are held on days of *tai-an* and *tomobiki*, while on the other hand, the *tomobiki* day is abhorred as a funeral day, out of fear that the deceased will "pull his friends", that is, take along a close friend or relative to his death. Hence, crematoriums, almost without exception, take a holiday on a *tomobiki* day.

Such ancient customs, with the extremely childish practice of applying animals as substitutes for numbers, are of course nonsensical; and yet they contain to hold away in our daily life. Similar to the case of the number 13 or the black cat in the West, these old astrological superstitions refuse to be wiped out; and; and so long as there are people left who feel even the least bit unsure or afraid of the consequences, it will probably be immensely difficult to be rid of such customs, regardless of how illogical or unscientific they may be.

Kinki (taboo). The *kinki* or forms of taboo, that exist in the daily life of the Japanese people, are indeed numerous and varied. The many rules concerned with participation in ritualistic festivals, certain acts forbidden in daily living, certain specified words not to be spoken in the mountains or on the sea, certain animals which must not be kept, certain agricultural products which are prohibited out of fear of invoking the anger of *kami*, certain trees which must not be planted in a garden... all are instances of the *kinki*.

In the true native Japanese dialect, the word for *kinki* is *imi*, that is, abstinence. In other words, the so-called taboo originated as a form of abstinence considered appropriate to the service of the *kami*. This abstinence took two forms, one positive, one more passive. In the former, great deliberate effort was exerted toward the attainment of cleanliness and purity, both in the physical person and in his immediate surroundings. In the latter, the effort was expended toward maintaining cleanliness of body and soul by isolation from the outer world, through confinement in some sanctum. Preparatory to the beginning of a ritualistic festival, a special "untainted" fire separate from that of common usage, was usually prepared for the cooking of food to be used by the participant. Sexual intercourse was refrained from; physical purification was sought through ablution in cold water. In some instances, all contact with ordinary work was abstained from.

As for taboo words, *oki-kotoba* refers to those words to be abstained from on the sea; *yama-kotoba* refers to those words not to be mentioned in the mountains. Among these are included words which were refrained from out of deference to the god of the sea and the god of the mountain. Meanwhile, there are in daily life too, certain words which are *imi-kotoba*, and these taboo words, depending perhaps on the time of the day, perhaps on the profession of the people concerned, are observed even today. For instance, in some circles *shio* (salt) is always referred to as *nami no hana* (wave-flowers), and *nezumi* (mouse) as *tenjō no gofujin* (lady in the ceiling), these sub-

stitute words being used in place of the *imi-kotoba* or forbidden words.

Guests at a wedding abstain from the use of the words *saru* (leave) or *kaesu* (return), such words being thought unpropitious to the future of the newly wedded pair.

There is also the custom of refraining from taking fish meat on certain days such as the family ancestor's death-day, on certain holy days, or days designated from their placement on the astrological calendar. Again, for the attainment of some supplication, there exists even today, the custom of refraining from taking tea for a certain period of time, or for refraining from the use of cooked foods. Also, there are many *kinki* concerned with certain objects and land-sites, arising from the belief in sacred sites and objects. So-called *irazu-yama* (forbidden mountains), and fields whose cultivation is believed will result in provoking the ire of the *kami*, and other such special taboo sites exist in abundance throughout the country.

As for direction, the northeast is called *kimon* or "devil's gate", and is disliked. As for color, white is considered a symbol of purity on the one hand, but disliked as a taboo on the other hand; and red, too, is considered in a similarly special light. Taboo concerning death and blood were strictly observed, and there are many customs still retained today, as means of protection from the taints of menstruation, pregnancy, birth, and death.

There are still villages which abstain from keeping chickens, or from cultivating potatoes. Some people refrain from planting the fig tree in gardens, out of the fear that a succession of sickness in the family will follow. The belief that whistling at night will bring a burglar, or that going in the nude to the toilet will cause the devil to strike, and so many other superstitious *kinki* exist, that one would not even have time to breathe if he were to observe all the taboo which still exist unforgotten to this day.

Gyō (ascetic practices). It is common to all religions of all races to carry out certain religious austerities in accordance with

prescribed rules, for the attainment of a religious end. In Japan, such practices are called *gyō*. *Shō-gyō*, the intoning of certain short phrases in a loud voice, *yō-gyō*, the rythmical movement of the body *da-gyō*, the beating of drums and bells, *sho-gyō*, the copying by hand of Buddhist texts; all are examples of the *gyō*, and the Japanese people sought a state of absolute meditation and religious discipline of mind through the practice of such *gyō*.

Miscellaneous. *Kuchiyose* (spiritual mediums): Certain sorceresses, upon the request of patrons, conjure up the spirits of the living or of the dead, and transmit their messages; or again the words of the *kami*, in a sort of oracle. These processes are called respectively *iki-kuchi*, *shini-kuchi*, and *kami-kuchi*, which are still practised today.

Kumotsu (offerings): In any Japanese festival, food and drink called *kumotsu* are offered to the *kami*. Originally, it was the custom to offer prepared food so that the *kami* could partake of it immediately, but later the custom was modified, with uncooked rice, fish and vegetables being presented. It was thought that the *kami* enjoyed whatever foods the people themselves enjoyed; hence the fact that the gods of Japan have a special preference for the *azuki* (small red beans), and the fact that Japanese *sake* (rice wine) is also considered a sacred drink indispensable to a festival.

Kō (Worship or pilgrimage groups): Japan's temples and shrines have, as an auxiliary or affiliated society, an institution which is called *kō*. This is a society of believers, maintained for the purpose of expansion of the religious body concerned.

There are also certain localized groups which are established independently without affiliation to any religious group, as a sort of convivial gathering. These too are referred to as *kō*. In this latter case, the members share expenses, and arrange for periodic or special social gatherings and trips. Needless to say, the members all share a common belief. Such independent *kō* exist throughout the nation. In general, the city *kō* are made up of members from the same profession, while the provin-

cial *kō* are made up of members of the same community, village or family clan.

Gofu (amulets): *mamori-fuda*, or charms to protect one and one's family from all calamities, still enjoy wide popularity, being believed to possess a mystic protective power. These charms, also known as *gofu*, are still much in evidence, as for instance the charms against traffic accidents which are to be seen on all vehicles running through the busy streets of even such modern cities as Tokyo, and the *gofu* displayed by all vessels for safety on the sea. Protective *gofu* are to be seen pasted over the doorways of a large number of homes in Japan; and there are not a few people who carry some form of charm or other on their person. The so-called "mascot" is also a form of *gofu*. Materials employed in the *gofu* are varied, including cloth, paper, metals, stone and wood.

Nyonin-kinsei (Prohibited to Women)

Women, because of their association with the taint of blood at times of menstruation and of childbirth, are often, even today, rejected from taking part in certain sacred religious rites in which purity is stressed. There are some famous temples which forbid women to enter the premises; and a strict observance of the taboo would prohibit women at times of menstruation or of pregnancy to participate in any religious rite or to worship at any shrines.

Kakushi-nembutsu (Secret intonation of rote): *Kakushi-nembutsu* is a term which refers to a certain clandestine religion to be found in the southern part of Iwate Prefecture, in Japan's Tōhoku (Northeast) region. As strict secrecy was practiced among its believers, it came to be subject to misunderstanding and suppression. Its creed is believed to be a combination of *shingon-nembutsu*, the intonations practiced by the Shingon sect, and of the creed of the Shinshū sect.

Onyō-dō (the principle of duality): Based on certain theoretic doctrines developed and perfected in ancient China, the *onyō-dō* includes a wide variety of knowledge and means, such as the art of divination, of magic, of astrology and the calendar. This was early introduced into Japan, and for

centuries it not only guided the daily life of the people, but played a part in the government of the day. Divination, exorcism and magic still practiced today by professional diviners and the like, are in the main based on these old doctrines.

Ema (votive pictures): As simple faith degenerated, the people began to feel a lack of confidence in mere silent prayers. Hence, the custom developed of drawing a picture representing the desired aim, and offering the picture to a temple or shrine. These small pictures, painted on thin board, came to be called *ema*, and are still to be seen at any shrine throughout the country.

Rinne (Karma, or transmigration): The belief that all animals, inclusive of man, return to this world in either the same form or another form, time and time again in rebirth, based on the Buddhistic doctrine of the Karma, still exists widely in Japan today. A man might say that in the next life, he would like to be reborn a woman. Or at the burial of a beloved pet dog or cat, its master might voice a wish that it may be reborn in the next life as a human being.

It is believed that the deeds of ancestors of previous generations exert their influence on posterity, and that humans may in the next life be reborn as horses or as insects. Good and bad deeds influence the next existence; and deeds too are reincarnated to reappear in worldly life.

All this is based on the belief that an imperishable or immortal soul is reborn again and again in eternal transmigration, the soul occupying diverse physical forms from one life to the next.

Reikon-kannen (spiritualism)

It is evident from statistics compiled by the Ministry of Education that the great majority of Japanese people, whether they themselves are aware of it or not, believe in the existence of the spirit. Not only human beings, but animals and plants, stones and water and the like, are believed by many to possess souls or spirits. Many popular superstitions have their origin in this belief.

Takusen (oracles): The custom of receiving oracles through dreams or through the lips of a medium, still exists today;

but needless to say, the prestige accorded to such oracles have declined with the passing of time.

Kannagi (mediums): The *kannagi* is one who serves as a medium between god and man; and men, as well as women, engage in this occupation. However, with the decline in such beliefs, the prestige of such mediums has fallen rapidly.

Shimpan (divine seal): Together with the sale of *kami-fuda* (amulets), shrines also provide seals, impressions of which may be stamped on cloth or paper. However, nowadays, this has taken on more of the nature of a souvenir, rather than a protective mystic charm.

Junrei (pilgrimage): The custom of making pilgrimages to various holy sites throughout the country, observed in accordance with certain specified procedures, is still widely practiced today.

Sampai (worship): In worshipping at a shrine, it is the custom to clap the hands and then bow reverently; in worshipping at a temple, the custom is to hold the palms of the hands together, and worship kneeling. The ringing of a peculiar bell called *waniguchi* at shrines, and of gongs at the temple, are practiced for the purpose of calling the gods concerned to attendance.

Hōnō (offering): As offerings to the gods, money, cloth, food, wines and sometimes horses for the gods to ride, are proffered, as are also *ema* (votive pictures) and flags or banners used in religious festivals.

Kyūjitsu (holidays): Employees of government and business offices all have one day off a week in accordance with labor laws. However, in the life of the farmers and the fishermen, Sunday is not considered a rest-day. Their days of rest from work fall on certain important annual events and ritualistic festival days, the number of such holidays being surprisingly many.

Tsumi (sin): Aside from crimes as designated by law, the nonconformance to certain rules of procedure among blood relations and among citizens of a certain community or locale, or disregard for certain principles of duty and humanity, are considered sins punishable by ostracism.

Even today, there are rural communities where the so-called *mura-hachibu*, a type of ostracism, is practiced, the culprit being banished or excommunicated from the community, without recourse to legal procedures.

Goblins, ghosts and other apparitions

Yama-no-ke (demons of the mountains). With the degeneration of the original faith in the *kami* (god) of the mountains, and abetted no doubt by the actual existence in mountain depths of certain *yama-bito* or type of hermit, the belief in the existence of such supernatural creatures of the male sex as *yama-otoko*, *tengu*, *oni* and such, and in the *yama-uba* of the female sex, came to be held.

From the realistic point of view, these beings may be said to be the imaginative creations of the villagers themselves concerning a special tribe of people living in the remote mountains; from the religious point of view, it may be said that these supernatural creatures are the degenerated forms of the earlier deities of the fields and the mountains, which, with the passing of the years, gradually took on more and more of a demoniac aspect. Although the names for these mountain spirits are varied, such as *tengu*, *guhin*, *yamabito*, *ohito*, *yama-no-kami*, *yama-otoko*, *oni* etcetera, they all have a common ancestor in the original *yama-no-kami*, the deity of the mountains.

These creatures have in common such characteristics as supernatural strength, passionate temperament, the ability to fly. Their extreme dislike for any form of taint or contamination is a characteristic which shows the retention of a feature of the earlier gods.

As for physical characteristics, they were possessed of immensely long noses, were of reddish facial color, were more or less nude or else clothed in the garments characteristic of the *yama-bushi*, a mountain priest. However, such visual characteristics are of fairly recent creation, and there are many locales where they are believed to be godly-looking old white-haired men.

A special feature of the *tengu* is its possession of a magic fan by means of which it can fly through the air. Such imagined noises as raucous laughter in the depths of the mountains, or the sound of great trees being hewed, are the products of the Japanese people's belief in such mystic mountain beings.

There are some instances related in which the villagers are said to have held friendly intercourse with certain *tengu*, *yama-otoko*, *yama-uba* or *oni* of the mountains. But in the main, such *oni*, *tengu*, *yama-uba* etcetera became in later years exceedingly popular figures in literature, drama and art, as a result of which they became more and more removed from the forms of the actual superstitions, the experiences and hallucinations of the villagers themselves. But aside from these more highly-developed creatures of creative imagination, there still exists a belief in mountain regions in the *oni*, with certain fields being known as fields cultivated by the *oni*, and depressions in the land being known as the footstep of the *oni*.

Such *oni* native to the mountain depths of Japan, are to be differentiated from other *oni* such as the *Ki* of the Chinese continent, or the *Jigoku-no-oni* of Buddhism. The Japanese *oni*, as well as *yama-otoko*, *yama-bito*, and *tengu* are all terms referring to an identical spirit of the mountains and its turbulent nature. An example that helps confirm this point is to be seen in the case of the *kami-kakushi* (the abduction of a village child by some demon). This was in the earlier ages attributed to the eagle. Later the abductor became the *tengu*, finally the *oni*. From this, the relationship of these various spirits may be inferred.

A more peaceful aspect of the *yama-no-kami* is seen in the fact that they guard the good fortune of the villagers, and that they provide the hunter with his provender. There are even today certain families which are believed, both by themselves and by others, to be the descendants of *oni*. The *oni-asobi* which has now become a children's game, is a degenerated form of what was once performed in all earnestness as a part of a ritualistic entertainment program dur-

ing a religious festival, having been a drama depicting the victory of a strong god over the unruly *oni*, with the *oni* promising cooperation for the future peace and fortune of the village.

The belief in mountain-witches or deities of the female sex, may be said to have come into being because of the existence of certain women who isolated themselves in purification in the mountains to serve the gods, and from the fact that from ancient times, various sacred rites were conducted by members of the female sex.

Wayside goblins. Nowadays, goblins and ghosts are no longer believed seriously. However, they continue to occupy the interest of scholars because they reveal the type of hallucinations and apparitions experienced by the Japanese people, a knowledge which through comparison of the various experiences, might lead to a knowledge of the psychology, the faith, the attitude toward spiritualism and toward life, held by the Japanese race.

Yōkai (goblins or spirits) are divided into categories depending on the sites at which they appear, such as in the mountains, by the roadside, within the house, on the sea, in rivers and so forth. Among the wayside goblins, there are (a) firstly, those of the *nobusuma* category in which the illusion is had of a huge goblin appearing like a wall across the entire width of the road. Passers-by are suddenly confronted by an immense impenetrable wall, which no amount of feeling around reveals an end. Consequently the more cowardly run away for home; but the more daring might seat himself with composure by the wayside and perhaps smoke tobacco for a while. Then the apparition is said to disappear.

Secondly there is the *mikoshi-nyūdō* category of wayside apparition. A huge apparition in the form of a priest suddenly appears, or sometimes a miniature goblin which gradually grows larger and larger until it assumes gigantic proportions. At the moment when the victim looks up at this apparition, it is said that his throat will be bitten by the goblin. Because of this goblin's property of growing in size, it

is also known as *Shidai-taka* (gradually-taller).

Some regions claim this apparition to be the doings of the *tanuki* (badger). Other wayside goblins are said to appear in the form of little children or aged women who cling to passers-by; some take the form of young maidens; again there are some who throw sand from the treetops, or who hang down from tree branches to frighten those passing below. The place and time for these apparitions are more or less specified, hence, if that time and site are scrupulously avoided, the goblins need not be met with. Other examples are of goblins that make strange noises like that of rice or red beans being washed, or who order passers-by to leave behind whatever they have in their possession, a certain canal in old-time Tokyo being said to have once been haunted by such.

It is believed that the *itachi* (weasel) often appears as a huge pillar of fire to frighten human beings, and that the fox takes on the form of a beautiful woman to fool man, or leads a man into the middle of the river under the illusion that he is enjoying a bath. Again, the fox may make mere tree leaves appear to be coins, and fool passers-by into selling whatever dainties they may be carrying, in exchange for the worthless "coins". There are still tales told in rural villages of how a man was fooled into thinking he was invited to a magnificent mansion, where beautiful princesses waited on him; but on his return to his senses, found he had been partaking of horse urine as wine and dung as cakes, undoubtedly fooled by the fox.

The *hitotsume-kozō* (one-eyed imp) that comes regularly every New Year's, the *yuki-forō* (snow-courtesan), *yuki-hime* (snow princess), and the one-footed giant that appear on snowy nights, are often spoken of in regions of much snow.

Again, certain creatures were attributed with supernatural qualities, and were said to meet or send off travellers along the road, examples being the *okuri-ōkami* (wolf that sends off), *okuri-suzume* (sparrow that sends off), and the *yama-inu* (mountain dog) that meets passers-by.

Goblins of the households. The Japanese people believe that each household has its *shugo-shin* or guardian god to protect the house and the family. But as the earlier beliefs waned, these guardian gods came to be considered more in the light of *yōkai*, a type of goblin or demon. For instance, in the Tohoku regions, there exists a belief in the existence of a *zashiki-warashi* (room-child) which is a god in the form of a child. This creature appears at the farmers' busy season as a child to offer a helping hand; but on the other hand, it exhibits such prankish antics as upsetting trays or lifting utensils into the air at dinner time, being, of course, invisible to human eyes at such times.

There are regions where the belief exists in a godown deity, also in the form of a child, or of *hai-bōzu*, a child imp that lives in the ashes of the hearth, or the *nando-baba* (old woman of the *nando*) who inhabits the closet room where quilts and clothing are kept.

Goblins of the sea. Due to the frequency of accidents on the sea, fisherfolk are susceptible to much misgivings. Hence they practice strict observance of various taboo, and also seem to experience hallucinations of the eyes and the ears quite frequently.

It is said that the spirits of those who died at sea take on the form of a ghostly ship that sails straight toward a fishing vessel, disappearing into thin air just an instant before collision, or appear as ghost vessels that race with the fishing vessels. There are tales of fishing boats which were overturned because the apparition was seen in common by all aboard and taken to be an actual vessel.

There are several characteristics by which the ghost vessels may be differentiated from real ships. For instance voices ask for dippers with which to bail out the water; but if the request should be taken in earnest and the dippers supplied, they will be used to flood the fishing vessel instead. Or again, it is said that the lights of ghost vessels are not reflected on the water below. Such tales of spirits of the sea-dead piloting ghost vessels, are to be heard in fishing vil-

lages throughout the country even today.

Among the sea phantoms, there are also the *umi-bōzu*, a huge giant in the form of a shaven-headed priest, or the *ningyo* (mermaid). However, tales of the mermaid, like that of the undersea palace of *Ryūgū*, are more probably products of literary origin, rather than tales arising from the experiences of the fisherfolk themselves. However, fishermen tell of the *majo* (witch), *iso-hime* (shore princess), *nure-onna* (wet woman) and *umi-onna* (sea-woman), who are said to be seen, not far out at sea, but near shore. These witches are believed in widely in the islands of Kyūshū and Shikoku, and are feared as creatures that suck human blood.

Spirits of the river. In the past, it was believed that all deep ponds, marshes, rivers and the like were inhabited by the *nushi* (master) of each, a sort of demoniac deity. This was a latter-day, degenerated form of the earlier *Suijin*, or water deity. In the main, these spirits appeared in the form of snakes or strange fish.

Hence, whenever an unusually large fish is caught from a river, marsh or pond, it is said that a "curse" or punishment will follow if one should eat the flesh of such fish. Due to this fear, there are people to this day who will refuse to eat such unusual fish. This superstition is somewhat similar to that in which, when a great tortoise appears on the shore, it is called a messenger from the gods, feted with wine and beer, and sent off to sea again. Both examples reflect the Japanese belief that any plant or creature that attains great age gains mystic power, a belief that led them to deify particularly aged objects.

A representative river sprite is the *kappa*, an impish child-like creature which is popularly seen depicted in cartoons and paintings even today. The *kappa*'s popularity may be due to its childish figure, or to the humorous fact that the top of its head is shaped like a saucer, with the sprite subject to losing its magic powers the instant the water in that saucer is spilled. This *kappa* is said to cause swimming children to drown, or to challenge grownups to *sumō* (wrestling), eating the human being's but-

tocks in the event of victory. It is also believed that horses that go into a river to drink or to bathe, are pulled into the water by the *kappa* and caused to drown.

There are tales of *kappa* who challenged samurai warriors to *sumō*, or sneaked into a house, only to be bested, losing an arm in the ensuing fight. It is related that such vanquished *kappa* begged for the return of its arm, in exchange for which it taught how to prepare specially effective medicine for wounds. Even today, the "kappa medicine for wounds" is used in certain districts, being made in specific families in which the method has been preserved.

Needless to say, the *kappa* is a creature of the imagination, and was originally believed to be the messenger of the *Suijin* (water god) or a temporary form of the *Suijin* himself. This *Suijin* i.e. *kappa* came in the spring to the fields to water the plants, and in the autumn, after the harvest, left the rivers to return to the mountains, becoming *yama-warō* (mountain sprite) i. e. *yama-no-kami* (mountain deity). There are also regions which fete the *kappa* as the *Suijin*, a custom which reflects the older belief before the god fell from its former pedestal.

Yūrei (ghosts). The Japanese people believe that man, and all beasts and birds, and even various inanimate objects, all possess spirits. At crossings where traffic accidents occur frequently, or wherever a big accident has occurred, memorials are built to appease the spirits of the dead. There are graveyards for cats and dogs. There are memorial services for the fish eaten during the year, and for broken and discarded cameras, toys, guns and other such objects.

There is a custom seen even today in which the members of the family, immediately after the death of a member of the family, climb to the roof top and shout the name of the deceased to the skies, in a *tama-yobai* (spirit-calling), in an attempt to call back the spirit of the dead person.

Again, it is believed that upon a person's death, his spirit immediately assumes the form of a *hino-tama* or *hito-dama*, a ball of greenish white fire with a long flaming tail,

which flies around at just above the house-roof; and many are the people who claim to have seen this illusion.

The spirits of the dead are said to linger about the house for one week from death, after which it gradually moves away to the "other world". Again, the spirit of one who dies far from home is said to return instantaneously to his family; and many tales are told of those who died in war appearing in their military garb at their homes thousands of miles away, at the exact instant of their death on the battlefield.

Japan's dead are blessed with the opportunity to return from the "other world" once a year to revisit their families of their descendants. The annual event known as *Bon* is this occasion, and falls on the days from July 13th through July 16th of each year. On the 13th, the spirits are welcomed back to the fold, and on the 16th, they are reverently sent off again to the "other world". *Bon* lanterns are lit, and all the families (with the exception of a small number of Christian families and other such households) prepare a great feast for the *shyō-ryō* (visiting spirits), which are laid out on *shyō-ryō-dana*, or special tables set before the altars for that purpose.

During the *Bon* period, special "charity" tables are also set out outdoors, or at crossroads, for the sake of those *shyō-ryō* whose families or descendants have ceased to exist, or whose descendants have all become unbelievers. These tables are known as *gaki-dana* or *muen-dana*. *Gaki* are, according to the Buddhist teaching, those spirits that are unable to go to heaven because of evils perpetrated during life, and who suffer from hunger in the nether world. The *gaki-dana* is for their benefit, while the *muen-dana* is for the spirits with no relations left on the earth.

Aside from the regular *Bon* visits by the spirits of the dead, when they come "by invitation" as it were, there are also cases when they appear of their own accord. Such uninvited spirits are called *yūrei*, that is, ghosts. *Yūrei* are not physical existences, but creatures of superstitious imagination; hence, they are not creatures possessing the physical energy to open doors

or to speak. However, there are many people in Japan who claim to have seen and spoken with ghosts. This is probably due to hallucinations or illusions based on certain prior knowledge held by the one meeting with such an experience.

In very old times, Japan's ghosts, similar to ghosts in the West, were believed to appear in the exact form and apparel they had been seen in life. Consequently, the ghosts "seen" by people of that age all appeared in the form they had been in life. As time passed, the ghosts appeared wearing the *shini-shōzoku* (pure white death-clothes, with a triangular piece of cloth tied over the forehead) in which they were buried; and from about a hundred years ago, the ghosts lost their legs, appearing only in the upper portion of their body, fading off from below the waist.

As for the motives behind a ghost's return to this world, these too changed with the years. Formerly, ghosts came back to accomplish something promised but left undone, or because of longing for his spouse, for his family. However, reflecting the influence of later literature and arts, it came to be believed that ghosts appeared only when some great hate or resentment was present. Again the postures assumed by the ghosts changed with the times. The current belief is that they appear with dishevelled hair falling over their faces, their hands held up together at about the

height of the mouth, dangling limply from the wrists, with body bending slightly forward.

The *yōkai* are spirits of things other than human beings, and they appear only at certain specified sites, at certain hours such as before dawn, or at dusk, on a moonless night, or in midday, depending on the case. Moreover, they merely frighten people, and do not reveal any will or demand of their own. However, the *yūrei* unlike the *yōkai*, are human spirits. They are ascribed with the ability to fly at will through space, and for the accomplishment of its purpose, will follow a man anywhere. The time for its appearance, however, is generally limited to around 2 o'clock in the morning, this limitation being one of its characteristics. The *yūrei* appears only to the eyes of such closely related people as have a reason to be thus haunted.

Again, the ghosts of such people as have met with some dreadful end, are said to haunt the site of their death; and people passing by such a spot, or sleeping in such a room, often are visited by the spectres concerned.

The *yūrei* actually experienced by the people themselves are extremely naive and simple; but due to the influence of literature, theater, and the movies, they have become of extremely exaggerated forms of recent years.

Traditional Rites concerned with Means of Livelihood

There are certain traditional annual events, which through having been repeated year after year from the past, relay old customs and concretely reveal a phase of the spiritual aspect that forms the fundamental basis of our culture. The basis of any society is laid on its principal product; and in Japan, since rice-production forms this basis, any true understanding of the country's culture must be formed on a study of the attitude held by the people as regards rice-cultivation, and of the rites held in connection with this cultivation.

Hence, the study of, and comparison with, other civilizations centered around rice-

producing regions in Asia, become important for a true comprehension of Japanese civilization. However, on the other hand, there are some specific features which are based directly on certain natural conditions within the country itself, and which can thereby be studied independent of outside factors.

It is quite evident that the rites concerned with rice production in Japan are widely and almost invariably tied in with the various so-called annual events or ritualistic holidays. Thus a study of the rice-production rites involve study into a vast field, including those complex features which

must be observed from the standpoint of the natural, social and economic factors which brought them about.

But on the other hand, we must also keep in mind the fact that rice cultivation, in spite of its great importance, occupied only a portion of the arable land in Japan; while mountain and sea-coast areas undoubtedly possessed their own respective productive occupations, not necessarily concerned with rice cultivation.

Therefore, if we are to ferret out those qualities which are peculiarly Japanese from among the customs to be seen in traditional rituals, we must first acquire a knowledge of the circumstances in which the life of the Japanese people developed. Hence, before we go further into a description of the various rituals concerned with production, it may be wise to make a brief survey of the factors which molded the life modes and basic attitudes of the Japanese.

Japan was from ancient ages mainly an agrarian nation, as can be seen from the fact that from early in its history, a system of taxation existed, based on the *handen-sei* or system of land-division in which tax was taken in the form of rice per unit of land. However, in spite of this, a large number of the people were forced to rely not only on agrarian products for their livelihood, but on the natural products of the sea and the mountains, due to the geographical features of the land which forced isolation rather than centralization, tending to make the people self-sufficient and self-reliant.

This isolation and self-sufficiency were, as seen above, the results of the topographic features of the mountainous island country, but this attitude was also further fostered under the seclusion policy taken toward the outside world by the Tokugawa military regime. Needless to say, even in this period of seclusion, the respective individual farm homes and the farm villages were actually far from truly self-sufficient. Already, during this age, nation-wide commerce in goods was being developed, disregarding the boundary lines of the various fief provinces; and the rise of the merchant class was much in evidence. On the other hand, the gradual decline in the economic power of the ruling warrior class was

causing the government to put more and more pressure on the farming class. As a result, the farmers avoided the use of money in their transactions as much as possible, and tended to maintain a certain degree of self-sufficiency, relying only on labor available within the family.

Consequently, life tended to be simple and primitive. All manner of fixtures, tools, clothing, food, fuel and other necessary materials were derived as much as possible from natural resources in nearby mountains and fields, or from agricultural products cultivated in their fields, all fashioned by their own hands to meet their need. Thus production, manufacture, consumption and use were all carried out within the family itself. Consequently, iron-ware or pottery which could not be self-produced, were very seldom used; precious vegetable oil was used only in minute quantities; cotton, which could not be grown in the cold northern provinces, was not to be seen either, except for rare exceptions.

As even the implements and tools of daily life were made by hand, they came to take on a high degree of efficiency as such, due to continued improvements invented by the user himself; and in the same manner, as all products were dependent upon their own labor, these people came to know the value of such products, this fostering a simple and frugal philosophy of life. Theirs was a life based on a familiarity with all the processes from the first gathering of raw materials, through production, and finally consumption of the fruits of their own labors; and this composite way of life had been transmitted generation after generation, making an accumulation of basic knowledge in the ways of production and self-supply. Hence, the people's observation of nature was a detailed one, and their means of utilizing nature's resources in their daily life, also came to be developed to a high degree. In 1873, only a few years after the Meiji Restoration opened up the modern world to Japan, the nation's population was 33,000,000. Of this total, 25,000,000 or 78% were agrarian. Of the total number of families, 5,600,000 or approximately 78.7% were farm families. Of

course not all of these agrarian families can be said to have been living the simple primitive life described above, but nonetheless, it may safely be estimated that at least half of the entire number of families in Japan were living in that manner. It was this half agrarian nation that was plunged into the midst of a modern industrial revolution following the Meiji Restoration; and the fact that the people were able to absorb the new Western ways in the short period of 30 or 40 years to become the leading industrial nation of the Far East, is probably due to a great extent to the knowledge and techniques accumulated through generations of a life of self-supply.

Improvements in agricultural techniques too were to be seen to some extent; but under the national policy of a strong army, it was the farm villages which were forced to suffer. At the same time, their traditional self-sufficiency also declined. However, on the other hand, due to the high land-rents that the tenant farmers had to pay for their tiny plots of land, they were again driven by necessity to utilize the natural resources of the mountains and fields around them. In this way, the old attitude toward self-sufficiency, born in ancient times from the geographic features of the land, continued to exist from that day to the present. Hence, the traditional rites and customs concerned with production were all tied in with this self-supply system of living.

The introduction of Buddhism into Japan and the enthusiastic support accorded to it by the Imperial Court and the aristocratic society, led to the gradual spread of the religion to the common people as well. However, in spite of the spread of Buddhism, a study of the production rites maintained in the rural and fishing communities reveals that the majority are based on old traditional rites as they were performed in the course of production in the past, or as based on old legends and beliefs, in which there is seen little or no influence of Buddhism.

Hence, it can be seen that these rituals which are preserved in the various regions of the country, are the products of very

ancient ages. Consequently, they differ widely with the districts in which they were practiced; and the original significance of many of them are no longer known. However, in spite of this wide variation in ritualistic forms, it can be seen that basically they are nevertheless related to each other, this fact showing that the development of a unified racial culture had its beginnings in very ancient times.

Listed below are the types of production-rites to be found:

Rice-cultivation rituals

Rice, being Japan's staple food, as well as being necessary as offerings to the guardian gods, was considered of such value that it was also the form in which tax was paid. Hence, one of the main functions of those who were charged with control over certain regions of the land, was the conducting of rites to promote and guarantee a good harvest of rice. In this way, aside from the simpler rites practiced by the farmers and villagers themselves, great ritualistic festivals came to be held as official ceremonies.

Rites concerned with rice-cultivation were held many times during an year, in accordance with the season. In particular, the rites held at New Year's were considered to be of special importance, and conducted with much solemnity.

The preliminary rites held at New Year: Rites held at New Year's in various places throughout the country as a sort of preliminary blessing of the harvest for that year, continued until fairly recent years, and a study of these rites show that they were for the purpose of greeting the coming of the gods to the houses at New Year. The god in this case was the *toshi-no-kami* or the year-god; but this god had a multiple character and was at times also regarded as the guardian ancestral god, as the god of agriculture, or again as the guardian god of the village or of the entire nation. In the presence of this god, then, rites were conducted in which important features of rice-cultivation were enacted in pantomime, for the purpose of blessing the harvest-to-

be as well as predicting the good or bad outcome of that harvest.

On January 2nd, 4th, or 11th, a field is hoed as the first agricultural labor of the year, this being a ritual which is known as *kuwa-ire* or *ta-uchi shōgatsu*. A field which is to be used as a paddy is chosen for the purpose, and on this field branches of the pine, chestnut, bamboo and the like, with *nusa* (paper charms) attached, were stood up, together with offerings of food. Prophecy concerning the outcome of the year's harvest was made through reading the marks left on the food by the birds that came to peck at it, these birds being considered messengers of the god.

This rite is similar in many ways to the *minakuchi-matsuri* which is held at the time of the actual planting of the rice, and is made up of the same element of pantomime, coupled with a process for foretelling the fortune for that year.

Between January 11th and the night of the first full moon of the year, that is, January 15th on the lunar calendar, rites mimicing the cultivation of the paddy and the planting of rice seeds, were held, as were also *hatsu-taue* or *shōgatsu-taue* rites in which the re-planting of rice seedlings was mimed. *Tori-oi*, the chasing away of birds, was also carried out in pantomime. Also widely practiced is the custom of *mono-tsukuri*, in which *mochi* or *dango* (rice cakes) were attached to branches of various types of trees, these branches representing the ripened crop bending low with the harvest. The *monotsukuri* was also called *mochibana*, *ine-no-hana* or *mayudama* and in some cases they were made by attaching small bits of *mochi* or *dango* to rice straw. This *monotsukuri* custom seems to have some relation to the *inakake* rites of autumn, in which before the actual harvest, a small portion of the grain is cut, with an offering of the *hatsu-ho* or first ears of the harvest crop, being made to the gods.

The above-mentioned rites of *tauchi* or the rites mimicing various stages in rice-cultivation, were generally performed by each individual house. However, such rites as the *tori-oi* (bird-chasing) pantomime were often carried out as a group ritual.

Aside from these, there were also certain shrine rituals held on New Year's, called *ta-matsuri* or *ta-asobi*, in which ceremonial *dengaku* and *sarugaku*, both primitive theatrical performances with elements retained from the ancient *gigaku* transmitted from ancient China, were to be seen. In these rituals too, pantomime of rice-cultivation processes formed an essential factor.

January by the lunar calendar meant the great turning point from winter to spring. With all the work after the autumn harvest having been taken care of, it was the brief period of inactivity while the people waited for the spring to resume work in the fields again. It was at this season that, in the presence of the *toshi-no-kami* (year-god), the people carried out rites blessing the various productions for the year to come. And among all the many New Year rites, those concerned with rice-production seem to have taken precedence over all the others. However, the new year season was also considered with special importance as the time for the rejuvenation of the spirit and of life-power, being feted as such; and it still remains to be seen just what part the rice-production rites held within the entire circle of New Year rites.

On the other hand, there is much evidence pointing out to the importance attached to rice in these rites. The *kagami-mochi* (layers of rice-cake used for New Year) which is placed on the *sambō* tray for display, as well as the *tobi-no-kome* placed on top of it; the rice in the *toshi-oke* or *toshi-dawara* containers placed on altars of the *toshi-no-kami* (year-god), all show that both for practical use and as offerings to the gods, rice was the principal material. In this way, it cannot be denied that rice was an important factor in the new year rites. Particularly this is evident in the fact that the rice used in the *toshi-oke* and the *toshi-dawara* containers on the altars, were the seed-rice to be used later at the time of the planting. This rice also serves as the offering to the gods at the time of the first rice-planting, and as food for the people engaged in the rice-planting work on that day. The fact that wood gathered especially for that purpose during the new

year season is used for cooking the rice at the actual rice-planting rites points to a relation between the new year rites and the rice-planting rites.

Rites at various stages in rice-cultivation. In some cases, certain simple rites are held at the time of *tane-tsuke*, when the seeds are immersed in water. Because the seeds are the source of the new life to promote the growth of the year's crop, many ritualistic ceremonies related to the choice of the seeds and to their care, existed from ancient times. In the prefectures of Nagano and Niigata, and also in parts of Nagasaki Prefecture, seeds are called *suji*, a word which means lineage and thereby shows that the seeds raised by a certain family were believed to be of a single line, different from those in the 'lineage' of another family's seeds. However, it came to be known fairly early that the pollination was done by the wind without regard for 'lineage' and this may account for the early decline of the custom of *tane-tsuke* rites.

In its stead, the *minaguchi-matsuri* rites were most commonly observed. This was held at the time of the actual planting of the seeds in the *nawashiro-da*, small flooded fields in which the seeds were first planted. At the *minaguchi* or the inlet from which water passed into the paddy, a mound of earth was made, with tree branches representing the *ta-no-kami* (field god) stuck in it, and with offerings of toasted rice placed before it.

The seedlings grown in the *nawashiro-da* are transplanted in early summer about May, and the commencement of this transplanting is known as *sabiraki*, *saori*, *hatsu-tane* or *waseda-ue*. At this time, it is customary for the master himself to plant three or twelve bundles of the rice seedlings in the paddy, insert twigs in the *minaguchi* water passageway as part of a fete in honor of the field-god and make offerings of *sake* and red-bean rice. Later he takes home three bundles of the planted rice-seedlings and places them as on the altar and on the hearth.

However, as this *tane* or rice-transplanting was closely tied in with the water supply for flooding the paddies, the rites

were often conducted as community rather than individual affairs. Again, there were instances in which the entire process of rice-transplanting was considered as a sort of ceremonial ritual, as in the case of the *miyata* paddies where the rice to be used as offering to the village god was planted, or in the case of the paddies of a highly influential *oyakata* farmer, when the rice planting was conducted by many people assembled from the village. At the commencement of such large-scale rice-transplanting, tree branches were inserted at the *minaguchi* as in the previously mentioned cases, and offerings of *sake* rice and seedlings were made, as a ritual to greet the *sa-no-kami* (or *ta-no-kami*, field god), after which a large group of people carried out the rice-planting, accompanied by the music of drums and merry singing of the *tane-uta* (rice-planting song). This large-scale ritual was known as the *sambai-oroshi*, and among the songs sung at this occasion, there are some fragmentary parts still remembered today, which explain the nature of the *sa-no-kami* as having been fathered by the *hino-kami* (god of sun) and mothered by the water-god.

Tane or rice transplanting was grueling, hard labor, but in former days it was considered a sacred ritual to be performed as a cooperative labor on the part of all the villagers. And, through the excitement of the music, the sight of the gayly bedecked maidens in the fields, and the exuberance caused by drinking, the labor was happily disposed of.

After the work of the rice-transplanting was over, rites called *sanobori* or *sanaburi* (meaning the ascent of the god) were held both individually and as a community event, to send off the visiting god.

Rites held during the rice-plants' growth. After the rice was thus planted, many communal rites were observed as prayers to offset damage by insects, winds, floods or droughts. Especially in the lunar month of June, when the plants required a good supply of both water and sunlight, the *natsu-matsuri* (summer festival) fettering the water-god was held. Again, *mushio-kuri* rites as a charm against harmful

insects were conducted. And, when the typhoon season drew near, it was customary to conduct rites in honor of the wind-god.

Harvest-time rites. Just a little before the actual harvest, a small portion of the crop was cut, with the first ears of the rice harvest being offered to the gods, while another portion of the same rice was toasted and partaken of by the people. The harvest of the rest of the crop was carried out after this initial rite.

The festival celebrating the end of the harvesting was generally held after the work of the harvest over, but this came to be tied in with the *uji-gami matsuri* or festival of the village god, and thus came to be of a complex nature. Rites for sending off the god were conducted on the 9th, 19th and 29th of the ninth month in the lunar calendar, or on the 10th of the 10th month, or some other specific date once each year, after the end of the harvest. But with the change from the lunar to the solar calendar at the time of the Meiji Restoration, and due to various improvements and changes in the rice-plants themselves brought about by cross-breeding, and also because of the increased use of simple machinery in harvesting, much confusion arose as to suitable dates for these old festivals, and the rites themselves changed considerably as a result. However, the *kakashi-age* rites in which the scarecrows are pulled up from the fields on the day of *tō-kan-ya* (a word referring to October 10th), observed in Shinshū District, are rites conducted for the purpose of sending off the god of the fields after the harvest. This custom of sending off the god from the harvested fields, later tied up with the belief that all the gods assemble in Izumo in the month of November, known as *Kanna-zuki* or godless month (all the gods being absent from their regions because they have gone to Izumo). Thus, throughout the nation, the *kami-okuri* (sending-off the gods) and *kami-mukae* (greeting back the gods) came to be observed.

The *ta-no-kami* (field god) always returned to the mountains at the end of the harvest, to become the *yama-no-kami* (mountain-god), and so twice yearly, throughout the nation, festivals are held

for this god in the autumn and in the spring. Regardless of minor discrepancies which have crept into the customs through the long years, it is possible to say that the ancient belief in the *ta-no-kami* and the *yama-no-kami*, and the festivals for greeting and sending them off, are definitely related to the *kinen-sai* (prayer for good harvest) and the *niiname-sai* (autumn harvest festival) held as sacred rites yearly within the Imperial Court.

The same god feted as the *ta-no-kami* in the harvest fields, came to hold a similar place as the god presiding over the products of the mountains and the fields, as well as the sea. Also, it possessed another phase as the ancestral god, the guardian deity of each individual household. In other words, the gods of the Japanese people were of a primitive nature, which were closely related to the processes of production, but which on the other hand also appeared in many forms or came to possess complex features. Hence, it is difficult to point out the fundamental nature of this god or gods.

For instance, there are some customs which seem to point to the possibility that the *ta-no-kami* or god of the field is the same god as rice-god, or the god residing in the rice itself. In Noto, a rite is observed in November, called *ae-no-koto* in which the master of the house goes out to the fields to bring home an invisible *ta-no-kami*. The deity is conducted to the house in pantomime, then bathed and fed. Due to the fact that the deity has been underground for such a long time, he is said to be blind; and so the master of the house himself feeds the food to the invisible guest while naming each of the foods aloud in turn.

This would seem to be related with the custom of feting the rice-seeds within its container as a form of god, hence creating the term *tane-gami* or seed-god. The god of the *ae-no-koto* rites of Noto, together with the *tane-gami* of the latter case, are most likely both instances of the belief in the god-nature of grain itself. And until further study into the nature of the 'seed-god' is carried out, it may be impossible to clarify the true nature of the *ta-no-kami* of the rice fields.

Rites of field-cultivation

At the time of the new year rites for blessing the rice crop, the people often make *awa-ho* and *hie-ho* to represent the harvest of the fields, as well as the afore-mentioned *ine-no-hana* and *mayudama* representing the harvest of rice. This is an example showing that rites concerned with the products of the fields were often carried out as a supplement to the rites concerned with rice, and thereby lacked the characteristic of an independent rite, being accorded only secondary importance. However, as wheat ranked next to rice in importance among agricultural products, and because the cultivation periods of rice and wheat did not coincide with each other, there were a few instances in which individual rites were performed for field-harvests.

The planting of wheat generally coincided with the harvest of the rice, so that the festivals for both were usually conducted as one. But in Shinshū and Mikawa, there was a custom called *kuwa-age* in which, after the sowing of the wheat had been finished, the farmers washed off their hoes and offered wheat and buckwheat noodles to the hoes, also partaking of the noodles themselves. And in Tokyo and certain mountain-base regions of Gumma Prefecture, *mochi* (rice cakes) were made, this being buried in the ground in the field as an offering to the earth-god as a charm against damage to crops wrought by field-mice or moles.

In some regions, *mugi-home* rites were conducted on January 20th, as for instance, in Hiba County of Hiroshima Prefecture, where people cooked rice with barley, and poured potato-paste over it for the evening meal, and then went out to the fields to praise the crop, reciting aloud: "The wheat crop for this year is very fine; soon it will ripen and burst from back to front". In Ōshima, people made cakes called *tsutsu-bo-dango*, and went out to their fields saying: "Our wheat is very fine". In another village in Ōshima, Tokyo, January 20th was a holiday for women and called the festival-day for wheat. Cakes were made

in the shape of the grain and stuck on a bamboo stick to be taken to the fields. There, the *mugi-home* or rites praising the wheat were conducted, with chants saying: "The wheat of other fields is ragged; but the wheat of this field is fine". In Terakawa in Kōchi Prefecture, a similar praising rite is held at the end of April, while at Chino-shima in Fukuoka Prefecture, the March festival is known as the wheat-praising festival, while the May festival is known as the field-praising festival.

It seems that in the past field-praising was widely practised as a charm to promote the growth of various crops besides wheat, with the wheat-praising rites having been retained the longest.

At the time of the wheat harvest, a small amount of wheat is reaped to be presented to the gods, this custom still being seen in parts of Shikoku and Kyūshū. However, due to the fact that the wheat harvest coincides with the rice-transplanting season, it is customary for the 2 events to be feted in a single ritual. September 13th of the lunar calendar, traditionally celebrated as a moon-viewing night, is called the wheat moon in Shinshū and Sado, perhaps because wheat-cakes are offered on that night. Again, the fact that the August 15th and September 13th moon-viewing nights are referred to as the taro-moon or bean-moon with taro-potatoes and beans being offered, seems to point to the fact that this custom was once a rite in which the first potato and bean and other field products of the season were offered to the ancestral gods or to the agricultural diety.

Aside from these, there are several rites concerned with the *daikon*, the large Japanese radish. For instance on October 10th in the Tōhoku Regions, it is prohibited to enter a *daikon* field, while on November 23rd, the day of the *Daishikō* festival, *daikon* was offered to the gods. Again, on the festival days of the gods Ebisu and Daikoku, *daikon* which split off in two were often offered.

Also, there are some isolated cases in which the flax is also feted in a similar manner; and as the earth-god is the diety feted in this case, it would seem that these

rites, too, were observed as charms for protection against field-rats and moles.

Rites related to hunting

The god which was the object of prayer and thanks in hunting was principally the *yamano-kami* (god of the mountain). However, it is difficult to say whether this god is the same as the *ta-no-kami* (field god) which the farmers believe to return to the mountains after the harvest to become the *yamano-kami*. Even if the two had been originally the same deity, it must be allowed that during the long period since the origin, the *yama-no-kami* of the hunters and the *yama-no-kami* of the farmers most probably came to possess different characteristics. On the other hand, even if it were to be assumed that these two were entirely unrelated at the start, it is quite possible that later they came to be associated with each other; because the hunters also engaged in farming during the summer season. At any rate, the two are now so inter-related with each other that it is almost impossible to consider them separately.

Until a fairly recent age, there existed a group of people in the Tōhoku Region who made their living exclusively by hunting. These people called themselves *yamadachi* while outsiders called them *matagi*. They had in their possession certain old written records which they believed related the history of their profession, and which they used as proof of their right to hunt in the mountains and the ravines. Such old records have been found in various regions of the country, and can be divided into three categories.

The first of these are records transmitted among the *matagi* of the Tōhoku Region. According to these records, there once existed a man highly skilled in the use of the bow and arrow, who upon the request of a certain god, took part in a war between the gods, and helped one side to win. As a reward he was allowed the right to hunt in any of the mountains in the country, the right to be transmitted to his descendants. There is another version to this tale, called

the Nikkō version, to be found in other records in possession of the *matagi* in the Tōhoku Region. According to this, the user of bow and arrow who aided the gods in their battle was called Manjaburo; the god he helped to win was *Nikkō Gongen*, the defeated god *Akagi Myōjin* (*Nikkō* and *Akagi* are both names of mountain regions). And this Manjaburo is said to be the *yama-no-kami*. There is also another old record called *Nikkō-san Engi* which has a similar tale, the difference being that the hero is called Ono-no-Sarumaru, said to be the illegitimate child of a Kyoto nobleman.

The second group is related to the legends concerning the origin of the temple at Mt. Kōya, and the miracles of the god *Niu Myōjin*. According to these records, the son of a god appeared in the form of a hunter before *Kōbō Daishi*, the founder of the temple at Mt. Kōya, accompanied by a dog. He served as *Kōbō Daishi's* guide in determining the site for the temple which is now known as the Kōya-san temple. As a reward for this service, *Kōbō Daishi* taught the hunter secret charm words which would save him from eternal punishment even if he continued in his occupation as hunter (according to Buddhist doctrines, it is considered a sin to take the life of any living creature). These charms or prayers were transmitted from generation to generation. In Aomori, Iwate and Akita prefectures, among whose hunters this legend has been transmitted, it is claimed that the hunter who acted as guide was named *Sarumaru Dayū*. This name shows that the tale has become somewhat confused with the Nikkō version of the first category.

The third group is one which is to be found in detail in Yanagida Kunio's *Nochi-no Kari-kotoba no Ki*, and is related to the legend preserved in records in a village in Miyazaki Prefecture of Kyūshū. According to this tale, 2 hunters named Ōma and Koma performed purification rites and then went into the mountains to hunt, when they came upon the *yama-no-kami* in the throes of labor. The *yama-no-kami* asked Ōma to give it some food from his lunch basket; but Ōma, fearing the taint of blood at childbirth (a taboo in primitive society), left the site without offering food or aid. But

Koma stopped to give the god rice, as a result of which he prospered much thereafter.

This same tale is to be found in slightly differing versions in Iwate, Akita and Aichi prefectures. In Iwate, the hunters are called Manji and Banji; and it is related that when Banji gave aid to the god in distress, it gave birth to twelve children. In the Aichi version, the hunters are called *ō-otoko-gami* and *Yado-otoko-gami*, or *ō-nanji* and *Ko-nanji*. Again, in Miyagi and Yamagata prefectures, there are shrines which are said to be dedicated to Banji and Banzaburō, brothers who were excellent hunters. As Banji and Banzaburō are worshipped as *yama-no-kami*, it would seem that the afore-mentioned legend was transmitted in these regions also.

These three legends, all telling of hunters who are regarded as the ancestral gods of the hunting people, differ from each other in detail; but it can be seen that they have many points in common.

As for the ceremonies which were conducted in connection with hunting, it would seem that they were held only for special types of hunting. For instance, when traps, snares or pitfalls were utilized, it is doubtful that any rites were performed. In the main, rituals were concerned with bow-and-arrow hunting. However, the use of the bow and arrow was abandoned for the gun, so that today there is no trace left of old customs concerned with the bow and arrow. However, old terms which were used in bow-and-arrow hunting continued to be used even when hunting came to be done by gun. For instance, the route of a bullet is called *ya-no-michi* (route of the arrow), the first shot to hit the prey is called *ichi-no-ya* (first arrow) or *ichi-ban-ya* (first arrow). When the wounded prey has fled leaving a trail of blood, these prints are called *yatsuke*, and the site where the hunter lies in wait for the prey is called *yaba*. All make use of the word *ya* which means arrow, and not bullet.

The celebration of a youth's first catch is called *ya-biraki*, *yasaki-iwai* or *yaguchi-iwai*. In other words, almost all the words used in hunting, as well as all the customs

related to it, are based on the terms as created by the warrior class who made hunting their noblest pastime.

Not only the terms, but the customs and etiquette of the bow-and-arrow hunting were transmitted to the later hunting by gun; but with the sudden decline hunting in the modern age, the various rituals also changed considerably. Some of the hunting rites as they were once practiced are listed below:

Hatsuya-no-iwai. As mentioned above, this was the rite celebrating an individual's first kill, also known as *yasaki-no-iwai* and *yabiraki-no-iwai*. Some such rites were very simple, consisting of the youth who made his first kill inviting all his hunting companions to the kitchen and offering them *sake*. But in other places, a great feast was held to celebrate the event, to which all friends and relatives were invited, with the guests often bringing as much as a whole bag of rice each, as gift. At the place-of-honor at this feast was seated an elder relative of intimate relationship, who gave the initial congratulatory speech before the drinks were poured.

The meat of the first kill is never sold; it is kept so that bits may be offered to any one who comes to the house subsequently, bearing congratulatory messages on the kill. After this celebration rite, the youth came to be accepted as a full-fledged hunter. In the mountains of Ōtsu county in Yamaguchi, this rite is called *yasaki-no-gishiki*, and as it marks a youth's recognition as a full-fledged hunter, it is celebrated as the greatest occasion in an individual's entire life. On this occasion, the chief hunter occupies the place of honor, with the other hunting companions lined up on either side of him. The one who made the kill sits at the very last position, as a newcomer to the company. At this feast, the head of the kill (usually boar) is placed on a *sambō* (tray with legs) and brought into the room. On the boar's head is placed a wine cup. To the right of the head is a wine-jug, and to the left are sticks which had been used in transporting the kill.

When this tray is brought into the room, all present make obeisance to the *yama-no-kami* (god of the mountain), and the chief

hunter chants a *norito* prayer. When this is over, all the hunters join in together to shout *don, don, don!* 3 times in imitation of the sound of the hunting guns. Then the *sake* is served. When the youth who made his initial kill receives his cup of wine, the chief hunter announces to the group that the youth is now a full-fledged hunter, and asks everyone to help him.

It is to be seen in old records that a child-shōgun of the Muromachi Government shot a shriek, for which exploit a *yasaki-iwai* was held.

Japan being a country covered with mountains and wild fields, hunting was important for many purposes. Hunting was not merely a means for the warriors to improve their skill in archery. Shooting was necessary to protect the early farms from birds and marauding beasts, as well as to supply the people with animal protein in food, and with the pelts to be used in daily life. Hence, the *hatsuya-no-iwai* served to announce a youth's attainment of full manhood; and continued to be practised for a long time as a ceremony for feting the gods and announcing to the community that the individual was now a man.

Rites celebrating a kill. It is not known to what extent rites were conducted for the spoils of fishing and hunting; but from what we can see today, it is known that the kill of the bear, deer, boar and *kamo-shika* (type of antelope) was followed by rites. In such cases, the kill was transported to a suitable site, where the hunters gathered around, cooked the animal's entrails as an offering to the *yama-no-kami*, and then partook of some themselves, the ritual in this way being a combination of a ritual to the god, and a *chi-matsuri* (blood-festival) in which the hunters ate the same meat as the god.

In the mountain villages of Kagoshima Prefecture, there is the custom of taking the kill of boar to the home of the person who shot the fatal bullet. There the meat is cut, and the entrails cooked. Pieces of the entrails are stuck on bamboo splinters and placed on the *tokonoma* alcove together with cold cooked rice, washed uncooked rice, *sake* and a hatchet, as an

offering to the *yama-no-kami*. Then the hunters themselves partake of the cooked entrails and drink *sake*. At this time, certain charm-words known as *kami-no-norito* are intoned, in which there is a prayer for the dead animal's re-birth in the next life as a human being instead of a beast. Thus, together with the rites in honor of the *yama-no-kami*, a sort of 'memorial service' is offered for the dead beast.

After this is over, the company goes out into the yard where the body of the animal is, and the animal is moved so that its head is turned in the appropriate direction in relation to the *yama-no-kami* god. Then a hunter's hatchet is placed on its head. Next a handful of the blood-covered twigs which had been laid under the body, is taken and also placed on the animal's head.

The hunter who shot the fatal *ichi-no-ya* takes a position behind the boar's body, and intones a prayer thanking the god for that day's spoils, and asking for continued good fortune in hunting. Then he takes a few of the twigs on the boar's head with his right hand and throws it over his left shoulder. Next he repeats this with his left hand. During this time, all the other hunters are seated in a line behind him.

After this ceremony is completed, the hunters partake of a small portion each of the cold cooked rice and the washed rice that has been offered to the god, this bringing an end to the solemn ritual.

Such rituals were known as *fukumarumatsuri*, *ke-matsuri*, *chi-matsuri* or *chi-harai* and as detailed above, they served the triple purpose of making offerings to the god and partaking of the same food as the god, of thanking the god for its favor and asking further aid, and of a memorial service to the spirit of the dead animal. After the ceremony, the meat was divided among the hunters in accordance to the part each played in that day's hunt.

New Year rites. Every year on January 2nd, 4th, 9th or 11th, the farmers practice, as one of the *shigoto-hajime* (first work of the year) customs, a rite which is known variously as *kikari-hajime*, *hatsu-yama-bumi*, *waka-yama-bumi* or *hatsu-yama-iri*. The master of the household goes into the

mountains at dawn, and choosing one tree, he makes offerings of *mochi* rice cakes before it and ties *shimenawa* (sacred straw or paper festoons) on it as a rite dedicated to the *yama-no-kami*. After this rite, he cuts the first firewood of the year, and takes it home with him.

In certain mountain villages where hunting was an important occupation, a hunting gun was shot off on the morning of New Year and a ceremony conducted in honor of the *yama-no-kami*, in addition to the above rites.

Shachi-gami, Yamagoya, Yama-kotoba. Hunters believed that *shachi* or good luck in hunting (*shachi* is thought to be a corruption of the word *sachi* meaning good luck) was due to the workings of some godly spirit. In the Kiso region, the *shachi-gami* is enshrined on the family altar and prayers are offered to it for good luck in hunting. In mountain villages in Shizuoka Prefecture, it is the custom to hold a drinking party called *mae-shichi* on the eve of a hunting expedition, to pray for fortune in hunting.

An example of strict abstinence practiced before going into the mountains on a hunting trip is to be seen in the custom that precedes the hunting of the *kamoshika* (antelope) in Miomote village, of Iwafune county in Niigata. Hunting for *kamoshika* is conducted in the bitter cold of mid-winter, and requires some ten or more days per expedition; 3 such hunting trips are carried out each winter.

For 10 days before the trip, the hunters bathe daily in cold stream water to purify themselves spiritually and physically. They refrain from taking any flesh including fish, and sever all sexual relationships during the period. Once they enter the mountains, they use an entirely different set of words called *yama-kotoba*, the usual speech being considered taboo.

It can be seen from various customs which are still retained today, that the mountains were regarded as a mysterious domain under the rule of the *yama-no-kami*. For instance, when a man must spend a night in the mountains, he marks off a square space on the ground, sticking twigs

in the ground at the four corners. Then he prays to the *yama-no-kami* requesting lodging in that space for one night. If he neglected this rite, it was believed that he would meet with some mountain demon.

Consequently, not only the hunters, but also woodcutters, sawyers, charcoal-makers, miners and men of various other occupations who must spend some time living in huts in the mountains, practised strict observance of certain taboo, and did not fail to fete the god of the mountain. Care was taken to avoid anything that might offend the god, so that life in the *yamagoya* or mountain hut took on a nature almost similar to religious confinement. It was also for this reason that *yama-kotoba* (special mountain-language) came to be used, involving the avoidance of certain words said to be disliked by the *yamano-kami*. For instance, the word *saru* (monkey) was avoided, and *yamano-oyaji* or *kimura* was used instead; blood was called *dari* instead of *chi*, rice was *kusanomi* instead of *kome*.

Besides the above-mentioned customs concerning the mountains, the ancient belief that ancestral spirits resided in the mystic depths of the mountains continued to be held, alongside the other variegated beliefs.

Rites related to fishing

Hunting was for a long time conducted as a side-occupation together with farming; but with the coming of the modern age, it declined rapidly, leaving only very small regions in which it is still carried on as an occupation. On the other hand, fishing has flourished. Japan, being a long, narrow island, had an abundance of varied coastline appropriate to fishing, so that from ancient times, fishing was an important occupation. In later years fishing showed a danger of decline due to exhaustion of the supply, brought about by indiscriminate fishing; however with newer methods and new facilities for fishing farther from shore, the industry prospered. In the process of this modernization of method, the various rites connected with fishing also underwent change. However, the intricate coastline of Japan, with each bay and inlet

and shore having individual characteristics, called for a different skill in fishing methods; and so there was still room for each fishing village to retain old methods and traditions.

Moreover, fishing, in spite of modernization in some respects, still continued to be in a main a fight with the natural elements. Much depended on weather conditions, and the men had to be constantly on the alert to keep their ships from damage or wreck, and to keep their implements from being swept off into the sea. Hence, there was much in the fishermen's precarious life to promote a belief in charms and superstitions; and the old rites therefore continued to be retained to a great extent among them.

Among the rites practised by the fishermen, there were those to celebrate a good catch, and those conducted as invocations for better fortune at the time of a poor season. There were also rites to celebrate the new year season, or the opening of the fishing season, or the first voyage of the season.

Aside from these, there were also certain rites in which the master of a fishing vessel gathered together with his men as a sign of the pact between them, and determined the duties of each man, with a drinking party afterwards. Again, drinking fetes are sometimes held at the end of the season, when the men gathered to divide the earnings from the catch. Similarly, rites with drinking parties, were held for the purpose of discussing fishing areas or other mutual arrangements. In all these cases, in which the purpose of the meeting was for the ascertainment of a contract of some form or another, it was considered necessary to solemnize the pact through rites, in which the individuals partook of the same food together, and made offerings to the gods, generally the gods *Ebisu*, *Ryūjin* (dragon god) or *Funadama-gami* (spirit of vessels).

Rites in coastline fishing. The above-mentioned rites are all more or less clear as to the purpose for which they are conducted; but there are also certain rites which are conducted on specific days every

year, whose significance is not to be so easily known.

The rites which we held on a certain set date in March, June, and October, referred to variously as *Ryūjin-sai*, *Ryūgū-sai*, *Iso-matsuri*, *Ura-matsuri*, *Shio-matsuri*, etc., seem to have been instituted for the purpose of praying for a good catch in the shore-line fishing of that certain area. At the time of these festivals, it was customary to discuss the matter of rights to fishing along the shoreline, and to elect men to serve in maintaining order and control over the fishing of that area. In other words, it would seem that rites of this nature have their origin in the days before the development of open-sea fishing, when fishing was still restricted to areas near the shore; and reflect a form of village self-government procedures, held in connection with the festivals for the *uji-gami* (village-god).

Today the fishing vessels with their power-motors go far out to the open-sea so that the period of fishing has changed considerably from that of the old days. However, in the days when fishing was limited the waters near shore, the people knew quite accurately the time to expect the coming of certain fish to their shores each year. This fact probably accounts for the fact that certain fishing rites were held on set dates each year.

The fete day of March 3rd is particularly widely observed as a day for fishing rites, with *ura-matsuri* (bay festivals) and *iso-matsuri* (beach festivals) being held on or near that day. In Yaizu of Shizuoka Prefecture, which is noted for its bonito-fishing, the captains of the fishing vessels gather their crew together on this day, and hold a drinking fete known as *kubi-kukuri* to mark the contract with the crew members.

Again, March 3rd of the lunar calendar marked the opening of the season for kelp-gathering on the beach, and the beginning of the general fishing season, so that rites in connection with each of these were also common. However, the custom to be found in some districts, setting this day aside as the only day in the year when members of the female sex are allowed to gather fish

and shell-fish on the shore, seem to hint that the fishing rites conducted on this day may also have some complex relations with other customs concerned with this fete day, a point which still requires further study.

Rites connected with open-sea fishing. With the development of power-driven fishing vessels, an increasing number went farther out to sea and as a result there came to be less uniformity in the opening days for the fishing season. Vessels, depending on size and usage, left port at different times, so that rites came to be conducted for the departure of each vessel. Even those rites which had formerly been conducted as a village affair on a certain set date, gradually came to be held on differing days according to the convenience of the captains of the vessels and the owners of the fishing nets.

Rites held at New Year. However, it cannot be said that the changes occurred from this one reason alone. In older days, the ritual in which the contract was made between the captain and his crew before the presence of the god *Ebisu*, was held, not immediately prior to the departure of the vessel at the beginning of the fishing season, but at New Year's. In most cases, it was performed as one of the *shigoto-hajime* (first work of the year) rites on the second day of the new year; in the fishing occupation it took the form of *funadama-matsuri* (festival of the vessel-spirit) on January 2nd, or the *chō-tsuzuri-iwai* (festival at the time the new books for the year are started) on January 11th.

In the Seto Inland Sea area, where sea-bream-fishing is the main occupation, the master of a fishing-vessel placed the big float which was used in the center of his fish-net, in the place of honor in the center of the *tokonoma* alcove at New Year. Then, gathering together the fishing crew he was going to use that year, he held a drinking party as the symbol of the contract binding them, and also determined the duties of each member of the crew.

In Omaezaki of Shizuoka, a very similar ritual was observed at New Year, with the *funadama-sama* (god of vessels) being feted. This ceremony was called *kubi-*

kukuri-nomi. Other rituals of a like nature also existed at other sites throughout the nation.

However, as sea-bream fishing and bonito-fishing developed to the point where one master might have as many as 30 to 50 men working under him, it became necessary to recruit the crew from outside the village too, the number of men available in the village not being sufficient. In this case, it became inconvenient to hold the ceremonial rites at New Year as in previous ages, because this would necessitate the crew-members hired in other villages to come a long way to attend the rites at New Year, when the actual work did not start until April or May. Due to this situation, the rites gradually came to be conducted immediately prior to the beginning of the fishing season; or, in some cases, a limited rite including only the village crew-members would be held at New Year, with another full rite being held later at the time of the opening of the season.

This trend was already to be seen before the development of the motor-run vessels. However, on the other hand, it must be remembered that even when the contract-rites were still held at the new year season, another separate rite was celebrated at the time of the beginning of the season. For instance, in Kagoshima and Miyazaki prefectures, it was the custom for an unblemished youth to be chosen from among the villagers. This youth dove to the bottom of the sea and brought up a stone, which was then feted as representing the god *Ebisu*. In the Inland Sea region and Niigata Prefecture, when the villagers worked together to make a huge fish-net, drinking rites were held at various stages in the work. And when the net was completed, the huge float for the center of the net was feted as the symbol of the god *Ebisu*, and a celebration was held, this marking the invocation rites at the beginning of the net-fishing season.

Memorial services for fish, and celebration for a good catch. Together with rites for celebrating a good catch of fish, memorial services for fish were often held. There are even instances when memorial

stones were set up to the spirits of the fish, after a particularly large haul had been made when great schools of bonito, tuna, porpoise or grey mullets came near shore and were caught in one great sweep. In whaling villages, there are memorials and mortuary tablets for whales. At Chūdō-ji Temple in Murotozaki village in Kōchi Prefecture, there are still preserved several such mortuary tablets. From the inscriptions on the back of these tablets, it can be seen that whenever the total reached 1,000 in the number of whales caught, or whenever a mother whale with a still unborn offspring was caught, special memorial services were held.

There were cases such as the above, in which the services and memorial tablets were for one type of fish alone. But in cases of smaller fish, a general memorial service was conducted at the time of the *ura-matsuri* (bay festival) in some of the fishing villages, with priests being taken out to sea in boats to offer prayers. However, this latter case, with its touch of Buddhism, was less common than the former. The former type of services was generally held, not after each haul, but whenever the total haul reached such a number as 1,000 or 10,000, the rites being called *senbiki-iwai* (celebration on the 1,000th catch) in the case of hunting, *senbon-matsuri* in the case of salmon, *man-kuyō* (services for 10,000) in the case of the bonito and the tuna. At times of great hauls, similar fetes called *sen-goshi* (over 1,000) or *man-goshi* (over 10,000) were held, in which the nature of memorial service was not so much to be seen as the spirit of celebration. Even so, at these *sen-goshi* and *man-goshi* fetes, rites were conducted to the *Ebisu* god, and also to the *uji-gami* (village god) and the *Ryūjin* (dragon-god).

The celebration for a good haul was also known sometimes by the name of *man-iwai*. On the other hand, when a bad season continued, a *man-naoshi* drinking fete was held to invoke better luck. When these latter two terms are considered, it may be said that *man* did not originally stand for the figure 10,000, but was the old word for 'fortune'.

As it was believed that all living creatures, whether fish, bird or beast, possessed spirits, and that man might be reborn as beast or beast as man, it was only natural that the men of the ancient age felt the necessity of conducting rites to appease the spirits of whatever they slew in hunting or fishing. Hence, although some of the memorial rites now possess distinctly Buddhist characteristics today, it may be surmised that they had their origin far before the influence of Buddhism, and that the Buddhist elements entered the rites at a later date.

Funadama-sama and Funa-oroshi. As seen from the afore-mentioned rites, the fisherfolk worshiped *Ebisu* as the guardian god of their occupation. Aside from this, they also worshiped the *funadama-sama*, this belief retaining its influence until fairly recent times. The *funadama-sama* is the spirit of vessels, and it was believed to be a goddess. Consequently, if the master of a vessel dreams that he saw a woman walking off his ship, he worries for fear that the goddess has left his vessel, that leaving it a ship without a soul.

The goddess is said to notify the master of the ship at times when a big haul is near at hand, or warn when a storm draws by, by making a noise like the tinkling of a bell within the vessel, with all fisherfolk believing in this miracle. When bad luck has continued, there is the custom of 'changing' the *funadama-sama* of the boat.

As for the symbol representing this *funadama-sama*, this was inserted by the ship's builder after the ship's completion and before the launching. The builder entered the boat entirely alone and in secret, inserted the symbolic form, generally at the center of the boat where the main mast stands. In the case of small boats, the symbol of the goddess consisted merely of XX marks cut into the wood by the builder's chisel. Sometimes the ritual was simplified to just striking the spot three times with his chisel or hammer. But in the case of larger vessels, strands of a woman's hair, a doll, 2 dice cubes, 12 *mon* in coins, grains or other such items were inserted to represent the goddess.

As for rites conducted in connection with the construction of the fishing vessels, there was the *chō-nada-tate* held at the time of the beginning of the work, followed by the *kawarazue* rites when the slate used for the bottom of the vessel was assembled at a certain site, and the *nakadana-iwai* and others in which the ship carpenters were feasted with wine. But the final fete called *funa-oroshi*, held at the time of the completion of the vessel, was one of much greater scope, with gifts celebrating the event being sent to the workers by all relatives and friends, and the festival being conducted in great style.

At the *funa-oroshi* feast, the ship's carpenters were given the seats of honor, and their friends and relatives were all invited to the drinking party, this forming the first part of the ceremony. The insertion of the *funadama-sama* into the boat by the ship builder, and the launching made up the other parts of the ceremony. For the launching, a Shintō priest, or the wife or daughter of the builder entered the ship and made offerings to the spirit of the vessel, after which the ship was launched with all the guests aboard. The ship circled over

the water three times and then made its maiden trip to a nearby dragon-god shrine or kompira shrine to make offerings of sacred wine there.

There is also a custom in some places, where a new vessel in the course of its circling, is purposely shaken around roughly, in some cases even upsetting the boat, this being called *kokera-otoshi*. At such times, it is customary to toss the head boatman into the sea, or to dowse him with sea water. This custom of tipping the boat was for the purpose of tossing off the *yama-no-kami* (god of the mountain) that might still be hanging on to the timber used for the construction of the vessel.

In Japan, there are still regions where the ship-building is done in one continuous process from the first cutting of the tree to the launching of the boat. In such cases, although a thorough study has yet to be made concerning this point, it is thought quite likely that some similar rites for 'tossing out the god of the mountain' must be conducted at some phase or other during the course of the construction, and before the launching.

XXVIII SPORTS

Sports in Japan can be divided into the traditional and the modern. The former are those that have been popular in this

country from ancient times and modern sports are those that have come into vogue only in the past 50 years.

Traditional Sports

Sumō

One of the oldest in Japan is *sumō* or Japanese wrestling. Along with baseball, it is the most popular in this country, and both young and old are patrons of the sport.

The oldest legend concerning the origin of *sumō* says that two gods, *Takeno Mikazuchi no Kami* and *Takeno Minakata Nushi no Kami* grappled with each other to decide who should be the ruler of a province in Izumo, now Shimane Prefecture.

But according to recorded history, the first *sumō* match is listed as having been performed before Emperor Suinin (A.D. 200) by *Nominosukune* and *Taimanokehaya* (Taima of the quick kick). *Nominosukune* is said to have kicked *Taimanokehaya* to death in this match.

Since there was no official ring or rules for the gladiators, their only object was to liquidate their opponents by either punching, kicking or throwing.

However, from the reign of Emperor Shōmu (A.D. 724-748) up to the Heian Era, wrestling was made a part of the court ceremonies and giant athletes from all part of the country were conscripted for the event.

With the rise of the shogunate (A.D. 1190), *sumō* was studied and practised by warriors as an art to be utilized in hand-to-hand fights on the battleground.

During the so-called Sengoku Era (Age of civil War) *sumō* really became established as a professional sport when a group of wrestlers organized themselves into a group and started performing for money.

It was during the Tokugawa Era which started in the 15th century that *sumō* became popular among both the *samurai* as well as the proletarian classes.

Today, the Japan Sumō Federation controls all professional *sumō* matches in Japan and holds tournaments throughout the country.

Sumō matches are held in a ring of sand under certain regulations. The wrestlers wear only *mawashi* (a type of loin cloth) around their waists. Victory is decided when either one of the contestants shoves his adversary out of the ring or any part of the body of an opponent (except the sole of his feet) touches the ground. There is an umpire called the *gyōji* who declares the winner. The wrestlers use some 48 throws and pushes to defeat their opponents.

All professional *sumō* wrestlers are under the wing of the Japan Sumō Association (not to be mistaken with the Japan Sumō Federation). There are several ranks among the wrestlers. The highest is that of *Yokozuna* (grand champion), followed by *Ōzeki* (champion), *Sekiwake*, *Komusubi*, and *Maegashira*.

Grand tournaments are held five times a year and the ranks of the wrestlers are fixed according to their showings in these matches. The matches are broadcast and televised.

Jūdō

The technique of *karate* which was used for fighting, had been known in Japan from ancient times. From this, developed *sumō* and *jūjutsu*, *jūjutsu* became a real art of self-defense during the Tokugawa Era and was popular among the *samurai* and proletarian classes. A great number of *jūjutsu* schools sprang up throughout the nation and tried their best in outdoing the other.

With the advent of the Meiji Era, however, *jūjutsu* lost its popularity among the masses. It was here that Kanō Jigorō appears on the scene. Since boyhood, Kanō had studied the various schools of *jūjutsu* which had been forsaken by the people. In 1882 he established what is known today as the *Kōdōkan Jūdō* which is composed of all the better parts of *jūjutsu*. Kanō, therefore can be said to be the father of modern Japanese *jūdō*.

Jūdō saw a rapid dissemination throughout the country after that and it even be-

came a compulsory subject in the curricula of Japanese schools.

With Japan's defeat in World War II, however, *jūdō* fever slumped temporarily, but with the establishment of the All Japan Jūdō Federation, *jūdō* as a sport came into the limelight again. *Jūdō* not only became tremendously popular in the country but an increasing number of followers of this subtle art of self defense were seen abroad. This was climaxed by the organizing of the International Jūdō Federation in 1952 which had its headquarters in the *Kōdōkan* of Japan.

The types of holds and throws used in *jūdō* are many. If we are to divide them roughly they consist of (1) throwing an opponent by using hands, feet and waist, (2) pinning him down, (3) catching him by the joints, (4) choking him by the neck and (5) hitting him in the vital organs. This last form of attack is not allowed in actual matches because of the danger it involves.

One chief referee and two assistants preside over *jūdō* matches. A fall is pronounced when one of the men either (1) throws his adversary to the floor, (2) lifts him above his shoulders, (3) pins him down until he says quits, or (4) pins him down for a duration of 30 seconds.

If there is no fall, the man proving the most aggressive is awarded a decision victory. A draw is called when the two men are equal.

Jūdō also has its ranks ranging from the first grade up to the 10th grade according to their ability.

Kendō (Japanese-style fencing)

Kendō or Japanese fencing is an entirely original Japanese sport. It is believed to date back to the primitive ages. According to the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*, two of the oldest documents existing in Japan, *kendō* was called *tachikaki* in ancient times. But during the Nara Era (710 A.D.) the name changed to *tachiuchi*.

During the Ashikaga Era (1340-1540), *kendō* became really organized and various schools sprang up throughout the country

engaged in chiefly by the *samurai* and was one of the most important of the military arts. *Kendō* as practised during this period was rather dull because it was so-called *kata-kenjutsu* or fencing that did not have much action with more stress on form.

However, around the middle of the Tokugawa Era (from 1700), bamboo swords called *shinai* and bamboo and cloth armors called *bōgu* was created which made *kendō* a much more lively sport. It was called *kenjutsu* or *kengeki*, during those days. This was revised to its modern name of *kendō* during the latter part of the Meiji Era, and adopted as a compulsory subject in Japanese schools.

Kendō today is very popular throughout the country and the All Japan *Kendō* Federation is the main body which controls this sport.

The equipment of a *kendō* fencer are (1) a bamboo sword about 3 ft. 8 in. long, (2) a fencing mask, (3) body armor made of bamboo, (4) thick paddings for the loins, and (5) thick gloves to protect the hands. A point is given to the fencer who makes a clean hit on the head, body, hand, or throat of his adversary. If he makes two points, he is declared the winner. *Kendō* also has its ranks, the highest being *Hanshi* followed by *Kyōshi* and *Renshi*.

Kendō was prohibited by the Occupation Forces after the war, but in 1951 the ban was revoked and *kendō* was again taken up by secondary schools. An organization called the All Japan Shinai (bamboo sword) Kyōgi Federation was formed which played a great role in popularizing this sport in the country.

Archery

The development of archery also dates back to ancient times, first as a necessary tool for hunting and fishing and later as a military art. The warriors of Japan practised archery extensively.

During the Muromachi Era (around 1380), many schools were created by famous archers in the country. Two of the most famous were the Ogasawara School and the Hioki School.

The *samurai* indulged in such archery exhibitions as *yabusame*, *inuomono*, *kasagake*, *ōmato*, and *komato*. But in 1543, bows and arrows lost their effectiveness as weapons due to the introduction of firearms. After that, archery was practised only as a form of amusement and for bodily exercises as well as during ceremonies.

Archery today, is a recreational sport engaged in by both young and old. The Japan Archery Federation is the center of this sport in Japan.

Both individual and team matches are held. In the individual contest, the archers are allowed to shoot ten arrows two times. The total of arrows hitting the mark is considered when the final decision is made. Team contests are held in a similar fashion, the aggregate number of arrows hitting the mark by each member of the team being the basis for the final decision.

Naginata (halbert)

The art of *naginata* was first developed during the middle of the Muromachi Era (around 1460). Later the blade part of the *naginata* was made much broader and a sharp iron piece was attached to the end of the handle in order to pierce an opponent. After spears came into vogue on the battlefields, the *naginata* became a weapon wielded wholly by women.

During the Tokugawa Era (around 1700) the *naginata* practically lost its significance as a weapon and was used as one of the tools to be brought by a bride to the house of her bridegroom. In other words, a bride brought a halbert with her when she got married.

During the Meiji Era (after 1891), the art of *naginata* was utilized as a sport to build up the spiritual and physical morale of young girls. It was practised extensively in girls' high schools.

After the war, *naginata* was almost completely discouraged but recently, the All Japan Naginata Federation was created and this art is slowly becoming popular today among girls.

Karate

Karate was first imported from the Ryūkyū Islands in the beginning of the Tokugawa Era (around 1610). Because the Shimazu clan which had control of the Ryūkyūs at that time did not allow the people in the islands to wear swords, the Ryūkyūans improved upon *karate* and developed it into a formidable bare-handed weapon.

Karate involves jabbing, hitting and kicking at the vulnerable parts of the human body. *Karate* is so destructive that it is practised without any opponent. A *karate* user strengthens his blows and kicks by practising on tiles boards, and other hard objects.

Karate originally was an art of self defense like *jūdō* but later its merit as a body and morale builder was recognized and today many students engage in this sport.

Ancient Japanese swimming

Swimming in ancient Japan was first developed as a military art. Particularly from 1600 when the feudal system was firmly established, swimming was taken up by all the *daimyō* in the land as one of the military arts. Swimming was taught at the schools of various clans and each had their own characteristics. The most prominent were the four following schools of swimming: The Kobori School of swimming in Kyūshū, the Shinden School in Chūgoku, the Kankai School in Chūbu and the Suifu School in Kantō.

Modern Sports

Track and field

The first track and field meet in Japan was held in 1883 at Tokyo University on

the advice of F.W. Strange, a Britisher. All departments in the university participated in this meet which served to lay the foundation of this sport in Japan.

In 1885, the second track and field meet was held by the same university and in 1890, a third largest and official meet was held. The participants were all students but later with the development of track and field in this country, youths other than students took part in the sport.

In 1911, the Dai Nippon Physical Education Association was established and a track and field meet was held at Haneda to pick a Japanese delegation to the Olympics. The following year, 1912, a two-men delegation represented Japan in the Fifth Olympics Games held at Stockholm. The athletes were Mishima Yahiko and Kanaguri Shizō. This was the first time that Japan sent athletes to the Olympic Games.

The Meiji Shrine Track and Field Stadium was constructed in 1924, and the first "Meiji Shrine National Athletic Games" were held sponsored by the then Home Ministry. The following year, 1925, the Japan Track and Field Federation was created.

The first Japanese athlete to win a prize in the Olympic Games was Oda Mikio. In the 8th Olympic Games, staged at Paris in 1924, Oda placed within the six best in the hop, step and jump event. In the following 9th Olympiad held at Amsterdam, Oda finally won this event and contributed much in popularizing track and field in Japan.

In the 10th Olympic Games held at Los Angeles, a big delegation of 26 Japanese men and 9 women participated. Nambu Chūhei of Japan won first place in the hop, step and jump while 10 Japanese athletes managed to place in the first six in six individual events. Also 2 Japanese relay teams managed to place.

Japan sent a big delegation consisting of 40 men and 8 women to the 11th Olympic Games held at Berlin in 1936. Here again a Japanese athlete, Tajima Naoto, captured first place in the hop, step and jump while some 12 male athletes placed among the best six in six individual track and field events. In women's events, 3 Japanese girls placed among the best 6.

World War II, however, made it impossible to hold the 12th Olympiad and in Japan, the Track and Field Federation was forced to change its name and youths made

to engage in military drills instead of athletics. In 1942, the use of spike shoes was prohibited and from then on up to the termination of the war, Japan was to see a big blank period so far as track and field was concerned.

It was not until 1946, the year after the termination of the war, that Japanese track and field activities began to stand on its feet again. A national sports festival was held at Kyoto which had been spared from war damage and the Japanese Track and Field Federation also was reactivated and decided to hold annual track and field meets.

At the first Asian Games held at New Delhi, India in 1951, Japanese athletes dominated the meet. A total of 11 track and field events was won by Japanese male athletes while all the women's events were captured by Japanese girls.

A young 19-year-old Japanese marathon runner, Tanaka Shigeki, won the 59th Boston Marathon race also in 1951.

In August of the same year, Japan invited an American track and field team which stimulated Japanese athletes to such a great extent that many Japanese national records were broken, particularly in the middle distances.

However, Japanese track and field was still far behind that of other countries. This is illustrated by the fact that only three Japanese athletes (one girl and two men) managed to place in the first six places in three events during the 15th Olympiad held in Helsinki in 1952.

Japan fared even worse in the 1956 Melbourne Olympics. A large Japanese track and field delegation was sent to Australia but the only one who placed was marathoner, Kawashima Yoshiaki, who was 5th in this event.

Swimming and boating

Swimming in the modern sense of the word as well as water polo, diving, yachting and boat races were first introduced into this country by the Yokohama Amateur Rowing Club (YARC) composed of members of the foreign community in Yokohama.

The first swimming contest in Japan was held in 1898 between Japanese swimmers and members of the YARC. With the establishment of the Dai Nippon Physical Education Association in 1911, the first national swimming meet was held that year.

Japan sent its first swimming team to the Antwerp Olympics in 1920. Japanese breastroker, Tsuruta, was the first Japanese to win the Olympic swimming medal in the Amsterdam Olympic Games held in 1928. He won the 200 meters breaststroke event.

In the following Olympic Games held at Los Angeles in 1932, the Japanese swimming squad made a practically clean sweep of all swimming events. Japanese swimmers won gold medals in five events, proving that Japan had at last emerged as a powerful swimming nation.

In the Berlin Olympics of 1936, Japanese swimmers garnered four first places (three men's event and one women's event). The lone victory in the women's event was won by Maehata Hideko in the 200 meters breaststroke.

Japan, however, failed to win any top honors at the Helsinki Olympics in 1952.

Japan's swimming team fared better in the 1956 Melbourne Olympics. Furukawa Masaru and Yoshimura Masahiro placed 1st and 2nd in the 200 meters breaststroke and Ishimoto Takashi won 2nd place in the 200 meters butterfly event. Young 19-year-old Yamanaka Tsuyoshi churned his way to two second places in the 400 meters and 1,500 meters freestyle events. His times in the two events, together with those of the victor, Murray Rose of Australia, were new Olympic records.

Diving was introduced to the Japanese by the foreigners in the Yokohama Amateur Rowing Club during the Meiji Era. It became popular around 1924 when Keiō University, the YMCA and Tokyo University took up this sport seriously. A National Diving Championship Tournament was held in 1925 at the Tamagawa Pool in Tokyo, the first diving contest to be held in this country.

Japan sent only one diver to the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics but in the next Los Angeles games, two men and a girl repre-

sented this country in springboard and platform diving. Japan's Kobayashi took sixth place in springboard diving.

Japan was represented by four divers (two men and two girls) in the 1936 Berlin Olympics. Shibahara placed 4th in the men's springboard diving while Ozawa Reiko also took 4th place in the women's high diving event. The other two also managed to place 5th and 6th.

Two Japanese divers (a man and a girl) participated in the Helsinki Olympics of 1952 but both failed to place.

Diving facilities in this country are very few and scattered so that dissemination of this sport is rather difficult.

The first water polo match in this country was performed between the Kobe Rowing Athletic Club (KRAC) and the YARC of Yokohama in 1898. In 1915, a match between the YARC and Keiō University was played. This was the first foreigner vs. Japanese water polo contest. Keiō and YARC continued to play against each other every year, but it was not until 1923 that Keiō scored its first victory over the YARC team.

Japanese water polo teams were sent for the first time to the Los Angeles Olympics. Japan also sent a squad to the Berlin Olympics in 1936.

Although water polo in this country is gradually becoming popular, the number of teams is still small.

The first boat club was organized among the foreigners in Yokohama during the early days of the Meiji Era and boat races were introduced into Japan. This club later became the YARC. The first Japanese boat club was established by the *Dai-gaku-Nankō* predecessor of the present Tokyo University in 1877.

In 1883, the first boat race between Japanese teams was held with Tokyo University and Tokyo Higher Normal School competing. In 1920, the Japan Rowing Association was formed and all-Japan rowing championships have been held every year except 1944 during the war.

Japan sent its first rowing crew to the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics. Japanese crews were also represented in the Los Angeles and Berlin Olympic Games.

In regard to yachting in Japan, the Japan Yachting Association was formed in 1932 and the first all-Japan championship races were held that year. Since then, the races have been held every year except the war years of 1944 and 1945. Japan's first yacht crew of two men was sent to Berlin Olympics in 1936. Only one Japanese was sent to Helsinki to participate in this event in 1952.

The total participants in all-Japan yachting races are about 300 men in the mono-type event and 600 in the snipe event.

Lawn tennis

Tennis was first introduced to Japan in 1878 by the American, G.E. Leland, who was invited to teach gymnastics in this country. However, the difficulty of importing rackets and tennis balls made it inevitable for the Japanese to use soft rubber balls instead. This type of ball was used by students of normal schools. The game proved very popular among the students and when they finished school and went out to teach throughout the country, they also took tennis with them.

From around 1894, many schools began taking up this sport including Tokyo Higher Commercial School (present Hitotsubashi University), Waseda, Keiō and others. By 1910, tennis practically dominated all other sports in Japanese schools. In 1913, Keiō University abolished the playing of tennis with soft rubber balls and adopted the official hard rubber balls. Other schools soon followed suit. Today, both hard and soft ball tennis are being played in this country by hundreds of thousands of enthusiasts.

Soccer

Soccer was introduced to Japan around 1878. However, there already existed in Japan a kind of game similar to soccer called *kemari* or kicking the ball. This *kemari* was introduced to Japan from China by way of Korea. From four to eight players usually engaged in this game. It was pretty popular till around the Edo Era

but died out with the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

It was not until 1897 that modern soccer was first played at the Tokyo Higher Normal School. Since then, practically all normal schools and middle schools in Japan have taken up this sport.

The Dai Nippon Soccer Association was formed in 1922. The Japanese soccer team sent to the Berlin Olympics of 1936 scored a victory over the Swedish team which had been touted as one of the favorites to win this event. The score was 3 to 2. Further back in 1924, a Japanese team defeated a strong British team in Japan. The Corinthian soccer squad which was considered one of the strongest amateur teams in the British Isles was defeated by a score of 4 to 0 by a picked Japanese team.

However, the blank brought about by the war considerably lowered the standard of Japanese soccer teams. In the First Asian Games held in 1951 in New Delhi, the Japanese soccer team placed third after India and Iran.

There are at present 2,000 teams under the wings of the Soccer Association—some 40 times as many as when the association was first formed.

Rugby

The first school in Japan to take up rugby was Keiō University. It was introduced by a certain Prof. Clark teaching at the school who had been a rugby team member during his college days at Cambridge. There were no other team in existence at that time the Keiō students had to play against themselves.

In 1901, however, the Keiō team played its first game with the Yokohama foreigners club. It lost by the score of 32 to 5.

In 1910, the Third Higher School in Kyoto took up this sport and in the following year, Dōshisha University also followed suit.

Rugby spread rapidly after that to practically all schools above the middle school level and finally in 1928, the Japan Rugby Association was established.

Numerous trips abroad by Japanese rugby teams were made. Keiō went to Shanghai in 1922, Waseda to Australia in 1927, Meiji University to Shanghai the same year, an all Japan team to Canada in 1930, another trip to Canada in 1932, to Australia in 1934 and to New Zealand in 1936.

Rugby was continued even through the war years as a sport aimed at building up the physical fitness of young students. Therefore, it did not suffer a blank period like some other sports.

After the war, a stadium exclusively for rugby games was constructed in Tokyo and in 1952 and 1953, rugby teams from Oxford and Cambridge were invited to Japan.

At present there are about 2,000 teams registered with the Japan Rugby Association.

Table tennis

Table tennis was introduced to Japan by a certain Tsuboi Gendō who brought home some pingpong bats and balls after his study overseas in 1902. This sport took the fancy of the Japanese and was disseminated rapidly throughout the country, particularly in schools.

The Dai Nippon Table Tennis Society was formed in 1921 and in 1928, two famous Hungarian pingpong stars were invited to play in Japan. Japanese players managed to beat these two Hungarian aces.

Two years before that in 1926, an international pingpong tournament was held in Japan among British, Australian and Japanese players. Japan won the team championship. It was as far back as these years that Japan had already established her superiority in the field.

The most astounding record, however, was compiled after the war. Both the Japanese men and women pingpong teams were victorious in the 19th and the 21st World Table Tennis Championships held at Bombay (1952) and London (1954) respectively.

Japan invited the British ace, Johnny Leach, in 1953 and also participated in the Asian Table Tennis Championships held at Singapore the same year.

Japanese men paddlers again captured the team trophy in the 22nd World Championships held at Utrecht in 1955. Tanaka Toshiaki was crowned men's individual champion of the world at this tournament. He was the third Japanese to gain this honor, succeeding Ogimura and Satō.

The long anticipated 23rd World Table Tennis Championship Tournament was held in Tokyo in April, 1956. Here again the Japanese men team copped first honors. Some 22 countries and 173 pingpong players participated in the Tokyo meet which was a tremendous success.

In the individual matches, both the men's and the women's contests were won by Japanese players—Ogimura and Ōkawa.

The climax came in the 24th Championships held at Stockholm. Japanese pingpong swingers garnered five events—the men's team championship, women's team, men's individual, women's individual and the mixed matches.

Volleyball

This sport was introduced to Japan in 1914 by an American called Brown. In the 6th Far Eastern Games held in 1923, a Japanese women's volleyball team defeated a Chinese squad. During the 2nd Meiji Jingu Games held in 1925, the first official volleyball regulations were decided and the team number fixed at nine.

After the war, volleyball became popular not only in schools but also among workers in factories and companies. It is now considered a good recreational sport in this country.

Basketball

It was the same Brown, who introduced volleyball to the Japanese, that brought basketball into this country in 1914. It was played chiefly at the Y.M.C.A. in Tokyo but later became popular among schools and companies.

An American all-star team was invited to play with Japanese quintets in 1935 and the following year, the Japanese basketball team managed to place third in the Berlin Olympics.

A Canadian team came to Japan in 1939 and played against Japanese teams, but the picked Japanese team succeeded in beating the Canadian squad.

During World War II, basketball, like most of the others sports, was forced to be discontinued, but after the war, it again became very popular.

Handball

Handball was introduced to Japan rather recently. In 1922, Prof. Otani Takeichi of the Tokyo Higher Normal School introduced this sport to the Japanese.

The sport proved popular in schools and in 1937 on the occasion of the 9th Meiji Shrine Games an all-Japan handball championship tournament was held for the first time.

The Japan Handball Association was established in 1938 and it became a member of the International Handball Federation.

Baseball

Rubber Baseball

Rubber baseball is distinctly Japanese in origin. It is said that a group of primary school teacher in Kyoto bought some sponge balls and taught their pupils how to play with it. This was around 1918.

Today, it is tremendously popular among practically all classes of people in this country. Rubber baseball does not call for the varied techniques of horsehide or hard baseball, but it has more changes in play than soft indoor baseball.

Horsehide Baseball

Non-professional baseball

It was in 1873 that the regulation (horsehide) baseball game was introduced to Japan from the United States. At first the game was played without gloves.

The First Higher School in Tokyo was the first in Japan to establish a baseball club around 1893. Baseball saw a tremendous boost in popularity with the holding

of the Far Eastern games after 1912 as well as the arrival of American baseball nines.

The *Asahi Shimbun* sponsored its first "All Japan Middle School Baseball Championship Tournament" in 1929, and by the time the 35th tournament was held in 1953, there were more than 1,700 high schools teams competing in the tournament.

At present, baseball can be said to be the most popular sport in Japan with hundreds of thousands of students and workers enjoying the game. Among the most exciting games to be seen are the Tokyo Six University League games, the Kansai Six University League games and the inter-city non-professional ball games.

Professional baseball

Professional baseball is the king of all professional sports in Japan.

The first pro-ball team in this country was the Tokyo Yomiuri Giants which was established in 1934. This was followed by the Osaka Tigers which was founded the following year. In 1936, the Japan Professional Baseball Federation was formed with seven teams. However, with the outbreak of World War II, professional baseball games were forced to be discontinued.

However, in 1946, the year after the end of the war, a new "Japan Baseball Federation" was organized and pro-ball saw its second start.

Interest was increased further with the arrival of the San Francisco Seals in 1949. Furthermore, another league was added to the lone league existing then and the Pacific and Central leagues came into being in 1950. The Central League now has six member teams and the Pacific has six. The former plays about 390 games in one season and the latter 560. About 10 per cent of the entire population of Japan or 9,000,000 fans view professional baseball games every year.

Women's professional baseball teams have also been organized and a Women's Baseball Federation formed.

Among other professional sports that are popular in Japan are bicycle and horse racing.

Wrestling

Wrestling made its debut in 1931 when Waseda University took up the sport. Japan's wrestling team became famous during the Helsinki Olympic Games where it made a fine showing against the best in the world.

There are two types of wrestling, the Greco-Roman and the freestyle, but Japan has adopted the latter style.

Two gold medals were captured by Japanese wrestlers in the Melbourne Olympics of 1956. They were Sasahara Shōzō in the featherweight class and Ikeda Mitsuo in the welterweight division. Flyweight Asai Tadashi and middleweight Katsuramoto Kazuo placed 4th and 5th respectively in their groups while Kasahara Shigeru, a lightweight placed second in his division.

Boxing

Boxing was introduced to Japan in 1921 and was first adopted by Keiō and Meiji universities. However, in 1927, the Japan Amateur Boxing Association was established and in the 1928, two Japanese boxers were sent to the Amsterdam Olympics.

Three Japanese boxers participated in the Melbourne Olympics. Flyweight Yonekura Kenji placed 4th, featherweight Suzuki Shinichirō also 4th and Ishimaru Toshito 5th in their respective divisions.

Professional boxing also is very popular in Japan. Shirai Yoshio captured the world's flyweight crown from Dado Marino of Honolulu in 1952 and defended his title four times before he was defeated by Pascual Perez of Argentina in 1954.

Another outstanding Japanese pugilist is Kaneda Shigeji, the present holder of the Orient featherweight diadem.

Weightlifting

Weightlifting was first introduced to Japan by Kanō Jigorō the father of Japanese *jūdō*. He brought it in from Austria in 1922.

The Japan Weightlifting Association was formed in 1934 and has concentrated its efforts in the dissemination of the sport.

Japanese muscle men in the Melbourne Olympics gained three places—Onuma Kenji 4th, Shiratori Hiroyoshi 5th and Nambu Yoshio 6th in their respective divisions.

Rifle Shooting

The first firearm was introduced to Japan by the Portuguese in 1543 at Tanegashima Island, south of Kagoshima. Soon, the various feudal clans in the country began to adopt the weapon and each set up its own school.

In the 1956 Melbourne Olympics, Kosaka Chōji placed 4th in the free pistol shooting event.

Skiing

Skiing is said to have first been introduced to Japan in 1895. The first time that Japanese skiers took part in an international skiing event was in 1928 at the international student's tournament held at Cortina d'Ampezzo in Italy as well as the 2nd Winter Olympics held at St. Moritz in Switzerland.

In the 1956 Winter Olympics held at Cortina d'Ampezzo, Igaya Chiharu, "Chick" placed 2nd in the slalom event and became the first Japanese skier to hoist the rising sun flag.

Ice Skating

It is said the ice skating was first taken up in Japan by the Sapporo Agricultural School (forerunner of the present Hokkaidō University), in 1877.

Japan participated in the 3rd Winter Olympics held at Lake Placid, U.S. for the first time.

Ice Hockey

The first ice hockey game to be played in Japan was in 1923. Japan's ice hockey team participated for the first time in the Winter Olympics held in Germany.

XXIX RECREATION AND AMUSEMENT

Introduction

The most noteworthy characteristic of recreation and amusement in Japan is that they are closely related to nature. There are many forms of recreation in this country connected, directly or indirectly, with the appreciation of natural beauty and seasonal changes in the landscape.

It is of great interest to us to seek the reason for this tendency, since it will help in understanding better the life and tastes of the Japanese people. One will readily notice, as one of the basic reasons, that the Japanese are endowed with scenic beauty unrivaled in the world. (See chapter on Sight-Seeing). Natural scenery in Japan differs markedly with the changes in the seasons and yet the landscape takes on its varied hues in a most delicate manner. The high humidity in summer induces a wide variety of plants to flourish verdantly over the country and equally wide variety of fishes and insects to breed and multiply, filling the meadows and rivers with their cheerful chirps and graceful figures. One never tires of this ever-changing natural surrounding. It is no wonder, therefore, that people born and bred in such environment should grow up to be naturelovers.

Unlike nomads who wander from place to place in search of grazing ground for their cattle, the farm folks who settle down in a fixed place to till the soil, to grow crops and

to raise animals, become deeply attached to the land on which they live. Belonging to this latter group, the Japanese harbor no antagonism, but rather, their attitude toward nature is based on intimate sentiment. It is a well-known fact that Japan suffers serious disasters from earthquakes and typhoons, but the people, resigned to natural calamities, immediately begin rehabilitating their beloved country without feeling any resentment against nature, which brings misfortune to them, or against their land, which is so vulnerable to such disasters. Thus, the Japanese never regard nature as an enemy but, on the contrary, consider themselves part of and closely united with her. This way of thinking constitutes the basis of the Japanese sentiment toward nature.

The natural surroundings in Japan and the Japanese sentiment toward nature based on their attitude of life are reflected vividly in the recreation and amusements enjoyed by them. For example, let us take up *moniyusan* (pleasure seeking), which has been, since olden times, one of the most favorite and representative pastimes of the Japanese. This type of recreation, which indicates clearly the nature-loving traits of the Japanese, covers a wide assortment of diversions including the viewing of natural sights, such as the cherry blossoms partici-

pation in various annual festivities, and visiting places of scenic and historical interest. Besides enjoying nature itself in the viewing of cherry blossoms in spring, of scarlet maple leaves in autumn and of snow in winter, as well as in firefly catching in summer and other annual events, the Japanese are consciously observant of the seasonal changes.

In the series of prints titled *Edo Tōto Meisho* (Places of Note in Edo) by the world-renowned woodblock artist, Andō Hiroshige (1797-1858) there are many works inspired by the *monomiyusan*. Consider, for example, the "Flower-viewing at Asukayama". It depicts small groups of men and women enjoying picnics on scarlet carpets spread under cherry trees blooming in their full splendor, some of them singing and dancing, others relishing their food and drinks packed in elegantly designed lunch boxes. It is a picture of men and women communing with nature, their hearts as one, sharing in the beauty of their surroundings. A Japanese poet of old said, "Under the cherry blossoms there are no utter strangers".

Speaking of Hiroshige, we may refer to one of his many masterpieces, *Dōkan-yama Chumon no Zu* (Listening to the Singing Insects at Dōkan-yama), which is another in the series of *Edo Tōto Meisho*. Here, 3 men are shown appreciating the songs of insects on a moonlit night, taking sips of *sake* as they sit on a straw mat spread on a hilltop commanding a beautiful view. From the bottom of the hill come three women, presumably their wives, and a girl. The former carry paper fans in their hands and the latter an insect cage which has probably been purchased from an insect vendor. The insect vendor, pulling his cart loaded with chirping crickets, fireflies and other insects, is a sight peculiar to Japanese cities in summer. This custom of keeping insects for the purpose of listening to their songs became popular during the Tokugawa Era (1603-1866) and even today it is a favorite entertainment between summer and autumn. Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904) was deeply impressed by the fact that such a divertissement was not restricted to the intelligentsia but enjoyed equally by the

common people. It may be said that many of the pastimes enjoyed by the Japanese are tinged with poetic flavor.

Another good example of the diffusion of poetic diversions among the general public is the popularity of the *haiku* verse. Foreign tourists visiting Japanese shrines will find on the lintel of the main buildings many paintings of horses. Among these pictures they will see framed sheets of white paper on which are written poems by different authors. Many foreigners wonder who the poets are, but the fact is that, in most cases, the authors are not professional poets, but ordinary people such as farmers, merchants or low-paid clerks of the village office. The peculiarity of the traditional *haiku*, popular to this day, is that it adopts as its subject, natural objects and phenomena such as the moon, wind, flowers and birds. The traditional *haiku* is the song in praise of nature. What characterizes this form of verse is the rule of *ki* (season) by which the author is required to incorporate into his poem a word which is related to one of the four seasons of the year. Such words are called *kigo* (seasonal words) and are classified into four groups, the words in each group denoting each season. For example, the word *meigetsu* (bright moon) belongs to the group of *kigo* standing for autumn, and one can tell that a *haiku* including the word *meigetsu* describes autumnal scenery. This rule is strictly observed by composers of the traditional *haiku*. The purpose of the rule of *ki* is to ensure close association with the appreciation of nature and also to impart a seasonal feeling to the poem. Here, again, the nature-loving traits of the Japanese are clearly observable.

Popular among the Japanese since olden times are the words *fūryū* and *fūga* (elegance, refinement). They are commonly used, in their adjectival form, in denoting the friendly and poetic attitude toward natural objects or the pursuit of such artistic tastes. Thus, the pursuit of the arts of *haiku* or *waka* is often referred to as "following the way of *fūga*".

Other amusements which arise from the Japanese affection for nature include the arts of potted dwarf trees (*bonsai*), tray

landscape, flower arrangement and tea ceremony.

The idea of dwarfing trees stems from the deep affection of the Japanese toward trees and their desire to appreciate them within the immediate environment of the home. For this purpose they cleverly cultivate on a reduced scale in a vessel, measuring perhaps one foot square, plants which give the impression of being giant sky-scraping trees, old trees growing in the forest or weather-beaten pines clinging to the edge of a sheer cliff. Growing and tending dwarfed trees require great love for plants.

When miniature scenery is placed in a container similar to that used in *bonsai*, the result is called *bonkei* (tray landscape). A familiar natural scene is reproduced in miniature to be admired. There are 2 variations of the tray landscape, namely, the *bonseki* (tray stone) and *suiseki* (water stone), in which not only the form of the stone itself but also the atmosphere symbolized by the stones are enjoyed. This again is a product of the Japanese love and eye for the insatiable stone.

Flower arrangement (*ikebana*), originated in the offering of floral tributes at the Buddhist altar. Late it spread rapidly among the general public as the practice developed into a form of art by sublimating the natural beauty of flowers, and today it is employed as an effective means of beautifying the home.

The art of tea ceremony (*chanoyu*), which has many aspects of esthetic appreciation, is significant in that it combines recreation with spiritual cultivation. The art is based on a highly-refined naturalism, upon which principle one admires and appreciates the simplicity and tranquillity of nature.

As is clear from the foregoing, the esthetic life of the Japanese is one of appreciation of beauty, and, therefore, in order to understand the Japanese tastes as reflected in the many forms of amusements and recreations mentioned above, it is necessary to find the bases of these tastes in the Japanese perception of beauty. However, since space does not allow a detailed

account of this subject, a brief explanation will be given on the Japanese sensitivity to color, which constitutes a part of Japanese esthetic awareness.

The Japanese have an established reputation for their keen sense of color. It is also a well-known fact that the Japanese color prints have been profoundly admired by European artists. They have contributed to the rise of the Impressionist School, exerted a direct influence on the style of the geniuses of the Post-Impressionist School and have affected the use of color in modern art. One of the major reasons for the Japanese color prints having such a great influence on western art is that the colors in the prints are treated in a delicate manner. The richness, brightness and clever harmony of colors in the works of Utamaro, Hokusai and Hiroshige inspired the European impressionists, most of whom started their painting career as colorists.

Similar color schemes have been used in Japanese women's clothing since ancient times. The colors are bright but never gaudy with many colors being found in one ensemble. Tasteful use of color is also an aspect of Japanese culinary art. The Japanese with esthetic sense pursue the lofty ideal of beauty from the angles of color, form and simplicity. As beauty approaches the highest level it becomes a subtle beauty represented by what is known as the *shibu* taste. The word *shibu* derives from the taste of an astringent juice and an "astringent color" means a quiet and simple color full of implication. What the Japanese truly love and respect are such "astringent" colors and beauty.

When Japanese consciousness for the beauty of *shibu* and simplicity reaches a still higher level it becomes the consciousness of the beauty of *wabi* and *sabi* (or elegant simplicity), which essentially come under the same category of beauty. This elegant simplicity manifested itself in the art of tea ceremony and later was applied to poetry as the criterion for judgment of the artistry of poems by the celebrated *haiku* poet Matsuo Bashō. The beauty of *wabi* and *sabi* is also displayed in almost all masterpieces of artistic handicrafts, in-

cluding antique pottery, which is a special favorite of the Japanese. However, this kind of beauty is not treated under any of the many categories of beauty in Western esthetics, and is peculiar to Japanese art. Therefore, it is considered that it will require a whole volume to discuss its intrinsic nature. In short, however, it may be said that such beauty is nothing but the manifestation of the beauty of simplicity and *shibu* mentioned above, or, in other words, the beauty symbolizing eternity. It may be added that the Japanese are an esthetic people who make an ideal of such beauty and rate highly the savoring of artistic creations embodying such beauty.

We have discussed above the characteristics of recreation and amusements of the Japanese from the angle of their close relationship to nature, their poetic element and the esthetic consciousness of the Japanese. In concluding the introduction to this chapter there may be pointed out a few other peculiarities characterizing the diversions enjoyed by the Japanese. As is expected to be mentioned in the paragraphs to follow, many of the pastimes followed by the Japanese require digital and mental dexterity as well as physical agility. The Japanese, who eat their meals with chopsticks, are known throughout the world for their dexterity but they are also endowed with an intuitive quick wit, *kan*, as it is called in Japan. The Japanese generally have a rich artistic sense and technique and for this reason the artistic pursuits of the Japanese lay public tend to approach the professional level. Therefore, there are countless numbers of amateur artists, photographers, poets, singers, flower growers, chess players whose achievements put professionals to shame. It seems that the distinction between amateurs and professionals is not clear in Japan.

Another point which should be noted is that there are quite a number of amuse-

ments which have come to be enjoyed as an annual event. In Japan the faiths of Shintōism and Buddhism have been practised side by side since centuries ago. Besides these there are miscellaneous folklore beliefs as mentioned in Chapter 9 on annual events. This fact accounts for the many religious festivals in this country. Being somewhat indifferent to formal religious dogma, the Japanese public have a knack of enjoying these occasions without paying much attention to their religious significance.

Another type of recreation is that taken for the purpose of raising labor efficiency. This is called *shigoto yasumi* (literally, rest from work) and is enjoyed by farmers and workmen. This, also, is closely related to local feasts such as the *obon* and the fetes of a tutelary deity, when they suspend their work to take part in the festivities. Therefore, it is necessary to make observations from this angle, too.

In concluding this introduction, reference may be made to the present situation of recreation in Japan. As will be stated in the following paragraphs, some traditional diversions are no longer enjoyed and new ones have been introduced from foreign countries and adapted to the life of the Japanese. Further, some of the time-honored recreation have changed their forms under the influence of the newly-introduced. For instance, the *monomiyusan* mentioned previously is becoming increasingly popular, especially among the younger generation, in the form of hiking and picnics. Old and new sports to be treated in the next chapter also occupy a significant position in the recreation of the Japanese today. Most representative among them are baseball, swimming, mountain climbing and skiing. Therefore, in present-day Japan a wide variety of recreations, traditional and newly-introduced, is enjoyed.

Recreation and Amusement which Enrich the Life of the Japanese

Recreation and amusements in Japan have been closely connected with nature since olden times. Even before the Nara

Era, in the 15th and 16th centuries, the Japanese sought pleasure from the changes in the 4 seasons. The tradition has been

kept up to this day and people still enjoy the time-honored viewing of cherry blossom in spring and scarlet maple leaves in autumn, which are different essentially from the picnic or wandering enjoyed in Europe.

A strong tendency of love for nature and absorbing the natural atmosphere is seen in the tea ceremony and flower arrangements, which are closely allied to the former. Tea ceremony is more than merely drinking tea. It has evolved into a branch of art for beautifying the life of the Japanese through the achievement of tea-drinking technique and the art is widely practiced among the people.

The idea of potting dwarf trees and reproducing landscapes on trays with white sand and pebbles also rises from the love for and submission to nature. By these means nature on a miniature scale can be brought into the home and daily life. The Japanese felt that the enjoyment of viewing natural scenery in the four seasons could be made more pleasurable by incorporating the tea ceremony into it. In ancient and medieval times the pastime was enjoyed mainly by the aristocracy. But, since the 16th and 17th centuries, and especially during the Edo Period (1603-1868) when the long-lasting peace induced the elevation of living and cultural standards of the trading classes, such esthetic pursuits as the tea ceremony spread rapidly among the lower strata of society. However, even then the farming class remained isolately from esthetic life.

As cultural amusements became popular among the lower classes, they lost much of their significance as arts and came to be regarded by most as means of seeking pleasure. Some of these diversions were enjoyed not only by the wealthy tradesmen but also by their humble neighbors. While cultured hobbies such as dwarfing trees and chanting *noh* songs were indulged in by members of the landed class who were men of means, their tenants, who were making a hand-to-mouth living by peddling fish or vegetables or engaging in day labor, planned an outing to view the cherry trees in full bloom. This is a familiar scene in the

traditionally popular stories told by storytellers.

Furthermore, the urban life in the Edo Period gave birth to many forms of amusements, such as growing flowers, and keeping insects and goldfish and other living creatures in the narrow yard of the city house; various annual shrine festivals; children's kite flying in the New Year holiday season and top spinning. Fireworks which light up the evening sky with bright colors in summer also became a popular and fascinating diversion for the city folks.

Amusements requiring literary achievement include the composing of *waka* (31-syllable poem), *renga* (*waka* made up by two or more persons), *haiku* (17-syllable verse), *renku* (*haiku* made up by two or more persons), *kyōka* (comic poem), and *senryū* (satirical poem).

There were also simple word games such as *shiritori* (capping) and *kusari* (a variation of *renga*) which were popular pastimes in the peaceful life of the people of the Edo Period.

These traditional pastimes have continued to be enjoyed to this day.

Yūraku (pleasure making)

Viewing of cherry blossoms in spring, the moon in early autumn, scarlet maple leaves in late autumn and snow in winter date back to before the 8th century. Enjoying natural sights was a favorite diversion, especially among the nobility, who often sang their experience of such excursions in verse. With the popularization of the custom of enjoying nature, the excursions gradually tended to assume the nature of social functions with the natural objects and phenomena as mere pretexts for such events. This tendency is noticeable especially after the Edo Period.

In large cities and their suburbs, people representing all classes of society flocked to cherry viewing spots where they spread mats to enjoy their food and drinks. The custom is observed to this day wherever there are cherry blossoms.

Sadō (tea ceremony)

It was probably as early as in the 2nd century that tea leaves were imported into Japan from China, but the method of drinking tea by adding hot water to powdered tea as in the tea ceremony was introduced into this country during the Kamakura Era. In Japan, tea was originally used by priests and monks of the Zen sect of Buddhism and later gradually came to be favored by the upper classes of *samurai* and nobility. In the Muromachi Period, about the 15th century, *chae* (tea parties) were held among the latter classes. At these parties the guests competed against each other in discerning the taste of the tea, savored its aroma, and that of incense and admired the garden and "objects d'art" owned by the host. It was then that the etiquette of tea drinking was formulated.

Later, however, during the latter part of the Muromachi Era and the Azuchi Momoyama Era a new style of tea drinking came into existence. In contrast to the conventional style which was merely the form of drinking tea at social meetings, the new style required higher cultural standards of the drinkers. The new style was based on the theory that drinking of tea in a calm state of mind in a simple and pure environment fraught with philosophical atmosphere is an embodiment of esthetic life offering an opportunity of appreciating life itself and cultivating a refined spirit. Tea parties evolved into the tea ceremony with the formulation of rules for the structure of the tea room, the layout of the garden, the form of the utensils for tea-making, and the elaborate ritual of the tea drinking, tea ceremony or *sadō*. As is clear from the Japanese word *sadō* (meaning literally, "the way of tea") the Japanese in observing the ceremony were conscious of its philosophical significance. The tea cult was completed by the great master Sen-no Rikyū, who lived in the days of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Later, performing the tea ceremony was followed as a profession by several families who specialized in the art

and subsequently founded a number of schools, many of which exist in this day.

Although Rikyū attached greater importance to the spiritual aspect of the tea cult than its formality, it gradually degenerated into formalism and in the study of the tea ceremony today the spiritual aspect tends to be neglected and emphasis placed on its form and manners to be observed in the tea ceremony room.

Kadō (flower arrangements)

It is an old practice to admire flowers indoors by putting them in vases, but it was during the Muromachi Era that it assumed a fixed form known as *kadō*. At first, gorgeous flowers were used for decorating the hall where guests were entertained formally or for offering floral tributes at the Buddhist altar. Later, however, complicated techniques were devised to produce an artistic effect in the arrangement and the flowers employed were not restricted to beautiful ones. After the tea ceremony was developed the art of flower arrangements became revolutionized. The artificiality of the conventional style of *rikka* (upright arrangement with rigid rules) was condemned and the natural beauty of the flower came to be respected. Thus, was born the *nageire* (free style) arrangements in which the arranger was restricted by no rules but used his own creative and esthetic sense in selecting the material and flower-vase and decorating the tea room with his work. Its artistic contention is correct and highly estimated, and understood only by persons of the keenest sense of beauty.

When ordinary persons arrange flowers as a hobby or pleasure a certain formula to guide them becomes necessary. Later, to meet this necessity, a new style of arrangements, which was simpler than *rikka* but more rigid than *nageire*, was formulated.

From the Edo Period through the present day the new style branched out into several schools with many followers. Some of the modern schools have incorporated western ideas into their methods, while

others, influenced by the avant-garde tendency of modern art, attempt to produce an effect similar to that achieved by abstract sculpture by using materials other than plants in their arrangements.

Utaï

Utaï is the music chanted to the accompaniment of the classic music drama of *noh* which became an art during the Muromachi Era. When it is chanted as vocal music without the acting, it is called *su-utai* or merely *utai*. The staging of a *noh* drama requires highly trained skill since it involves music, dancing and acting and it is impossible for amateurs to take it up as a hobby. Therefore, most *noh* lovers satisfy themselves by enjoying only the music part of the drama, *yōkyoku*. Amateurs on a higher level take up the dancing, the main part of the *noh* drama, which is called *shimai* when performed in ordinary formal attire rather than in special stage costume, or sometimes they play one or more of the instruments of the *hayashi* (orchestra) such as the *kozutsumi* (shoulder drum or hand drum), *fue* (flute), *ōkawa* (flat drum), and *taiko* (cymbal).

Yōkyoku was probably treated occasionally as independent music of the plays at the early stage of development of the *noh* drama, but it was not until the Edo Period that it came to be enjoyed commonly. That *noh* was favored and encouraged by the Tokugawa Shogunate and the lords of local provinces accounts for the fact that it was performed as entertainment for the military class. With the emergence of modern society in the Meiji Period it lost favor with the Tokugawa Shogunate as in the case of the games of *go* and *shōgi*, but soon it regained popularity among the general public as its artistic value was recognized.

At present there are five schools of *noh* drama of which the Kanze school claims the largest number of students, followed by the Hōshō and Kita schools. Since the war each school has attracted great numbers of fans and supporters, even among the younger generation.

Keeping of birds, goldfish and insects

These are hobbies which arose from the urban life in the Edo Period. Although the kinds of pet birds increased with the introduction of foreign breeds after the Meiji Period, the most representative of Japanese pet birds kept since olden times is the nightingale. It requires great skill to raise nightingales and train them in singing.

Goldfish of many varieties have been produced by cross breeding with the crucian. The hobby requires a high degree of skill and takes on the nature of creative art when one tries to produce an individual fish with the desired color and shape by cross-breeding, from which many varieties of goldfish have resulted. People usually purchase goldfish from a vendor who pulls his cart along the sunny streets in summer while crying his wares. Goldfish of different colors and shapes are kept in glass bowls and tanks.

It has been a common hobby in cities since the Edo Period to keep such insects as the grasshopper, and certain kinds of crickets in late summer through early autumn, feeding them with cucumber and enjoying their songs. The hobby may be said to be based on the desire of the urban residents to bring nature close to themselves. Even today, as one strolls along the street on a summer evening, one can hear the merry chirps of the caged crickets displayed on a roadside stand.

Bonsai (potted plant)

There is nothing unusual about admiring plants by potting them, but the originality of the Japanese can be seen in the art of *bonsai*, which is not merely the potting of plants but also an attempt to reproduce infinite nature in a limited space by clever devices and use of materials representing natural objects. For instance, the zelkova-tree *bonsai* standing only 30 centimeters (12 inches) high has the exact appearance of the zelkova towering 30 meters (100 feet)

above ground. The grass used in *bonsai* gives the feeling of grasses bending in the wind in the field. In short *bonsai* is an art with the object of reproducing Mother Nature on a reduced scale but without changing its substance. The art existed in a crude form in the Kamakura Era but it was toward the closing of the Edo Period that the artistic pursuit found high favor with the people.

The art flourished among the people toward the closing of the Edo Period, when it was influenced by the landscape painting in the Chinese style prevalent at that time. The style of painting gave an impetus to the development of the art as people tried to reproduce in living plants the Oriental feeling for trees and grasses in painting.

In the early and middle years of the Edo Period, the cultivation of gay flowers rather than dwarfed trees came into vogue. Plant lovers grew rare species of chrysanthemums, morning glories and other flowers to be displayed at shows or shown to their guests.

Bonkei (tray landscape)

Natural scenery is produced on a black lacquered tray with stones and white sand spread on the tray by spoons and sieves, and the product is used for interior decoration. It became popular along with tea ceremony and flower arrangements during the Muromachi Era. Although not so popular today as the latter two, *bonkei* are still used for display in the *tokonoma* (alcove) in the guest room.

Hanabi (fireworks)

As gunpowder was introduced from Europe along with firearms, the military class trained themselves in the technique of handling it, but fireworks seems to have developed as a diversion among the merchant class.

The *uchiage hanabi* (sky rocket fireworks), a specialty of Japan, originated in the early years of the Edo Period and with the ripening of the Edo civilization after

the Genroku Period (18th century), remarkable progress was made in the art of pyrotechnics, which, became further advanced after the second year of Kyōhō (1717), when fireworks were displayed at the Sumida River Carnival, which takes place annually at the Ryōgoku Bridge in Tokyo and survives to this day. The summer evening sky became ablaze with bursts of various shapes and brilliant colors to present a fantastic spectacle. With the advance of modern science various new illuminating and smoke-producing chemicals were introduced into the manufacture of fireworks, as a result of which they improved largely in splendor and scale. Fireworks displays are held every summer at various places throughout the country and manufacturers compete for recognition and prizes awarded for the best displays.

Tako (kite) and koma (top)

Children have played with kites and tops since the Edo Period and still enjoy them to this day. The kite, which was invented in China and spread to all countries of the world, is flown by boys in this country in the New Year season. Japanese kites are made by pasting paper on bamboo frames. Usually, they have a rectangular form with pictures of warriors or Japanese writing or are made in the shape of a *yakko* (servant of a *samurai*) or a bat.

As for tops, there are several kinds including those made of wood with an iron core, humming tops made of perforated bamboo and those made of a certain kind of roll shell called *bai* stuffed with lead. Today the last-mentioned kind of tops is made of iron in the shape of the shell and spun with a piece of string wound around it or with a whip. Various games, the object of which is to drive the opponent's top out of a ring, are played. Toward the end of the Edo Period and during the Meiji Period street hawkers selling tooth powder showed top tricks to attract customers. Later some of these salesmen were hired by vaudeville theaters to perform the tricks.

Games and Recreation

When his living standard reaches a certain level and man finds some time to spend for purposes other than sustaining himself and feels it necessary to relax the nervous tension caused by the complexities of life, he turns to recreation. It was after the 8th century, in the Asuka and Nara eras, that the living standard of the Japanese arrived at this stage during which time different types of recreation and games were developed.

Hunting and fishing were retained as recreation and sports even after the people felt no need for depending on these methods for subsistence. Horsemanship and archery which are now pursued as sports were devised originally as arts of warfare. Archery came to be enjoyed as an indoor game after the size of the equipment was decreased. The art of riding horses branched out into such games as *kurabe-uma* (horse-racing) and *dakyū* (a game similar to polo).

Needless to say, ancient Japanese culture was influenced greatly by Chinese civilization and many sports were introduced from that country. It is believed that *kemari* (kickball) as well as *dakyū*, which were played before the Nara Era, had been brought in from China. The indoor games of *sugoroku* (backgammon), *go* and *shōgi* (Japanese chess) are also believed to have originated on the Asian Continent. These pastimes were most popular among the nobles of the Heian Era (10th-12th centuries) when artistic and leisurely games developed. Courtiers and noblemen of this period, who had handsome incomes from their manors, led carefree and leisurely lives of pleasure and refinement. It was said in a well-known poem, "Have the noblemen time enough for idling hours away, carrying branches of cherry blossoms night and day?"

It seems that refined diversions were not so widely favored by the *samurai* class of the Kamakura and Muromachi eras (12th cen.-16th cen.), who, instead, sought recreation in such military arts as hunting

and archery. However, with the advent of the peaceful age of Edo, the old games were revived by the residents of Kyoto, including the trading class who had been gradually gaining economic influence, and the warrior class, who began to occupy themselves with polite pursuits and neglected the military arts.

Thus, such pursuits lost their aristocratic character and became increasingly known among the general public. Also, some new games were devised about this time, but they were generally made to suit the popular taste. Some of the products of this age are *oibane* (battledore and shuttlecock) and *karuta* (poem cards), the latter of which utilizes famous poems from Japanese literature. Entertainment achieving enormous popularity with the masses of this period were *ken* (a kind of tossing game), *tōsenkyō* (fan throwing), *sugoroku* (backgammon) and *yōkyū* (indoor archery), which were enjoyed as daily pastimes. *Go* and *shōgi* (Japanese chess) developed under the aegis of the ruling lords, for which reason they assumed an aristocratic character at their beginnings, but later with the passing of time evolved into games for the common people. They are overwhelmingly popular even at present.

After the Meiji Period (after 1868), when a rapidly growing modern civilization began as a result of abrupt westernization of Japanese society, many of the genteel pursuits followed since ancient times were abandoned in favor of newly-introduced entertainments, such as cards, mahjong and dancing. Nevertheless, *go* and *shōgi* have continued to flourish; *shuryō*, or hunting, has become ever more popular by incorporating of European techniques; and *oibane* and *karuta* remain as popular games played during the New Year holiday season.

Shuryō (hunting) and takagari (falconry)

As in all other areas of the world, hunting in Japan has been carried on since prehistoric times as a means of livelihood.

Hunting was done for a long period with stones and spears and then with bow and arrow, but since firearms became known in this country in the 16th century, hunting with the latter has been practiced. However, hunting as a sport was almost exclusively limited to falconry with the exception of hunting during the age of military rule, when it seemed to have been done with bow and arrow for entertainment as well as for training in military arts.

The origin of falconry can be traced back to 2,000 years ago. Falconry was handed down through the ages as a means of hunting among Imperial families and *samurai* up to the Edo Period (starting 1603). Since the Heian Era (788-1192) several techniques of hawk breeding and training had been worked out.

In the Meiji Period hunting with guns in European style came into fashion and today, along with fishing, it is one of the most popular outdoor sports. Nets and traps are also used, but such devices are employed generally by professional hunters.

At present, hunting is controlled by law to prevent accidents and depletion of wild game, and hunters are required to obtain a license from the Government to hunt for specified game, including 50 species of birds such as the albatross, night heron, pheasant and wild duck. Hunting of the Japanese antelope, weasel, otter and a variety of black rabbit indigenous to Amami Island is prohibited by law. The most common quarry are wild ducks, pheasants, rabbits and deer. Some sportsmen stalk large game such as wild boar and bear with the help of professional hunters. Wild boar and deer are found in the mountainous areas throughout the country, while bears are found, in decreasing numbers, on the northernmost island of Hokkaidō. In the plains and hills the game consists of wild ducks, pheasants, quail, snipes and hares.

In hunting, dogs, mostly of foreign breeds such as setter and pointer, are usually employed, but Japanese breeds are also efficient, especially in stalking bears, deer and wild boars. The value of Japanese dogs as hunters has been re-estimated

recently and the raising of such dogs is becoming increasingly wide-spread.

Tsuri (fishing)

In contrast to hunting which adopts the European method, fishing techniques peculiar to Japan are used even today, and a large part of the catch is fishes indigenous to Japan. Fishing as a means of livelihood dates back many centuries ago, but its enjoyment as a sport probably began in the Edo Period.

Rivers flowing through the plains teem with such game fishes as crucian, carp, eel and dace. The crucian, the most representative of Japanese game fishes, belongs to the carp family and measures 5.6 to 30 centimeters (about 2 to 12 inches). The *tanago* (*Acheilognathus moriokae*) which resembles the crucian and seldom exceeds the length of five centimeters or about two inches, has been another popular game fish since the Edo Period. Even though it does not have a good flavor, Japanese anglers brave the biting cold of midwinter to catch this small fish with specially designed rods.

Clear waters in the upper reaches of streams abound in fishes of the trout family, one kind of which, the *ayu* (sweet fish) with its fine skin of dull silver, is found commonly in summer in most rivers in the country. Not only Japanese anglers but the Japanese in general, feel an irresistible attraction toward the graceful figure of this piscine charmer. It is caught by use of flies or a live *ayu* used as a decoy. The decoy fish, tied to the end of line, is allowed to swim freely and, as the other *ayu* approach the decoy fish, they are caught on the hooks attached to it. Flies for *ayu* fishing have been made since the Edo Period by skillful craftsmen in Kanazawa City and Kōchi Prefecture. There are several hundred kinds, all painted in different bright colors and given fancy names.

The same types of trout caught by European and American anglers are found in rivers and lakes in the mountains. In shallow seas and around shore reefs, amateur and professional fishermen can be seen angling side by side. The most popu-

lar salt-water fish is the *haze* (goby), caught between early autumn and early winter in the shallows of river mouths and gulfs. Besides the *haze*, there are the *bora* (grey mullet) and *kisu* (sillago), which inhabit the gulfs; the *tai* (sea bream), which roams the shore reefs; the *aji* (horse mackerel), which wanders about the neighboring seas; and the humorous *tidako* (octopus ocellatus). All of those mentioned above plus other kinds of fishes can be found on the table of the Japanese home.

Unlike fishing in western countries, where emphasis is placed on the size of the fish, the main interest in Japan lies in the pleasure of pulling up the hooked fish and the split-second timing of pulling.

Fishing rods are made in different pliancies according to the purpose for which they are intended. Most of them are made of *shinodake*, a kind of slender bamboo, coated colorfully with Japanese lacquer and can be taken apart in 8 to 10 pieces.

Many kinds of bait are used, but the most common are earthworms, *gokai* (lugworm), and the larvae of both the fly and a certain species of moth.

Kemari or shūkiku (ball-kicking)

Kemari, which is no longer played, is one of the oldest sports known in Japan. It was usually played by eight persons kicking a cocoon-shaped ball made of deer skin. The participants kicked the ball in turns and tried to keep it from touching the ground or going out of the 14-meter (34 feet) square field on which the game is played. In each of the four corners of the field was planted a different kind of tree—pine, willow, maple and cherry. The purpose of the game was not only to make high scores, but to display fine form in kicking.

This game was brought from China more than ten centuries ago and was played in the Court from the 8th century. It reached the height of its vogue between the middle of the Heian Era and the first part of the Kamakura Era (1192-1336), when skill in the game was considered a requirement for

noblemen along with ability in writing poetry. Although *kemari* was not very popular among the *samurai* class it became fashionable among the trading class in the Edo Period.

Dakyū or mariuchi (ball-hitting)

Dakyū originated in China, where historical records show that it was one of the most important court functions. Since it was played on horseback, the Japanese noblemen seldom participated in the game but seemed to have enjoyed watching it played by the *samurai*, particularly the Emperor's bodyguards, who frequently played the game to help train themselves in military skill. In the middle of the Tokugawa Period (about 1730) it was revived by the *shōgun*.

The game was played on a square riding ground, on one end of which stood four poles as the goal. Ten players on horseback, five each from the red and the white teams, were lined up on both ends of the field. In front of the players were placed red and white balls, the number of which was equal to the number of players. At the signal, the players hit the balls toward the goal with a stick bent at the bottom, similar to a hockey stick. The team whose members hit all their balls into the goal area first was the winner.

A toy called *gitchō* was patterned after the stick used in the game. Children at that time enjoyed hitting balls with the *gitchō*, a wooden stick in the shape of a hammer, but in the Tokugawa Era the game was forgotten and the toy was given to boys as New Year presents. The custom is no longer observed.

Koyumi and yōkyū (small bow and indoor archery)

Archery was enjoyed as the indoor games of *koyumi* and *yōkyū* among men and women of titled society. *Yōkyū* is on a smaller scale than *koyumi* in that the bow is about 85 centimeters (33 inches) long. It came into vogue among the populace in the Edo Period, when *yaba* (indoor archery

ranges) sprang up in amusement quarters of the cities of Edo (now Tokyo) and Kyoto. The *yaba* remained until the early years of Meiji (about 1870) but disappeared later through the influence of Western forms of recreation.

Hamayumi (devil-destroying bow)

Hamayumi literally means "devil-destroying bow", the name deriving from the bow used in the Heian court rituals to dispell evil spirits at the beginning of each year. The arrow used was called *hamaya* or "devil-destroying arrow". The court function was given up ages ago but the equipment remained as children's toys. Children of the Edo Period used small bows and arrows to shoot at a target rolling on the ground. Later, however, no shooting was done but the bows and arrows were given to boys as New Year gifts. The custom was retained until the first part of the Meiji Period.

Fukiya (blowgun)

The game is played by blowing a dart out of a pipe about three feet in length to hit a target. The blow gun was originally employed in hunting for game birds but it became a children's toy toward the close of the Edo Period. Shooting galleries were built in large numbers, as in the case of *yōkyū*.

Tōkei (cockfight)

Cockfighting was a kind of *monoawase* (to be explained in detail elsewhere) enjoyed in the court of the Heian Era but later spread among the people. In the court, cockfights were held on March 3 every year with splendid ceremonies, but among the people of the later generations it became an occasion for gambling. It remains so today with wagers made on the 2 cocks pitted against each other in a large bamboo basket. The cochin cock is specially bred for this purpose.

Tōken (dogfight) and Tōgyū (bullfight)

They are enjoyed locally to this day since olden times. Dogfights are seen in Kōchi and Akita prefectures, where fighting dogs are bred by crossing a kind of Japanese dog with foreign breeds. The dogs bring high prices.

Bull fighting seen in Ehime and Niigata prefectures since olden days, is different from that in Spain and Mexico in that bulls are pitted against bulls. It draws large crowds, almost equal in size to those attracted by *sumō* wrestling matches, and is accompanied occasionally by gambling. Bull fights advanced into the entertainment world of Tokyo in the early years of the Meiji Period but were prohibited there soon afterward because of the cruel nature of the sport. Nevertheless, bullfights can be seen even today in some localities.

Monoawase (matching game)

This indoor game was prevalent among the nobility of the Heian Era. Two groups of people were lined up on each side of a judge and compared specified subjects, including such birds as Japanese nightingales, doves, quails; a special species of spider (comparing its flying distance); various plants such as the pink, *patrinia* and *chrysanthemum* to decide which has the prettier flowers; small tools such as folding paper fans and incense boxes; and stories. In most cases the game was played to the accompaniment of music and contestants improvised poems on the subject compared.

In *uta-awase*, *biwa-awase* and *e-awase*, they competed against each other with poetry, lute music and paintings, respectively.

Poems and pictures on seashells were used in another type of matching game. Part of a poem or picture is on one half of each bivalve shell and the remaining portion was on the other half. The shells were separated and mixed up, the object of the game being to match the halves of the poems

or the pictures. The contestant who picked up the largest number of correct pairs was the winner. The game dates back to the Heian Era and became prevalent among women in the families of wealthy tradesmen.

Uta-garuta (poem cards)

Uta-garuta, a common card game, is believed to have its origin in *kaiawase* explained above. *Uta* means poem and *garuta* is a euphonic form of *karuta*, which is a phonetic translation of the Dutch word *Kaarten* (cards). The game is a variation of *kai-awase*, the poems being written on cards instead of shells. Each of one hundred famous poems is divided into two parts and the 100 cards on which are written the latter halves of the poems are spread out, face up, on the *tatami* before the participants. These cards are called *torifuda*, meaning literally "taking cards", or cards to be picked up. The participants in the game scramble to pick up the *torifuda* as the *yomite* (reader) recites one by one the first parts of the poems which are written on 100 *yomifuda* (literally, reading cards).

The *Ogura Hyakunin Isshu*, or the Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets (selected at Ogurayama) are usually used for the game, which is played as an individual or team game, with many variations. At present *utagaruta* is customarily played at New Year's time when championship matches are held in certain places.

Hana-garuta (flower cards)

Hana-garuta is said to have been introduced from Holland in the early years of the Edo Period, when it was called *unsun karuta* and a deck comprised 12 cards each of four suits. Today, the deck used in *hana-garuta*, the Japanese version of playing cards, is composed of 12 suits representing the 12 months of the year, with 4 cards in each suit and each card measuring 30 millimeters (1.2 inches) by 45 millimeters (1.7 inches).

On the 4 cards of each suit are printed pictures of flowers or trees associated with

each month of the year. 2 cards of each suit have point values, which are determined by the way in which the card is printed. The more elaborate cards have higher values than the simpler cards. For example, a chrysanthemum card on which there is also a *sake* cup is worth more points than the cards on which there is a flower and some writing. The simplest cards, on which there is just a flower, have no value at all.

The game is played by three persons, each having seven cards in his hand. 6 cards are laid face up on the table or on the *tatami* and the remainder are placed in a pile face down. Each player in turn tries to match a card from his hand with one in the center. If he cannot make a pair he must discard one of the cards from his hand. The game continues in the same way with the next players, with each person having seven turns, after which the score is counted.

Points may be accumulated in various ways;—by counting the points of the elaborate cards, by collecting sets of 4 cards on which the same flower is printed, and by collecting cards which have premium values.

There are many different games played with these cards, but not quite so many as European card games. *Hana-garuta* is enjoyed widely today and is often used for gambling as in the case of European and American card games.

Sugoroku (backgammon)

Sugoroku was played by 2 persons facing each other across a board. Each player threw a pair of dice in turn and moved one of his 15 markers forward according to the number indicated by the dice. The one whose markers reached his opponent's area first won. The game is of Indian origin and was introduced into Japan through China. It was enjoyed from ancient times in this country until the Edo Period, when it went out of fashion.

Its variation *kamisugoroku* (paper *sugoroku*), enjoyed to this day, came into fashion as *sugoroku* went out of date. It is a popular New Year game for Japanese

children and is played by more than 2 persons using a piece of paper instead of a board. Each participant places his one marker at the starting line and advances it toward the goal and the player reaching the goal first is the winner. The number of moves is decided by a dice thrown in turns.

In olden days there used to be *Jōdo* (Pure Land) *sugoroku* showing the way from this world to heaven or hell; *ikai* (court rank) *sugoroku*, which gave the degrees of promotion of court officials; and *dōchū* (travel) *sugoroku*, indicating the 53 stages on the Tokaidō Highway. At present there are hundreds of kinds of *sugoroku*.

Ken (hands)

Ken is a game introduced from ancient China with many variations. Usually it is played between 2 persons as follows: A and B put out any number of their fingers simultaneously as each of them in turn tries to guess the sum of the number of fingers. For instance, if A cries "3" as he put out 2 of his fingers and B put out one of his, A wins because the sum of 2 and 1 is 3. When B says "5" as he put out three of his fingers and A put out 2, B wins. The game was held at banquets and feasts in the Edo Period when *ken* meets were also held.

As compared with this *honken* (orthodox *ken*), which was played as recently as in the Meiji Period, there was *misukumi ken* played by two persons who simultaneously put out their fists shaped in one of the three specified objects. Each of the three objects wins against one of the remaining two and loses to the other. *Janken* is the only form of the game which remains to this day as a means to decide the dealer in card games, the server in a match, or the order to do anything. The three objects in this case are stone, paper and scissors indicated respectively by a closed fist, an open palm, and two fingers. Stone wins against scissors but loses to paper, paper wins against stone but loses to scissors, and scissors wins against paper but loses to stone.

Tōsenkyō (fan-throwing)

Tōsenkyō is a variation of *tōko* which was introduced from China in ancient times and has as its object throwing arrows into a jar with a small mouth. In *tōsenkyō* 6 or 7 copper coins were piled up on a small box made of paulownia wood and on the pile of coins was placed a *chō*, a doll-like fluttering object made of paper and cloth. The purpose of the game was to knock off the *chō* by throwing at it an open folding fan from a distance of two meters (about 6.6 feet). The winner was decided by the position of the fallen *chō* and the copper coins. There used to be in the Edo Period *tōsenkyō* galleries but the game was chiefly played at banquets. It is played no longer.

Oibane

(battledore and shuttlecock)

Oibane somewhat resembles both battledore and shuttlecock, and badminton. The shuttlecock-like object made from a soapberry stuck with three to five pieces of feather is batted back and forth between two persons with a racket-shaped wooden board called *hagoita*. The game has no special rules other than that the person who allows the shuttlecock to drop on the ground loses. It has been enjoyed as a New Year game since the Edo Period and remains so today, played chiefly by girls and young women. The side of the racket which is not used for batting is decorated with beautiful collage designs which are taken from woodblock prints of the Edo Period. Most of them portray popular *kabuki* actors of the time.

Igo (go game) and shōgi (Japanese chess)

Both are played by two persons facing each other across a board. On the *go* board are 19 thin black lines parallel with each edge, and on the intersecting points produced by the crossing of the lines each player places in turn, his stones one by one for the purpose of winning the widest

territory on the board by surrounding as much vacant space as possible with his own stones. Usually the more skillful of the two uses the white stones while his opponent uses black ones.

Shōgi is similar to chess in that the object of the game is to checkmate the adversary's *ōshō* (king) by moving the chessmen alternately. Both *go* and *shōgi* were introduced from China in the Nara Era (8th-9th century) and were played among the peerage of the time, but it was not until the 16th century that the games gained common popularity as now and complicated rules were added. About this time professional players emerged and the games enjoyed great prosperity under the protection of the ruling lords such as Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and the *shōgun* of the Tokugawa. In the age of Edo *go* and *shōgi* experts were guaranteed a living by the *Go* Bureau and *Shōgi* Bureau of the Tokugawa Shogunate Government and devised many new techniques in the games. The most proficient in the game was awarded the title of *meijin* (expert), and in the closing years of the Edo Period the games spread widely among the general public. As the Imperial rule was restored in the Meiji Period, the games lost the patronage of the ruler and temporarily declined in popularity but made a revival as the number of fans increased and the newspapers carried detailed reports of the championship games among the masters of the games. As a result the experts obtained security and contributed to the prosperity of the games. At present there are more than 200 professional players each of *go* and *shōgi* and numerous amateur from all walks of life are enjoying the games everywhere. The title of *meijin* is retained today and awarded to the winner of championships held periodically, although the holder of the title is no longer guaranteed economic security.

Renju or gomoku-narabe (gobang)

This is another game played by two persons with the *go* board and *go* stones. The

object of the game is to place five stones in a row, crosswise, lengthwise or diagonally, by placing one stone at a time in turn and at the same time preventing the opponent to line up his stones. It is believed to have been played in China since ancient times. In Japan it gained wide popularity after a leading newspaper published a feature article on the game in 1903.

Mājan (mahjong)

Mājan, a game usually played by four persons, was prevalent in the Chinese courts of the Ching Dynasty (17th and 18th centuries) and subsequently spread widely throughout the world. It became a favorite game of the Japanese people after its introduction in 1920. During World War II its popularity waned temporarily but made a recovery after the war. It is widely played today. *Mājan* is somewhat similar to the card game of bridge but the cards are replaced by small square *pai* tiles made of bamboo and bone. There are different ways of playing the game, one of which is most common. The bewitching power of the game causes many fans to stay up all night.

Dancing

European social dancing was introduced into this country in the early years of the Meiji Period along with many other forms of Western culture. At that time dancing was enjoyed only by members of the upper classes.

In order to entertain foreign diplomatic representatives the Meiji Government opened the *Rokumei-kan* hall in Tokyo, where balls were given frequently for social intercourse between the foreigners and Japanese nobility and dignitaries. At the beginning of the Shōwa Period (the name given to the reign of Hirohito, which began in 1926) Western style dancing became fashionable among the public as dance halls with professional dancers sprang up in large cities of Japan. During the World War

If dancing was prohibited but it revived with increasing vigor after the war. At present the latest as well as the traditional styles of Western dancing are enjoyed at

ballrooms and parties everywhere. Also, a movement is under way to popularize square dances and folk dances, which can be enjoyed by the young and old alike.

XXX TOURISM

Introduction

Japan abounds in places and objects of tourism, but until toward the end of the Edo Era (1867) they served only to satisfy the sightseeing proclivities of native travellers. In fact, the concept of tourism in a wider sense had not developed among the Japanese people before the 17th century. It was at the beginning of that century, for example, that the names of the three great scenic spots of Japan (Matsushima, Amanohashidate and Itsukushima) first became a familiar word among the general public.

It was only after the Meiji Restoration (1867) that tourist values in Japan began to lure foreign tourists. It is true that, despite the general isolation policy of Japan, which had been in effect for over 200 years, a small number of European travellers did come to Japan from time to time for various purposes, but they were by no means tourists in today's sense of the word. From the historical viewpoint of tourism, however, it should be recognized that their travel accounts and other writings later served to kindle and foster the interest of foreign tourists in this country.

(cf. VI. International Relations and Diplomacy, Studies on Japan by foreigners)

The Meiji Restoration (1867) marked

Japan's debut on the international stage. In order to meet the needs of the increasing number of visitors from overseas the first western-style hotel, "Hotel-kan", was built at Tsukiji, Tokyo, followed one after another by similar establishments in Yokohama, Nikkō, Kobe, and other places constructed either by foreign or domestic enterprisers. The years between 1886 and 1895 were characterized by a sweeping trend toward westernization of the country. Nobles and senior officials of the government frequently held dances to become acquainted with the European and American people, typifying the Rokumei-kan Era, the name by which later people refer to this period of westernization.

Although lavish hospitality was extended to foreign visitors in those days, this should be viewed from its more or less political and diplomatic context against the national policy of the time, rather than considered as the forerunner of the Japanese tourist industry in its modern sense. Something like the real forerunner of the later tourist industry in Japan can be found in the Welcome Society which was established in 1893 with the declared purposes of guidance in improving tourist facilities, supervision and protection of tourist guides and publication

of tourist information, but which in reality did not realize much success. Though Japan came to be called the "Paradise of Tourists" toward the concluding years of the 19th century and its beauties and wonders began to be gradually known to European and American tourists, practically no positive efforts were made by the government itself to attract foreign tourists to Japan. It was as late as 1912 that the Japan Tourist Bureau, a semi-governmental agency and predecessor of the present Japan Travel Bureau, was established primarily to provide facilities and services to foreign visitors and secondly to create more interest abroad. The establishment of this agency marked a big step forward on the part of the government. However, World War I, the Siberian Incident as well as the depression and the Great Earthquake of 1923 broke out in quick succession proving serious setbacks to the development of the Japanese tourist industry. The outlook was gloomy until the beginning of the Showa Era when Japanese intellectuals began to manifest a keen and active interest in tourism, for they became aware of the no mean contribution to national economy being made by the tourist industry which had newly emerged in postwar European countries.

In 1930 the government created the Board of Tourist Industry as a semi-independent agency of the Railways Ministry and started an intensive program to promote the industry in Japan. The Government made available long-term low-interest loans for the construction or renovation of hotel facilities at 15 tourist spots in the country. Combined efforts of the Government and the people were also exerted for publicity activities overseas and national enlightening campaigns. Thus, in the course of 5 or 6 years the tourist industry here reached its golden age.

Unfortunately, however, World War II, which broke out a few years later, brought the industry to a practically non-operative state, and with the closure of the Board of Tourist Industry at the end of 1942, all tourist industry activities ceased

completely, though the business of the abolished Board was nominally taken over by the Asia Travel Society which had come into being through reorganization of the Japan Tourist Bureau.

Following the end of World War II, as various cultural activities were resumed, the tourist industry also reappeared, but there was practically no notable activity during the occupation period because of the many restrictions which postwar Japan had to face. After the termination of the occupation by the Allied Powers, the number of overseas tourists to Japan increased so sharply that in 1954 it surpassed the pre-war record. Such a startling increase may be partly accounted for by the fact that large numbers of occupation soldiers, on returning to their homelands, recounted their favorable impressions of Japan, particularly about the hospitality of the people and the charm of the country.

At present, the Tourism Bureau of the Transportation Ministry is responsible for national administration of the tourist business, and it has introduced one legislation after another for promoting and improving international tourist service. For overseas publicity activities, which used to be one of the functions of the Japan Travel Bureau (formerly the Japan Tourist Bureau), the Japan Tourist Association which came into existence in 1955 as a non-governmental body is now responsible. The Japan Travel Bureau is now engaged in large scale international activities as one of the most efficient tourist service agencies with a long tradition and background.

Whereas Japan as a country of tourism abounds in peculiarly charming aspects, it is also true, on the other hand, that it possesses a number of short comings and inconveniences such as unpaved highways and roads, high hotel rates etc. As the people are being awakened to the importance and urgency of the tourist industry, it can be expected that these defects will be gradually remedied in the future. Candid criticism and advice by the tourists visiting Japan will also help to accelerate the improvement of present conditions.

Characteristics of Japan as a Land of Tourism

Geographic location and natural environment

Japan is a group of islands situated off the eastern coast of the Asia Continent and separated from the American Continent by the Pacific Ocean. This geographic location is a serious handicap in tourist transportation from America as well as from the European countries. However now that 80 per cent of postwar visitors to this country travel by air, time is no longer a serious consideration. Nevertheless the geographic location of Japan remains a great disadvantage. As a matter of fact, a round-trip fare costs tourists from the American continent, which make up a half of the total overseas tourists to Japan, an amount which would be sufficient to cover an all-inclusive expenses for a several day trip in Europe.

This defect is easily outweighed, however, by the fascinating beauties and wonders in which Japan abounds. The American who tires of the trip to Europe will enjoy in Japan something completely heterogeneous and strange to their own cultures. The Europeans would also find here much that is sublimated through the interaction of Oriental and Occidental cultures.

Under the climatic control of the so-called monsoon, which is further augmented by the Japanese Current, the Kurile Current and the Tsushima Stream, Japan has in summer a moisture-laden wind blowing from the south-east, which brings much rain to South Japan in particular. In winter the north-eastern wind blows from the continent, causing heavy snow fall in North Japan. Thus the atmospheric moisture of Japan shows a high percentage and the amount of rainfall throughout the year is large. There is a variety of weather, rainy, snowy, cloudy, foggy, etc, giving various accents to the seasonal changes. On the other hand, however, the humidity in summer causes such discomfort that the Japanese people must adapt not only their

housing but also their clothing to this climatic condition. The national habit of taking baths, especially hot spring baths, has developed as one of the results. On the other hand, the winter season, which is usually cold and dry, is felt severely by the human body. Other seasons, however, are very wild and benign.

No other country presents more fascinating changes in scenery through the four seasons of the year. It is attributable to this natural feature of the country that the Japanese have been very sensible to the changes of the seasons and deeply interested in nature and that they have developed such a form of literature as *tanka* and *haiku* which mainly deal with nature.

Extending north and south from 45° 31' to 29° 8' parallel, Japan is blessed with a considerable variety of local scenery. For instance, if one compares Southern Kyūshū with Hokkaidō, he will obtain an idea of the variety of scenery which exists in this country.

Like Italy, Japan is volcanic. Threats of earthquake are too often emphasized but severe shakings that amount to disaster visit the land only once in a century and at that the damage will not affect more than one locality. A pleasant features of the volcanic country is to be found in its extraordinary abundance of hot springs, which will be discussed later more in details. (cf. II Natural features)

Variety of scenery

Though there is no country in the world that is not proud of its scenery, few can cope with Japan in its variety. Moreover, it is rich in species of fauna and flora. Its scenery may be no match with that of the national parks in U.S.A. or the Alps in Switzerland in grandeur and magnificence, but it is second to none in delicacy and elegance. Japan can scarcely present a vast area representing the untrodden portion of

mother nature's creation, but it offers everywhere affable types of scenery in which human creations, such as shrines and temples and local villages peculiar to Japan, are happily matched with the natural surroundings. No foreign tourists in Japan will find his trip monotonous and tiresome no matter how long he may stay or to whatever corners of the country he may go.

Cultural dualism

It is often cited that one of the characteristics of the Japanese people is the remarkable ability of assimilating any imported foreign culture. Japan's large-scale importation of foreign culture occurred three times in her history. The first was the importation of continental civilizations around the 3rd century A.D. and afterwards, which has been so well assimilated as to be almost unrecognizable at present. The second importation started with the arrival of the Portuguese merchant ships in 1543, which was followed by the Jesuit missionaries, including Father Francisco Xavier, who introduced western civilization to Japan together with trade. The ban on entry of all Europeans except for the Dutch, which was placed by the Shogunate Government about a century later, cut the importation to a minimum and through the subsequent long period of isolation all the things imported were completely assimilated without any noticeable traces left. The Japanese temples and Buddhist statues which originated in India have evolved into a beauty peculiar to Japan. Castles of feudal lords whose existence owes much to the influence of European castles still present Japanese characteristic in their stone-walls and white-plastered walls.

The European and American civilizations rapidly imported since the beginning of the Meiji Era which first took root mainly in big cities and then spread throughout the country have exerted such a strong influence owing to their large quantity and rapid importation that they are still quite distinct from Japanese civilization. This fact clearly indicates the dualism of the present Japanese culture. Such a feature prevails in

all aspects of life including eating, clothing and housing. Japanese people live on rice, and are accustomed to the peculiar Japanese meals, but western meals are just as popular. While there are still not a few people who wear Japanese dress at home, they usually work in western clothes. Most houses are of Japanese style, but many of them have one or more western style rooms. Most public buildings are of western style, but in them Japanese tea is often served. As to hotel facilities which will be the direct concern of foreign tourists to Japan, there are 2 separate types of accommodation available Japanese-style and Western-style hotels. Some hotels offer the 2 types of accommodation together.

This dualism of Japanese culture almost amounts of chaos, a phenomenon strange to other countries in the world. This, however, does not imply any inconvenience to the foreign tourist. On the contrary, such complexity of culture rather tends to offer a variety of tourist appeals. It might be said that Japan located in the Far East represents a corner of the world where various cultures have drifted together. To tourists from Europe and America, however, a stronger appeal will be no doubt the inherent features of Japanese culture. On the other hand, tourists from Asiatic countries will be more interested in the extraordinarily rapid development of imported culture in Japan.

What the dualism of Japanese culture implies as an object of tourism are the complexity and variety inherent to this feature and the peculiarity of Japanese inherent culture highlighted against this dualism.

Heterogeneous features of manner, custom and language

Japanese manners and customs are peculiar and unique. There are so many facets that, they cannot be properly generalized as Oriental. Some may look similar to those of China, (Occidentals are often confused in their descriptions,) but careful observers will find primary differences between them. In this connection one may be reminded of the fact that the Japanese

language looking very similar to the Chinese language in written form completely differs from it in structure, or the fact that Japanese dishes whose materials are largely common with those of Chinese dishes differ greatly in the way of cooking; for example, in Japanese dishes care is often taken to retain the original form of the material, while in Chinese dishes vice versa is often the case. In short, it should be pointed out that in spite of the great influences of China on her since old times, Japan has stubbornly held fast to her inherent peculiarities as far as manners and customs are concerned.

As mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, Japanese culture is half composed of imported civilizations, so it is natural that some of the manners and customs should be of foreign origin. Unlike other tangible assets of culture, however, the manners and customs deeply rooted in the innate character of the nation are not easily mingled and assimilated with foreign ones. Japanese manners and customs inherited through many generations are still now widely and deep-rootedly observed in this country. For example, even on the occasion of a western-style party, the Japanese usually exchange greetings by bending low, which often provokes a strange feeling among the foreigners around them. It is not difficult to suppose that international manners will develop in the future and gradually prevail in Japan, too, but it is a matter for a distant future. Until then, the foreign tourist will continue to discover something exotic, something attractive and, sometimes, something to learn in the heterogeneous manners and customs of Japan. (cf. XXVII Manners and customs)

If one wants to gain a thorough idea of the heterogeneous manners and customs of the Japanese people, it will be most useful for him to enter a Japanese home and live together with the family, if circumstances allow. It is there that the customs handed down through many hundreds of years are often found in observance in the daily life, and that many keys to the enigma of the Japanese nation might be discovered. Even tourists of short stay, most of whom will

not have a chance to become familiar with Japanese home life, may observe some of these customs on the street if they are careful and observant enough. Women in *kimono*, packages carried in *furoshiki* wrapping, baby carried on the mother's back—these strange scenes will be seen everywhere. The Japanese-style hair-dress of women, which has generally lost its popularity, is still seen here and there during the New Year days. *Geisha*-girls and employees of traditional Japanese eating houses usually wear their hair in this coiffure throughout the year.

Customs during the seasonal events such as the pine-decoration of the New Year, the carp pennant in May, the bamboo decoration of the Vega Festival in July, the fireworks exhibition in summer, the chrysanthemum dolls in autumn are among the things most likely to be seen even by hasty tourists. Various functions associated with the festivals at temples and shrines should also attract the interest of tourists.

Unlike customs, on the other hand, it is essential to know in advance the heterogeneous manners of the Japanese people for successful tourism in Japan. Details of Japanese manners will be discussed in the later paragraphs. (cf. Preliminary Knowledge for Tourism in Japan).

The Japanese language is said to occupy a very isolated place in the world. Though it may not be so difficult to pick up some phrases during their short period of stay, it will be extremely difficult for foreigners to master the language to an extent that they can make themselves understood as well as understand the Japanese people. It must be borne in mind, for instance, that the articulation of the sounds attempted according to the Romanized texts may not be always understood because of the basic difference in pronunciations, particularly the great difference in all the vowels and some consonants like *n*, *r*, and *w*. Moreover, the Japanese language generally carries no distinct accents and is pronounced rather evenly. When it is spoken by Europeans or Americans whose languages are essentially characterized by high accents, it

inevitably sounds strange and odd to the Japanese ear, even if it may be understood. The structure of the sentences differs radically from European languages. In addition, Japanese language is more emotional than logical in the manner of expression, which aggravates the difficulty for foreigners to understand its delicate nuances. Among others, the honorific expression is of such a variety and complexity that few foreigners have successfully mastered it.

For the writing of Japanese language are used *kanji*, Chinese hieroglyphics as introduced from ancient China, *hira-gana*, phonetic characters derived from the cursive Chinese characters, and *kata-kana*, phonetic characters invented by simplifying Chinese characters. Writing in Roman letters is unfortunately a very limited practice. Ordinary journals and books are written in *hira-gana* together with *kanji* and a little *kata-kana*. Although Roman letters or

even English are seen on some of the sign-boards of stores and shops in the streets, generally, the overwhelming majority of the sign-boards are written in Chinese characters.

If tourists come to Japan with some knowledge of Japanese including the numerals, names of ordinary commodities, expressions of daily greetings, etc., they will be able to enjoy a more pleasant stay. English is understood, however, at places where ordinary tourists frequently visit. At hotel, big shops and transportation depots, English-speaking tourists will find few difficulties in making themselves understood.

It may be added that there are available a number of the licensed guides who have passed government examinations. The tourists will be greatly helped by these guides in their tour of this country.

Objects of Tourism (Tourist Resources)

Nature

General Description of Scenery

The first and foremost characteristic of Japanese scenery is its rich variety. The coast line (total length: 16,214 miles) is curved and indented with a great number of promontories and bays and numerous small islands. On the other hand, the mountains higher than is proportionate to the land area (the total area: 142,338 square miles), with resulting rapids in rivers and beautiful valleys. With these are combined waterfalls, lakes, forests, plains, tilled fields, villages, etc., thus giving every possible variety to the Japanese scenery.

The elements and seasonal changes also play important roles. Exempting Hokkaido, most of Japan comprising of the remaining three islands enjoys a relatively regular rotation of the four seasons. In spring the world-famous cherry-blossoms come into bloom all over the country and rapeblossoms turn the fields into gold. Fresh verdure is

a harbinger of the summer and is followed by wisteria and azalea which brighten the mountains and fields. Autumn is the season for chrysanthemum. Snow in winter not only offers delightful opportunity for skiing, but also affords the traditional pleasure of "snow admiring" in which people enjoy viewing the snow scenery while drinking wine beautiful plumblossoms also make the gloomy season cheerful.

The rich variety of the scenery, combined with its elegant beauty, it has been a big factor in developing and cultivating a genuine love of nature in the minds of the Japanese people. The unique development of gardening, the native growth of flower arrangements and miniature planting, the colorful *yūzen* pattern of *kimono* loved by women, the *haiku* hobby widely popular among the general public—all these things cannot be properly understood without taking into account this Japanese love of nature.

The second characteristic of Japanese scenery is its elegant beauty, which is no doubt related to its shortcoming of being

small in scale. Nowhere in Japan can be found magnificent scenery like that of the Grand Canyon in the United States nor any area worth being called a desert. But one may find almost everywhere in the country such picturesque sceneries as a seashore of white sand lined with green rows of pine-trees, the gentle slope of a hazy hill with a five-story pagoda in the distance or the red *torii* of a shrine casting its shadow on the clear surface of a river. The Japanese have admired such sceneries from olden times and the 3 Great Scenic spots of Japan, still represent the Japanese ideal. Oyodo Michikaze, noted *haiku* poet of the Edo Era, who travelled all over the country selected the 12 Scenic Place of the country consisting of the 3 Great Scenic Places and 9 other additional beauties more or less similar to them in essence. From this widely accepted selection may be surmised the traditional criteria of scenery among the Japanese people. The 12 Scenic Places are as follows.

- (1) Tago-no-ura, (2) Matsushima, (3) Hakozaki, (4) Ama-no-hashidate, (5) Waka-no-ura, (6) Biwa-ko, (7) Itsukushima, (8) Kisakata, (9) Asamaya, (10) Matsue, (11) Akashi, (12) Kanazawa.

Of the twelve sceneries, Kisakata has lost its tourist value owing to the subsequent topographical changes of the place, and Kanazawa of today no longer retains its past beauty. The remaining 10 spots are still noted for their elegant beauty. All the 12 places except for Lake Biwa, are common in that they are seaside sceneries, where the white of sand and the green of pine-trees are generally the chief component features. This fact will deserve attention in understanding the Japanese time-honored disposition toward natural scenery.

Since the Meiji Era many new scenic places such as Karuizawa and Lake Nojiri have been explored and discovered by foreign travel lovers. Stimulated by these discoveries, the Japanese have come to appreciate the beauty of many high mountains, plateaus and mountain lakes which they themselves discovered and have made widely known. Though a new criteria of scenery has been thus developed among the

Japanese they have not affected that traditional Japanese liking for elegant beauty.

The third characteristic is its mixture with human factors. This may be attributed to the fact that Japan has a large population within a comparatively narrow area and that the Japanese race has a long history. Primeval virgin forests or vast plains are scarcely seen in Japan. Even in the remotest part of the country a tourist can not direct his camera toward a scenery without including roads, bridges, villages or other human products. As described in a poem, "Tilled Up to the Hill-Tops", it is common to see many cultivated fields terrace above terrace on the slopes of mountains. Small stretches of paddy fields are sometimes found in the most unexpected parts of high mountains and deep valleys. In the woods and on hills are often seen temples and shrines. Old castles are also seen here and there with their main towers standing out against the sky. In big and small cities where the busiest centers are mostly occupied by modern buildings, traditional houses and shops also maintain their existence side by side. In rural villages remain many farmers' houses rich in local color. All of these houses have gardens, small or large, attached to them, which are also characteristic of Japan.

Specific Description of the Japanese Scenery

Mountains. In spite of its narrowness with its widest part extending only 170 miles, Japan has many mountains. Among the mountainous countries of the world Japan ranks next to Switzerland and Norway.

Mountains in Japan are divided into 3: volcanic formation, granite formation and sedimentary and metamorphic formation, each offering its own scenic features.

Being a volcanic country, excellent scenery is naturally found more in the areas of active or extinct volcanoes. It is natural that a large majority of the national parks in Japan should be located with a volcano or a group of volcanoes as their center. (e. g. Akan, Daisetsu-zan, Shikotsu-Tōya, Towada, Bantai-asahi, Nikkō, Jōshin-etsu

Plateau, Fuji Hakone, Daisen, Aso, Unzen, Seikai, Kirishima, etc.) Among others, Mt. Fuji is world-famous. The sublime symmetry of her figure is almost without parallel in the world. There are a number of volcanoes of "konide" type throughout the country, which, resembling Mt. Fuji in figure, are often called "so-and-so Fuji" besides their own names. The contour of a volcano is not the only factor in the beauty of the scenery. The configuration of the crater and the lava on the slopes is also important. Besides volcanoes of the "konide" type, there are those of "tholoide" type (e.g. Daisen, Hakone-Komagatake, Onsen-dake, etc.), "aspide" type (e.g. Gassan, Kirigamine, etc.) and others. There are also not a few volcanoes which present beautiful shapes though unsymmetrical as a result of repeated eruptions. (e.g. Hakkōda-san, Bantai-san, Nikkō, Hakone, Norikura-dake, Yatsu-gatake, Unzen-dake, Kirishima, etc.)

There are a large number of active volcanoes including Ōshima, Asama and Yake-dake, Me-Akan-dake, Tokachi-dake, Asahi-dake and Naramae-dake in Hokkaidō, and Aso-san in Kyūshū. Aso-san is a complex active volcano consisting of 5 mountains which appeared after eruptions within the huge crater caused by a crumbling process of the central part of the old volcano, plus 5 other conical volcanoes near by.

The Japan Alps presents a typical scenery of large groups of mountains largely composed of granite rocks. The Alps became widely known to the world following expeditions by Reverend Walter Weston and G.H. Chamberlain, who had come to Japan in the early years of the Meiji Era. It includes the Tate-yama, Hakuba-dake, Yari-ga-take, Hodaka-dake, etc. Lesser granite mountains are found in many places along the railway lines in the western section of Japan.

Mountain scenery of aqueous rocks can be seen among the Southern Alps and the Chichibu Mountains in the eastern section of Honshū (Principal Island) and among the Ōmine-san in the western section. The contours of this mountain scenery is rectilinear and a number of

strata are recognized on the surface of the cliffs, which present unusual views together with furrows engraved on them.

Tsukuba-san and the Rokkō-san are unique in that they stand out on the plains. Hiei-zan and Kasuga-yama which remind us of paintings of Yamato School, the high mountains of Chichibu noted for large depth and other mountains of various features also represent manifold aspects of the Japanese scenery.

Mountain climbing used to be called mountain pilgrimage and was very often made for religious purposes. Mt. Fuji, Tate-yama, Haku-san, Chōkai-san, three mountains of Dewa (Haguro-san, Gassan and Yudono-san), Ōmine, Daisen, Hiko-yama, all these used to be sacred mountains where religious climbs were made. Following the custom of the ascetic pilgrim, the climbers in those days used to go up the mountains in white clothes with pilgrim staff in hand, chanting *rokkon shōjō* or sutra for purification from the six roots of evil. Even today one may find a few climbers in this traditional attire among the modern mountaineers.

Rivers, valleys, waterfalls, lakes. The topography of Japan, which has neither deserts nor prairies, does not allow for magnificent rivers nor lakes. The Tone River may be the only one which deserves the name of river. Others are mostly streams flowing down through mountain valleys. However, these rivers offer wonderful scenic delights. The Azusa-gawa at Kurobe and Kamikōchi, both in the Japan Alps is the most celebrated. Similar charming scenery can be viewed at the upper reaches of the Kiso-gawa and at the Mitake Shōsenkyō. The Oirase near Lake Towada is typical of limpid mountain streams. Typical river-side scenery peculiar to the mountain area of aqueous rocks is enjoyed at Hozu-gawa and the Kamo-gawa. The Kumano-gawa which originates in the Ōmine Mountain and sweeps down through the valleys of aqueous rocks, presents a deep and unruffled depth at Toro-Hatchō. The Kuma-gawa in Kyūshū is the longest rapids in Japan, Ōboke and Kobo-ke in Shikoku Island and the Kiso-gawa near the

Inuyama Castle present more or less similar scenery.

Among many waterfalls in various parts of the country, the Kegon Waterfall in Nikkō and the Nachi Waterfall in Kumano are the most famous.

Famous lakes in flat areas are Biwa-ko, Shinji-ko, Hamana-ko, Kasumi-ga-ura and Hachirō-gata. Except for Biwa-ko, which is surrounded by mountains, appearing somewhat like a mountain lake, all the others are situated close to the seas.

In the volcanic mountain areas are often found mountain lakes. Some volcanoes like Kirishima present a group of lakes which was formed by the process of craters becoming filled with water. Towada-ko is typical of caldera lakes. Among other caldera lakes are Kussharo-ko, Mashū-ko, Shikotsu-ko and Tōya-ko in Hokkaidō, Tazawa-ko in Akita Prefecture and Ashi-no-ko in Hakone. Towada-ko is larger than Crater Lake in the United States. Tazawa-ko is 425 meters (1,400 feet) deep, the deepest lake in Japan.

Chūzenji-ko in Nikkō, Taishō-ike in Kamikōchi, Shikaribetsu-ko in the Daisetsuzan mountains, the 5 Lakes of Mt. Fuji are dam lakes which were formed when valley rivers were dammed up by lava.

In the past, only the lakes on the main traffic routes such as Biwa-ko, Suwa-ko and Ashi-no-ko, used to attract tourist attention. But many mountain lakes have been recently discovered to become objects of tourism.

Coasts. It is a natural result of its insular position that Japan is rich in sea-side scenery. Exceptionally grand are those found at Rikuchū coast and Oki Islands.

The most large-scale and typical of Japanese seaside scenery is that of the Seto Inland Sea with its indented coast-lines and innumerable islands mostly of granite and partly of volcanic rocks. Among others, Shōdo-shima with the novel rock landscape of Kanka-kei, Yashima with its roof-shaped mesa, Washū-san and Sensui-tō offer fine views. Itsuku-shima, one of the 3 Great Scenic Spots of Japan, is one of

the representative sceneries of the Seto Inland Sea, with its graceful red-colored building.

The other 2, Matsu-shima and Ama-no-Hashidate, are more or less of a similar type of coastal landscape. Matsu-shima is archipelago landscape in Matsu-shima Bay and Ama-no-Hashidate is a long, white sand-bar clad with old pine-trees stretching across a bay.

Of other archipelago landscapes, those of Amakusa Islands and Kujū-ku-shima, both in Kyūshū, can compare with Matsu-shima. The panoramic view of Yomi-ga-hama across Naka-no-umi, which can be best commanded from Takao-san on Shimane Peninsula may surpass Ama-no-Hashidate in magnitude and beauty.

Of the long expanses of beach which present a large, spacious landscape are Volcanic Bay in Hokkaidō, Kujū-kuri-hama in Chiba Prefecture, Urato Bay in Kōchi Prefecture, Niji-no-Matsubara in Saga Prefecture and Kinkō-wan, Fukiage-nohama and Shubushi-wan in Kagoshima Prefecture.

In contrast with the comparatively even and smooth landscapes mentioned above, there are also precipitous cliffs and strange shaped rocks and islands. On the Japan Sea side, they are the west coast of Ojika Peninsula in Akita Prefecture, the west coast of Sado Island, Sotomo and Tōjinbo in Fukui Prefecture, the west coast of Noto Peninsula, Uradome coast in Tottori Prefecture, Miho-no-Kitaura in Shimane Prefecture, west coast of Dōzen in Oki Islands, Keya-no-Ōto and Nanatsugama in Kyūshū. On the Pacific side are Rikuchū Coast, Kumano Coast (Onigajō) in Wakayama Prefecture, Muroto Promontory and Ashizuri Promontory in Shikoku. Except for the Rikuchū Coast and Oki Islands which present comparatively large scale landscapes, however, most of these places are valued for their contrasting mixture of charming scenic beauties. For example, Keya-no-Ōto and Niji-no-Matsubara, contrasting with each other, form one tourist course in a happy combination.

Botanical factor of scenery

Japan, the principal part of which enjoys a temperate and moist climate, is characterized by large quantity and great variety of species of plant life. Plant life as such brings to the Japanese natural scenery delicate changes of color according to place and season.

Generally speaking, there are few places where natural forests present a grand landscape. Most of the forests in Japan are the planted forests as will be discussed in later paragraphs. The forests in the south-western part of Japan are mainly temperate zone forests which consist of broad-leaved evergreens. Most of the forests in the middle and north-eastern parts consist of beech, birch, oak, horse-chestnut (*Aesculus turbinata*), hinoki (*Chamaecyparis obtusa*), katsura (*Cercidiphyllum japonicum*) and other broad-leaved trees. In the mountains of Honshū (main Island) and in Hokkaidō are frigid zone forests, which, largely consist of needle-leaf trees, resembling the features of forests in North Europe and Canada. Akan and Daisetsu-zan National Parks in Hokkaidō and Oku-Nikkō in Honshū contain typical forests of this kind.

Most characteristic of Japan is the pine-tree, which offers graceful shape both single and in group. The pine-tree is an important component of the Japanese landscape. Mountains generally abound in red pine-trees (*Pinus densiflora*) mixed with broad-leaved evergreen and deciduous trees, while in coastal forests grow black pine-trees (*Pinus thunbergii*). Bamboos are seen throughout the country. The fact that the seasonal change in their green color is reverse to that of broad-leaved trees gives the natural scenery further variety.

Among the trees which add to color and charm is the mountain cherry which blooms in the spring. Yoshino in Wakayama, Arashiyama in Kyoto and many other places are celebrated for it. In May and June the red, orange and purple colors of azalea brighten the fields and mountains. The most celebrated places for azaleas are Kirishima-yama and Unzen in Kyūshū.

Mt. Fuji and Akagi-san in the vicinity of Tokyo are noted for milk netch azalea. Maple-trees which turn red in autumn present no less beauty than these flower trees. They grow in multitudes almost everywhere in the country and Nikkō and Towada Lake are especially famous for the blazing autumn tints.

Alpine plants are not abundant in Japan. Only the Japan Alps and the plateaus of Hokkaidō present a flower zone which remind us of the Alps in Europe. Tateyama, Shirouma, Yatsu-ga-dake, Daisetsu-zan are noted for alpine plants. Oze Swamp in Nikkō may attract world-wide interest with its novelty of plant life.

Hot spring

Japan is unique in the world for its abundance of hot springs. Bathing in hot springs has been very popular from olden times and numerous hot spring hotels have been built at scenic spots to accommodate tourists.

Mineral springs which are medically efficacious number more than 1,100, of which those called hot springs vary in temperature from 80° F to 226° F at the source. The principal ones are listed below.

Hokkaidō—Yuno-kawa, Tōya-ko, Noboribetsu, Jōzankei.

North-eastern Japan—Ikaho, Shiobara, Nasu, Nikkō-Yumoto, Kinugawa, Kusatsu, Shima, Asama, Kami-suwa, Shimo-suwa, Yumura, Iizaka, Higashi-yama, Akakura, Gero, Katayamazu, Awara, Yamanaka, Yamashiro, Kami-no-yama, Onkai, Yuze, Hanamaki, Ōwani, Asamushi.

Hakone—Yumoto, Tō-no-sawa, Miya-no-shita, Gōra, Kowaku-dani, Sengoku-bara. Izu Peninsula—Yugawara, Izu-san, Atami, Itō, Shuzenji, Imai-hama, Nagaoka.

South-western Japan—Arima, Takarazuka, Shira-hama, Katsu-ura, Tottori, Kinosaki, Misasa, Tamatsukuri, Dōgo, Musashi, Beppu, Takeo, Ureshi-no, Obama, Unzen, Yu-no-tani, Toshita, Tochi-no-ki, Kirishima.

The most noted hot spring in Hokkaidō is Noboribetsu, situated 21 miles north of Muroran City. This popular resort amid

magnificent natural settings possesses geysers of 8 to 10 feet in height. Kusatsu in Honshū is an internationally well-known sulphurous spring with a high temperature (120° F). Among scenic hot springs, Ikaho is typical of mountain hot springs, and Atami, of coastal hot springs. Arima at the foot of the Rokkō-san is located near Kobe City and attracts bathers during the hot summer. Beppu in Kyūshū enjoys world-wide fame as a hot spring city. "Inferno Pilgrimage", a course through various hot springs is a special feature at Beppu together with sand-bathing on the seashore. Dōgo in Shikoku is said to be the oldest hot spring in Japan. Unzen in Kyūshū also offers hot springs and its location at high altitudes makes it a pleasant summer resort.

Nearly all hot springs are more or less radioactive. Those at Masutomi and Misasa are especially noted for their high radioactivity. The former is a cold mineral spring and can be reached from Nirayama on the Chūō Railway Line, while the latter is a hot spring and Agei on the San-in Railway Line is the nearest station to it. Misasa, with its high radioactivity of 142.14 Mach's units per litre, comes next to Ischia Hot Spring in Italy, which claims the highest radioactivity in the world.

Protection of nature

In Japan with its overflowing population, the efforts for protection of nature often conflict with the increasing needs for economic development of the country.

The principal measure by the central Government for protection of nature is the legal institution of national parks and state-designated parks, while prefectural governments have prefectural parks which they have set up and administer respectively. Most of these legally established parks are natural parks. Certain scenic spots and natural monuments are protected under the provisions of the Cultural Property Protection Law.

As a private organization, the Japan Nature Protection Association is active in arousing public interest for the prevention

of destruction of natural resources and in bringing pressure of public opinion to bear upon the authorities concerned.

National Parks

The National Park System in Japan came into operation some 20 years ago, by which the most typical places of natural scenic beauty were selected and designated as National Parks by law. To be exact, the institution of national parks was started in Japan in 1934. In the first year were designated 8 national parks, 3 at the very beginning and 4 in the latter part of the year. In 1936 four new national parks were added, thus totaling 12 in number. During the period which began with the outbreak of the prolonged China Incident and lasted through World War II, the administration of national parks had been almost entirely neglected. With the re-emergence of the tourist industry after the termination of war, the question of national parks again emerged into the limelight.

In 1946 the Ise-Shima National Park was added to the original 12 national parks. With subsequent addition of 2 in 1949, two in 1950 and finally another 2 in 1955, national parks at present number 19 in all.

Like national parks in other countries, those in Japan represent the most typical natural scenic spots. The designation of national parks is primarily intended to protect nature and secondly to provide the people with places for recreation as well as to offer national scenic beauty to tourists from abroad. It is to be noted that it took some 20 years to make the institution of the national parks a reality in spite of the fact that the movement was started early in the concluding years of the Meiji Era under the influence of European and American institutions. This fact may be accounted for partly by the peculiar natural features of Japan which made selection difficult, and partly by detrimental factors such as World War I and the Great Earthquake of 1923 that followed in succession.

Though national parks in Japan fall far behind those in U.S.A. and Canada, in regard to magnificence and grandeur, all of them are worth being called great land-

scapes if the physical conditions of this country are taken into consideration.

With their comparatively large-scale physical features and varied scenery, they give the visitors impressions and inspirations entirely different from what they experience in their daily life. It is one of the characteristics peculiar to Japan that some of the national parks are more highly valued for their human factors such as shrines, temples and historic sites or rural villages. Nikkō, Ise-Shima, 5 Lakes of Mt. Fuji, Seto Inland Sea are typical of the national parks of this type. It is also another characteristic that in spite of the principle that the entire area of a national park should be State-owned land, the national parks contain considerable areas of prefecturally-owned and privately owned land. Wherever thorough protection of nature is necessary, however, that part of a national park, which generally does not contain private land, is designated as a Special Region where various human activities are

subject to the permission of the authorities concerned.

One of the notable features common to most of the national parks in Japan is the fact that they present volcanic landscapes. With a few exceptions, all the national parks contain some volcanoes.

As a result of the insular position of Japan, another characteristic is that many of them are associated with coastal landscapes. The Seto Inland Sea presents world-famous coastal sceneries. Its charming landscapes and lovely fishing villages here and there are of greatest tourist appeal. Saikai National Park presents an archipelago scenery of the open sea; Rikuchū Coast is a landscape resulting from oceanic erosion; Ise-Shima faces the sea and Yoshino-Kumano partially contains coastal landscape. If the national parks which command fine views of the sea are counted, Fuji-Hakone, Daisen, Unzen, Kirishima and many others should be included in this category.

List of National Parks in Japan

Name	Location (Prefecture)	Area	Year of Designation
Akan	Hokkaidō	87,498	1934
Daisetsuzan	"	231,929	1934
Shikotsu-Tōya	"	98,660	1949
Towada-Hachimantai	Aomori, Akita, Iwate	83,351	1936
Rikuchū Coast	Iwate	c. 70,000	1955
Bandai Asahi	Yamagata, Niigata, Fukushima	204,608	1950
Nikkō	Tochigi, Niigata, Fukushima, Gumma	140,593	1934
Jōshinetsu Plateau	Niigata, Gumma, Nagano	188,915	1949
Chichibu-Tama	Tokyo, Saitama, Yamana-shi, Nagano	121,600	1950
Fuji-Hakone-Izu	Kanagawa, Shizuoka, Yamanashi	94,814	1936
Chūbu Mountains	Nagano, Toyama, Gifu, Niigata	169,768	1934
Ise-Shima	Mie	52,036	1944
Yoshino-Kumano	Nara, Mie, Wakayama	55,378	1936
Taisen	Tottori	12,403	1936
Seto Inland Sea	Hyōgo, Wakayama, Okayama, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Tokushima, Ehime, Kagawa, Ōita	73,417	1934
Aso	Kumamoto, Ōita	73,417	1934
Unzen-Amakusa	Nagasaki	25,600	1934
Saikai	"	22,000	1955
Kirishima	Miyazaki, Kagoshima	21,560	1934
Yaku-shima	Kagoshima	c. 24,383	1956
			to be designated

State-Designated Parks

Natural scenic spots which are so distinguished as to be almost equivalent to those of national parks are set aside as State-designated parks.

Prefectural Parks

Prefectural Parks are those designated

by the prefectures. Except for five prefectures (Tochigi, Niigata, Toyama, Shiga and Kumamoto) of all the 46 prefectures of the country, have parks of this category totaling 228 throughout the country. Of this number, 22 are recreational parks and 6 are athletic parks, which come under the category of cultural facilities. The remaining 200 are natural parks.

List of State-designated Parks

Name	Location (Prefecture)	Area	Year of designation
Seven Islands of Izu	Tokyo	27,495	1955
Sado-Yahiko	Niigata	46,030	1950
Haku-san	Toyama, Ishikawa, Fukui, Gifu	43,000	1955
Wakasa Bay	Fukui, Kyoto	10,000	1955
Lake Biwa	Shiga, Kyoto	109,982	1950
Sanin Coast	Hyōgo, Tottori	12,000	1955
Kita-nagato Coast	Yamaguchi	7,600	1955
Akiyoshi-dai	"	4,300	1955
Ishizuchi	Ehime, Kōchi	11,700	1955
Ashizuri	Kōchi	5,309	1955
Genkai	Fukuoka, Saga	11,000	1956
Yabuhidaihakosan	Fukuoka, Kumamoto, Ōita	108,809	1950
Nichi-nan Coast	Miyazaki, Kagoshima	5,000	1955
Kinkō Bay	Kagoshima	14,700	1955

Scenic Places

Scenic places are, side by side with historic sites and natural monuments, one of the divisions of Cultural Property, which are protected under the terms of the Cultural Property Protection Law. Principal features of some of these scenic places are gardens and bridges, while others are valleys, coasts, mountains and other natural features. In the latter case, the designation of scenic places may be considered as a type of protection of nature. Of the special scenic places, Matsushima (Miyagi), Mitake-Shōsenkyō (Yamanashi), Kamikochi (Nagano), Itsukushima (Hiroshima), Osen-dake (Nagasaki), Lake Towada and Oirase Rapids (Aomori, Akita), Toro-hatchō (Wakayama, Mie, Nara), Mt. Fuji (Yamanashi, Shizuoka) are especially noted.

Cultures

General Remarks

Whereas, Japanese culture is deeply root-

ed in the peculiarities of the people, it also developed under the influences of natural environment. In spite of the importation of foreign cultures at various stages, Japanese culture has not lost its inherent characteristics which are always its underlying force. Although the rapid importation of a large quantity of modern culture resulted in a duality, its inherent aspect will be still the most interesting and appealing to tourists from abroad. (cf. Characteristics of Japan as Land of Tourism, Duality of Culture) Culture)

As to the peculiarities of the Japanese people which form the foundation of Japanese culture, a number of traits should be mentioned. The most distinguished are the liking for elegant simplicity and manual ingenuity. The former takes various forms in the daily life. It affords the keynote to the tea-ceremony, flower arrangements, gardening and miniature planting. The latter gives rise to the peculiar arts and crafts such as pottery, lacquer-ware, especially raised lacquer, metal casting, dying and

weaving and others. The success of Japan in modern precision industry such as weights and measurements, optical apparatus, is largely attributable to the ingenuity of the people. As to the influence of natural environment, high humidity may be of considerable importance.

As mentioned in preceding paragraphs, the cultural elements of Japan are very often mixed with the natural all through daily life, progressions, religious life, transportation and industry. Therefore, when one wants to discuss natural scenic beauty, he cannot distinguish nature entirely free from human elements. This is why human factors have been very frequently touched upon in the preceding paragraphs of "Nature". Below will be given some supplementary accounts of human factors which have not been discussed.

Tangible Culture

Of the tangible cultural properties of Japan, painting, sculpture, architecture, gardening, and crafts are all classified under arts, which will be treated elsewhere. (cf. XXIV Fine Arts)

Tourists will find these objects of arts in museums, shrines and temples and notice that they are generally the products of native materials given life through Japanese skill as for instance, Yamato painting and wooden sculptures. As to architecture, the interest of foreign tourists will most likely be on shrines and temples. Old houses in rural villages, however, should not be overlooked. As to gardens, the Japanese gardens, unlike those of the West where generally symmetrical and geometrical designs are valued, bring in nature as it is with emphasis on its delicate variety.

Even cities like Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya which do not offer scenes of special Japanese coloring still retain a certain native beauty. As such, Kyoto, Kobe, Fukuoka, Nagasaki, Hakodate are typical. Sendai, Kumamoto, Kanazawa and Okayama are beautiful cities with their hills, forests and rivers.

Everywhere in the country are seen vegetable fields and rice paddies. These are not limited to open areas but are found even

on slopes of hills or among high mountains. In rice paddies, Chinese milk-vetch spread a beautiful pink carpet and often form a most charming landscape in contrast with the yellow of rape-seed.

Planted forests are one of the remarkable feature of the Japanese landscape. Afforestation is stimulated by the need for timber and fuel as well as an anti-flood measure.

Intangible Culture

Of the intangible cultural properties, dances, theaters and music will be treated in detail elsewhere. (cf. XXV Dances, Theaters, Music) *Kagura* (sacred dance dedicated to a shrine) is one of the Japanese traditional dances, which cannot be seen in everyday life. *Bon*-festival dances, rice planting dances and other folk dances are limited to the particular season so that foreign tourists rarely see them performed. Recently a folk dance contest was held in Tokyo on the occasion of the National Art Festival. *Kabuki* dances are performed on the stage in certain *kabuki* plays throughout the year.

Among the traditional features of the Japan stage are *noh*, *kyōgen*, *ningyō-jōruri* and *kabuki*, all of which are presented throughout the year, and easily accessible to the foreign tourist.

Japanese music may be divided into two types; one to accompany *kabuki* and dances and the other for solo performance. *Bugaku* and *gagaku* which had their origin in China are under the protection of the Imperial Household.

Arts and crafts will be discussed under the heading of Fine Arts, and annual events and functions under the heading of Manners and Customs.

Cultural Property Protection System

After the termination of World War II, the Cultural Property Protection Law was enacted so that all matters concerning protection of cultural property are now administered by the law. Among the objects protected by this law, are buildings, paintings, sculptures, calligraphy and books and do-

cuments which are of high artistic or historical or archaeological value. According to their degree of importance, they are designated, under the provisions of the law, as Tangible Cultural Property, Important Cultural Property or National Treasure. Theater art, music, craft techniques which are of high historical or artistic value are designated as Intangible Cultural Property or Important Intangible Cultural Property according to importance. Of the customs relating to eating, clothing and dwelling, occupations, religion, annual events and functions, and the clothes, utensils and houses used in connection with these cus-

toms, those which are indispensable for understanding the evolution of the people's life are designated as Customs and Manners of the People or Important Customs and Manners of the People according to importance. Designation of important monuments are Historic Sites, Scenic Places and Natural Monuments. Those of special importance are designated as Special Historic Sites, etc. Historic sites cover shell mounds, castles sites and old mansions which are of historical and scientific value. Kairaku-en at Mito, Kōraku-en at Okayama and Kenroku-en at Kanazawa are the Three Great Parks of Japan.

Tourist Facilities

Transportation

Transportation will be treated in detail in the chapter on Transportation including roads, railways, steamer service and airlines. Tourists must bear in mind that the traffic rule in Japan is keep-to-the-left for vehicles and keep-to-the-right for pedestrians. Surface tram-cars, bus and taxi services are well developed in cities. *Rikishi* are still seen, though very few in number. As to international conveniences such as rail, steamer and airline services, there are no features peculiar to Japan.

Facilities to visit

Of the museums which total some 80 throughout the country, most distinguished are Tokyo National Museum, Ōkura Shūkan Museum and Japan Folk Art Museum in Tokyo, Kyoto National Museum in Kyoto and Nara National Museum. Art Museums, some 30 in number, include the National Modern Art Museum, Bridge-stone Museum and the Nezu Art Museum in Tokyo, Tokugawa Art Museum in Nagoya, Municipal Art Museum in Osaka, Ōhara Art Museum in Kurashiki. Others are zoological and botanical gardens, which totals some 20 in number, and storehouses of shrines and temples which exceed 50.

Amusement facilities

From olden days the Japanese have enjoyed simple amusements and pleasures without any specific facilities such as flower-viewing, grass-picking, seashell-gathering, in spring; firefly-catching, maple-viewing in summer; mushroom-gathering, chestnut-gathering, full-moon viewing in autumn; snow-viewing in winter; fishing throughout the year. Recently many facilities have been constructed including skiing resorts, skating rinks, golf courses, camping sites and sea-bathing resorts, all waiting for tourists.

Lodging facilities

Some 100 western-style hotels in Japan are mostly operated on the European plan. Japanese-style hotels may afford a novel experience to tourists who happen to stay there. The customers must take off their shoes when they enter the house. Each room is floored with mats, on which the customers sit and are served with meals. At night they sleep in Japanese beddings spread on the matted floor. If one experiences it once, he will come to understand that it is by no means a primitive way of life. Hotel employees may not understand foreign languages but they are so kind and friendly that the tourists will not face much inconvenience.

Preliminary Knowledge Desirable for Tourism in Japan

Tourist agencies

The oldest and largest tourist agency in Japan is the Japan Travel Bureau, which was established in 1912. It has six branches and 170 ticket and information offices all over the country, where travel information, itinerary formulation, hotel reservation, sale of transportation tickets and luggage service are handled.

Guides are available at JTB offices or hotels. Guides fees are 1,000 *yen* or above a day excluding hotel charges and transportation fees.

Travel publications

The following publications are published by J.T.B. for tourists from abroad:

1. JAPAN: the Official Guide
1055 pp. 61 maps 6.4 in by 4.0 in \$ 6.50
2. JAPAN: the Pocket Guide
158 pp. 34 photo pages & 14 maps 7.3 in by 5.2 in \$ 1.50
3. Tourist Library 7.3 in by 5.2 in
 - Vol. 1 Floral Art of Japan
100 pp \$ 1.25
 - Vol. 2 Hiroshige and Japanese Landscape
138 pp \$ 2.00
 - Vol. 3 Kimono 77 pp \$ 0.75
 - Vol. 4 Tea Cult of Japan
106 pp \$ 1.25
 - Vol. 5 Japanese Gardens
140 pp \$ 1.50
 - Vol. 6 Japanese Architecture
126 pp \$ 1.50
 - Vol. 7 Kabuki Drama
190 pp \$ 2.00
 - Vol. 8 Ceramic Art of Japan
249 pp \$ 3.00
 - Vol. 9 Japanese Fine Arts
197 pp \$ 3.00
 - Vol. 10 Japanese Woodblock Prints

- Vol. 11 Japanese Cookbook
102 pp \$ 2.00
- Vol. 12 Japanese Postage Stamps
323 pp \$ 3.00
- Vol. 13 Bonsai (Miniature Potted Trees)
177 pp \$ 2.00
- Vol. 14 Netsuke (Miniature Art of Japan)
212 pp \$ 3.00

Some traits of the Japanese people and their custom and manner

The Japanese, generally speaking, are kind, sometimes so excessively as to be a nuisance. For example, they will often answer a question beyond what the question demands. Their habitual avoidance of using "yes" or "no" definitely may be most properly accounted for by their moral ideal of avoiding trouble and not hurting other people. It does not by any means denote lack of good faith.

Japanese manners are usually characterized by excessive politeness. For example, a common way of greeting is a combination of taking off the hat and bending down plus the usual polite words of greeting. Presents are received with exaggerated expressions of delight and gratitude, but they are put aside instead of being opened in the presence of the giver. It may appear very strange to Europeans and Americans, but Japanese custom makes it impolite to be inquisitive about the contents of the present. Moreover, the receiver of the present expresses his thanks again when he comes across the giver a few days later. It should not be taken as an indirect demand for another present, but is another evidence of how over-polite the Japanese people are. The Japanese take off their overcoats whenever they call on someone at an office. It is because they consider it good manners, not because they intend to stay long. Difficult customs and manners should be taken

as they are, and in no way should they be mistaken for signs of malicious intent or lack of faith. (cf. XXVII Customs and Manners)

Japanese food

Most foods peculiar to Japan are simple and plain as for example, *sashimi* (sliced raw fish), *tōfu* (bean-curd) and *soba* (buckwheat noodle). Breakfast always in-

cludes *miso* soup. *Sushi* is a favorite food. Usually it takes time for Europeans and Americans to get accustomed to these types of food but some are very well suited to Occidental taste as are, for instance, *tempura*, *chawan-mushi* and *sukiyaki*. Those who desire Western or Chinese cooking, will not find the least difficulty in satisfying their desire the larger cities. (cf. XXVII Customs and Manners)

APPENDIX

Conversion Table of Weights and Measures

A. On the Japanese Basis

	Japanese units		Metric equivalents	British or U. S. equivalents
Length	<i>rin</i>		0.30303 millimetre	0.01193 inch
	<i>bu</i>	(10 <i>rin</i>)	0.30303 centimetre	0.11930 inch
	<i>sun</i>	(10 <i>bu</i>)	0.30303 decimetre	1.19305 inches
	<i>shaku</i>	(10 <i>sun</i>)	0.30303 metre	0.99421 foot
	<i>ken</i>	(6 <i>shaku</i>)	1.81818 metres	0.09038 chain
	<i>chō</i>	(60 <i>ken</i>)	0.10909 kilometre	0.06778 mile 0.05886 sea mile
	<i>ri</i>	(36 <i>chō</i>)	3.92727 kilometre	2.44033 mile 2.11924 sea mile
Area	<i>tsubo</i>		3.30582 sq. metres	3.95382 sq. yards
	<i>se</i>	(30 <i>tsubo</i>)	0.99174 are	0.245072 sq. chain
	<i>tan</i>	(10 <i>se</i>)	9.9174 ares	0.245072 acre
	<i>chō</i>	(10 <i>tan</i>)	0.99174 hectare	2.45072 acre
	sq. <i>ri</i>		1,542.84 hectares	5.95525 sq. miles
Capacity	<i>shaku</i>		1.80390 centilitres	1.600410 cub. inches
	<i>gō</i>	(10 <i>shaku</i>)	1.80390 decilitres	0.03973 Imp. gallon 0.04766 U.S. gallon
	<i>shō</i>	(10 <i>gō</i>)	1.80390 litres	0.39725 Imp. gallon 0.47657 U.S. gallon
	<i>to</i>	(10 <i>shō</i>)	18.0390 litres	3.97250 Imp. gallon 4.76567 U.S. gallon
	<i>koku</i>	(10 <i>to</i>)	1.80390 hectolitres	0.235954 cub. yard
	<i>sai</i>	(cub. <i>shaku</i>)	0.02783 cub. metre	0.982735 cub. foot
	<i>koku</i>	(10 <i>sai</i>)	0.27826 cub. metre	9.82735 cub. feet
Weight	<i>mō</i>		3.75 milligrammes	0.0013228 ounce
	<i>rin</i>	(10 <i>mō</i>)	3.75 centigrammes	0.013228 ounce
	<i>momme</i>	(10 <i>rin</i>)	3.75 grammes	0.13228 ounce 0.00827 pound
	<i>kin</i>	(160 <i>momme</i>)	0.6 kilogrammes	1.32277 pounds
	<i>kan</i>	(1000 <i>momme</i>)	0.00375 ton	8.26732 pounds

B. On the Metric Basis

	Metric units	Japanese equivalents	British or U. S. equivalents
Length	millimetre	3.30000 <i>rin</i>	0.039370 inch
	centimetre	3.30000 <i>bu</i>	0.393700 inch
	metre	3.3 <i>shaku</i> , 0.55 <i>ken</i>	3.280833 feet, 1.093611 yards
	kilometre	9.16666 <i>chō</i> , 0.25463 <i>ri</i>	0.621370 mile

Area	square metre	0.3025 <i>tsubo</i> , 10.89	10.763865 sq. feet,
	(1,000,000 m ²)	sq. <i>shaku</i>	1.195985 sq. yards
	sq. kilometre	0.064836 sq. <i>ri</i>	0.386101 sq. mile
	are (100 m ²)	0.100833 <i>tan</i>	0.024710 acre
	hectare (10,000 m ²)	1.00833 <i>chō</i>	2.471045 acre
Capacity	centilitre	0.55435 <i>shaku</i>	0.008799 Imp. quart
	decilitre	0.55435 <i>gō</i>	0.010567 U.S. quart
	litre	0.55435 <i>shō</i>	0.087989 Imp. quart
	hectolitre	0.55435 <i>koku</i>	0.105671 U.S. quart
	kilolitre (cubic metre)	35.9370 <i>sai</i>	0.879892 Imp. quart
			1.056710 U.S. quart
Weight	milligramme	0.26667 <i>mō</i>	21.9973 Imp. gallons
	centigramme	0.26667 <i>rin</i>	26.4178 U.S. gallons
	gramme	0.26667 <i>momme</i>	35.31445 cub. feet
	kilogramme	0.26667 <i>kan</i> 1.66667	1.307943 cub. yards
		<i>kin</i>	
	metric ton	266.66667 <i>kan</i>	0.000035 ounce
			0.00035 ounce
			0.035273 ounce
			2.204622 pounds
			0.984206 long ton
			1.102311 short tons

COMPARATIVE CHART OF IMPORTANT HISTORICAL EVENTS

DATE	ERA	HOME AFFAIRS	RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES	FOREIGN AFFAIRS
A.D.				
			57 King of Nu, a country in Northern Kyūshū, sends envoy to the Han Dynasty	67 Buddhism introduced in- to China
100				161-180 Marcus Aurelius, Emperor of Rome
200			238 Pimiku, Ruler of Queen Country of Yasadaï in the Wa, brings tribute to the Wei Dynasty	220 Fall of Han Dynasty 226 Rise of South Persia
300			285 Confucianism & Chinese learning in- troduced from Rekohe by Wani (traditional date)	325 Constantine the Great unifies his Empire
400				395 Roman Empire divided into Eastern & Western
500	Y A M A T O	592 Accession of Empress Suiko, Prince Shōtoku named Regent	552 Official introduc- tion of Buddhism into Japan 562 Office of Japan in Mimana destroyed by Silla	527-565 Justinian the Great of Eastern Roman Empire 589 Sui Dynasty unifies whole China

DATE	ERA	HOME AFFAIRS	RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES	FOREIGN AFFAIRS
600	P E R I O D	604 Injunction of Shōtoku 646 The Taika Reform Edict	607 First envoys sent to the Sui Dynasty	618 China under Tang Dynasty 622 Hegira 661-668 Supremacy of Silla among Korean kingdoms
700	—	701 Code of Taihō promulgated Capital removed to Nara		713 Conquest of Spain by Saracens
10	N A R A		754 Ganjin, Chinese monk, comes	756 Separation of Saracen Empire
94	A	794 New Capital Heiankyō founded (Kyoto)		
800	—			800 Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the Romans 827 Unification of England
			894 Sending of missions to T'ang stopped	862 Founding of Russia as an Empire
900				907 Fall of T'ang Dynasty
		939 Revolt of Taira-no Masakado (Being the beginning of the rise of the military fami- lies)		962 Foundation of the Holy Roman Empire
1000	H E I A N			
		1086 Insei (Cloister Government) begins		1054 Rupture of the Greek and Roman Churches
1100				1097 First Crusade 1122 Concordat of Worms
		1156-85 Rise & fall of the Taira Family		
85	—	1192 Yoritomo appoint- ed Sei-i-taishōgun		
1200	K A M A	Military government established in Kama- kura		1206-27 Conquests by Jinghis Khan 1215 Magna Carta 1241 Hanseatic League

DATE	ERA	HOME AFFAIRS	RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES	FOREIGN AFFAIRS
1300 34	K U R A	1338 Takauji nominat- ed Shōgun	1274-81 Mongol invasions	1271-95 Travels of Marco Polo 1289 Osman becomes ruler of the Ottoman Empire
1400		1392 Peace between Northern & Southern Courts		1336 Spread of Renaissance movements 1348-49 Black Death in Europe
1500	M A S H I O I K A C H I	1467-77 War of Ōnin Period		1453 Fall of the Byzantine Emp. 1456 First book printed at Gutenberg's press in Ger- many 1487 Cape of Good Hope rounded by Dias 1492 Columbus discovers America 1498 Vasco da Gama reaches to India
65	A Z M U O C M H O I Y A M A	1568 Nobunaga be- comes de facto Shōgun 1582 Hideyoshi succeeds Nobunaga's power	1543 Portuguese discovers Japan Fire arms introduced 1549 Christianity introduced 1582 Boys envoy dispatched to Europe 1591 Valignani arrives 1592 Hideyoshi sends an army against Korea	1517 Luther's 95 theses 1522 First circum navigation of the world 1534 Ignatius Loyola establishes Society of Jesus, Jesuit, in Paris 1558 Queen Elizabeth crown- ed 1565 The Philippines taken by the Spanish 1579 The Union of Utrecht 1588 Spanish Armada 1598 Edict of Nantes
1600		1600 Battle of Sekiga- hara 1603 Tokugawa Shogunate Govern- ment established 1637-38 Shimabara Rebellion	1600 William Adams comes 1613 Date Masamune dispatches Hasekura Tsunenaga to Spain & Rome 1638 Isolation from the rest of the World begins	1600 British East India Co. 1618-48 The 30 year's War 1624 Hollanders occupy Formosa 1643-1715 Louis XIV 1648 Peace of Westphalia 1660 Britain becomes Repub- lic 1661 Ching Dynasty supreme in China 1682 Peter the Great crown- ed 1686 Newton publishes Theory of Gravitation 1689 Treaty of Nerchinsk
1700	E D O	1680 Tsunayoshi be- comes Fifth Shōgun 1688-1703 Genroku Period 1716 Yoshimune, 8th Shogun	1708 Giovanni Battista Sidotti, Italian priest, arrives at Kyūshū 1774 Culms' "Tabula Anatomies" trans- lated by Sugita Gempaku	1701 War of Spanish Suc- cession 1713 Treaty of Utrecht 1740 Frederick II ascends the throne 1756-63 Seven Year War 1768-79 Voyages of Captain James Cook 1776 Independence of U.S.A.

DATE	ERA	HOME AFFAIRS	RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES	FOREIGN AFFAIRS
1800	(TOKUGAWA)	1786 Ienari, 11th Shōgun	1792 Russia demands opening of trades	1781-82 Steam engine 1789 French Revolution " George Washington elected 1st President of U.S.A. 1804 Napoleon crowned 1806 Downfall of Holy Roman Empire 1814-15 Congress of Vienna 1823 Monroe Doctrine 1830-31 The July Revolution 1837-1901 Reign of Queen Victoria 1840 The Opium War 1848-49 The Feb. Revolution 1850-64 Taiping rebellion in China 1852 Napoleon III crowned 1854-56 Crimean War 1857 Fall of Mongol Empire 1860 The Peking Treaty, the English & French troops entered Peiking 1867 Karl Marx's "Das Kapi- tal"
68	—	1868 Meiji Restoration 1869 Capital removed to Tokyo 1871 Abolition of feudal clans & establishment of prefectures 1877 Satsuma rebellion	1875 Sakhalin exchanged for the Kuriles	1870 Unification of Italy 1871 German Empire pro- claimed at Versailles 1872 Triple Alliance among Germany, Austria & Italy 1877 Russo-Turkish War 1878 Treaty of Berlin 1883 Indo-China becomes a protectorate of France 1886 Burma appropriated by Britain 1891 Alliance between France & Russia 1898 Spanish-American War
1900	MEIJI	1889 Imperial Consti- tution promulgated	1894 Sino-Japanese War 1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance 1904-05 Russo-Japa- nese War 1905 Treaty of Portsmouth 1910 Annexation of Korea	1900 Boxers Uprising in China
1912	—		1914 Japan enters World War I	1912 Birth of the Republic of China 1914 World War I 1918 End of Tsarist Russia 1919 Peace Conference at Versailles 1920 1st Meeting of the League of Nations 1921 Washington Conference for naval reduction 1922 Mussolini formed Cabi- net. The Nine-Power Treaty 1925 The Locarno Treaty
1926	TAISHŌ	1923 Great earthquake in Tokyo 1928 The First universal (manhood) suffrage		1928 Chinese Nationalist Gov. 1929 Kellogg Anti-War Treaty 1930 London Naval Reduc-

DATE	ERA	HOME AFFAIRS	RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES	FOREIGN AFFAIRS
		1932 May 15 Incident	1932 Manchuria & Shanghai Incidents, Japan secedes from the League of Nations	1932 Manchuria & Shanghai Incidents, Japan secedes from the League of Nations
		1936 2-26 Incident	1940 Tripartite Alliance among Japan, Germany & Italy	1934 Hitler becomes Führer & Chancellor Italo-Abyssinian Hostilities 1936 Spanish Civil War 1938 World War II broke out in Europe
			1941 Neutrality Pact with USSR Declaration of War against USA & UK	1943 Cairo Proclamation Surrender of Italy
			1945 Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki USSR declared war upon Japan End of World War II	1945 Surrender of Germany
	S	1945 Higashikuni Cabinet	1945 Statement on occupation policy by MacArthur	1945 Organization of the World Federation of Labor Unions in Paris
	H	Release of 3,000 political criminals detained before August		Joint communiqué on control of atomic energy by U.S., England and Canada
	Ō	Shidehara Cabinet		Opening of International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg
	W	Inauguration of Japan Liberal Party		
	A	Inauguration of Japan Progressive Party		
		1946 Proclamation on non-divinity of Emperor		1946 1st General Assembly of UN
		General election in accordance with the new Constitution		H-bomb test on Bikini Islands
		1st Yoshida Cabinet		Opening of Paris Peace Conference
		Promulgation of the Constitution		
		Reform of Japanese language		
		Introduction of 6-3-3 education system		
		1947 Democratic Party inaugurated		1947 Passage of Taft-Hartley bill by Congress
		Labour Standard Law promulgated		Founding of India and Pakistan as independent countries
		First election for the House of Councillors		
		General election of the House of Representatives		
		Enforcement of the Constitution		

DATE	ERA	HOME AFFAIRS	RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES	FOREIGN AFFAIRS
		Japan Teachers Union formed		
		Inauguration of Ministry of Labour		
		1948 Ashida Cabinet	1948 Verdict on War criminals by Far East Military Tribunal	1948 Declaration by President Syngman Rhee of founding Republic of Korea
		Inauguration of De- mocratic-Liberal Party		Establishment of the com- munist government in north Korea
		2nd Yoshida Cabinet		Declaration of the founding of East German Republic
		1st election of mem- bers of boards of edu- cation		Establishment of Republic of Indonesia
		1st election of mem- bers of Japan Science Council		
		1949 2nd general elec- tion for House of Representatives:	1949 Exchange ratio of \$1.00 to ¥360 was set up	1949 Establishment of Chinese communist regime in Peking
	S	Democratic-Liberal Party won the majo- rity and 35 Com- munists were returned	Announcement of Sharp Advice on tax	
	H	3rd Yoshida Cabinet		
	Ô	Nobel Prize to Dr. Yukawa Hideki		
	W	1950 Establishment of National Police Reserve	1950 Inauguration of national police reserve	1950 Korean War broke out
	A	1951 Children's Charter Proclaimed	1951 SCAP Douglas MacArthur was replaced by Gen. Ridgeway	1951 Armistice talk started in Seoul
		Dissolution of big financial combines completed	Japan enters Unesco Peace Treaty signed with 49 countries at San Francisco Signing of Security Pact with U.S.A. for defence of Japan	
		1952 Creation of de- fence force	1952 Signing of Japan U.S. Administrative Agreement	1952 Dwight Eisenhower elected to U.S. President
		Effectivation of Peace Treaty	Military occupation ends	
		4th Yoshida Cabinet		
		Official investiture of the Crown Prince as heir to the throne		
		National Museum of Modern Art founded		
		1953 Repatriation from Communist China and USSR commenced	1953 Japan-U.S. Treaty of Navigation and Commerce	1953 Death of Stalin Armistice in Korea
		Trip abroad of the Crown Prince	Rhee line set up Visit of U.S. Vice- president Nixon to Japan	
		5th Yoshida Cabinet		

DATE	ERA	HOME AFFAIRS	RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES	FOREIGN AFFAIRS
		1954 Radioactive fallout contaminated Japanese fishermen		
		Trip abroad of Prime Minister Yoshida		
	S	Formation of Japan Democratic Party		
		1st Hatoyama Cabinet		
	H	1955 2nd Hatoyama Cabinet	1955 Start of negotia- tion with U.S.S.R.	
	Ō	Merger Socialist Party		
		3rd Hatoyama Cabinet		
	W	Formation of Liberal- Democratic Party		
	A	1956 Start of Antarctic Expedition Ishibashi Cabinet	1956 Restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and U.S.S.R. Admission of Japan to U.N.	1956 Disputes over Suez Canal. Reelection of Eisenhower as U.S. President
		1957 1st Kishi Cabinet 29th International PEN Congress	1957 Indian Prime Minister J. Nehru visited Japan	1957 U.S.S.R. shot up artifi- cial satellite

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Osaka	Osaka	Takasaki	Gumma
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	S	Tokyo	Tokyo
		Toro-hatchō	Mie, Nara, Wakayama
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Hokkaidō

Ibaraki

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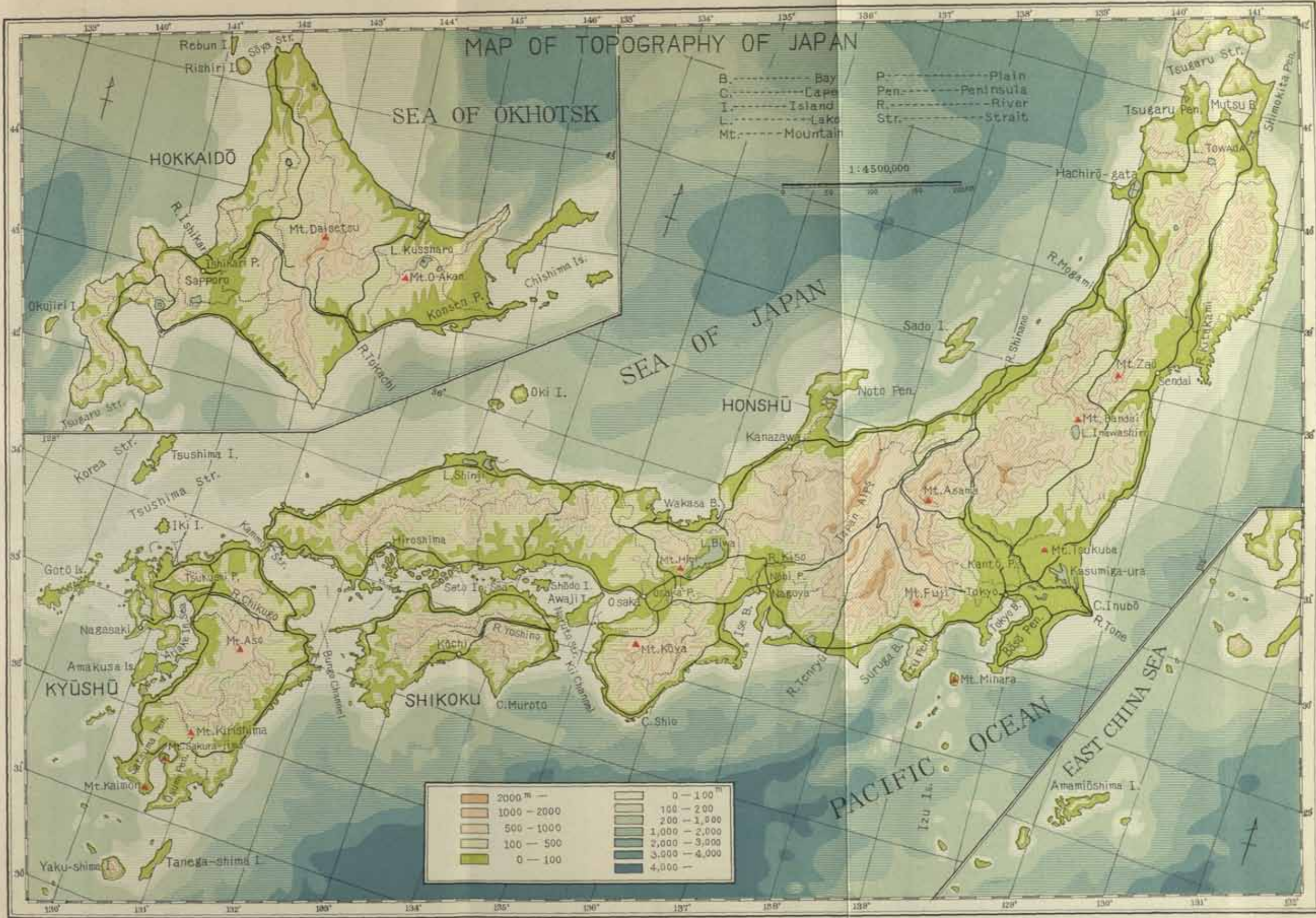
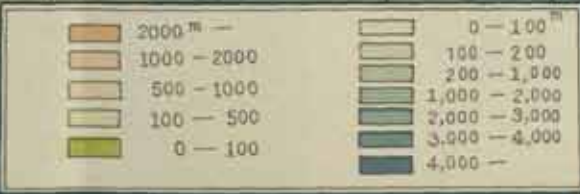
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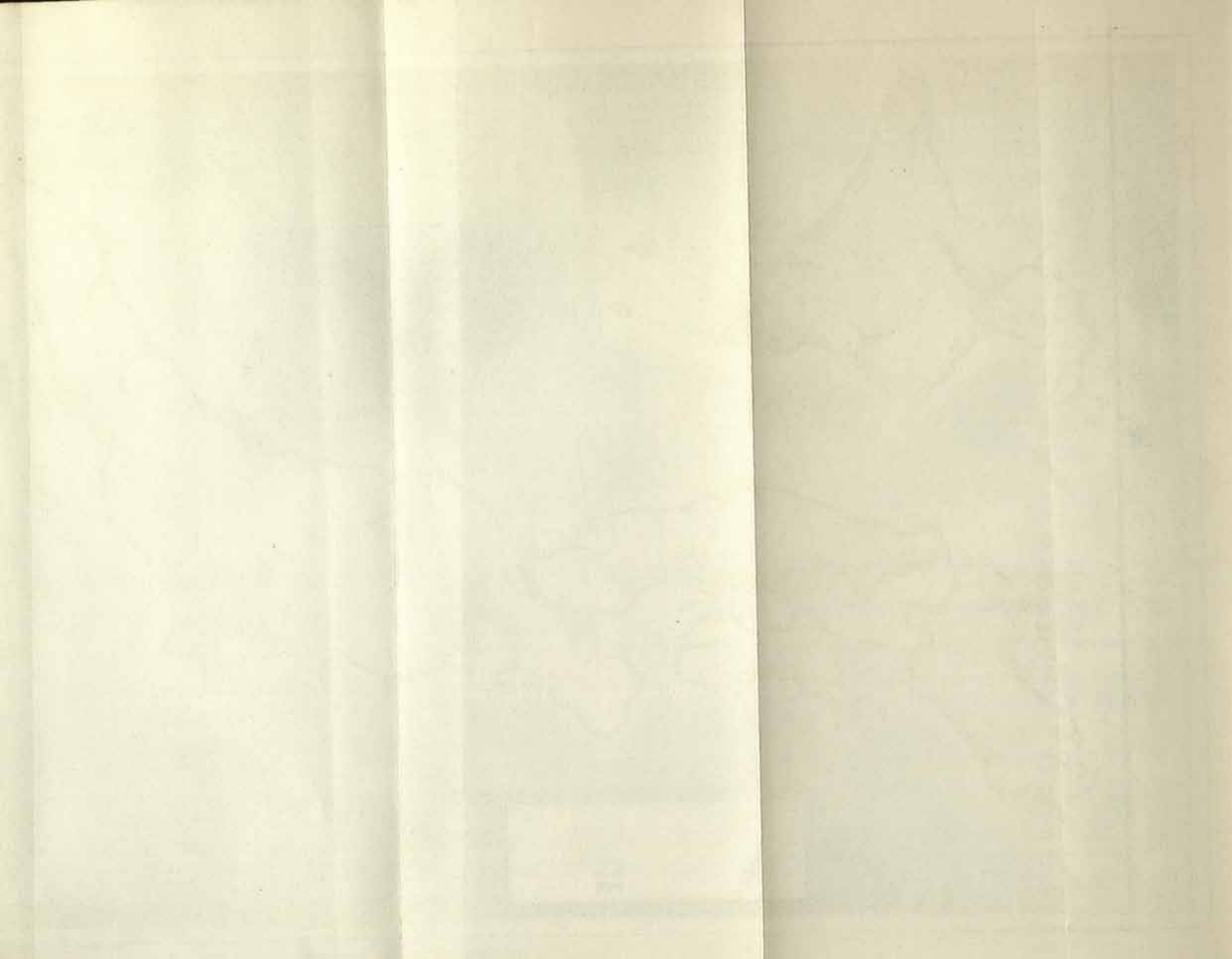
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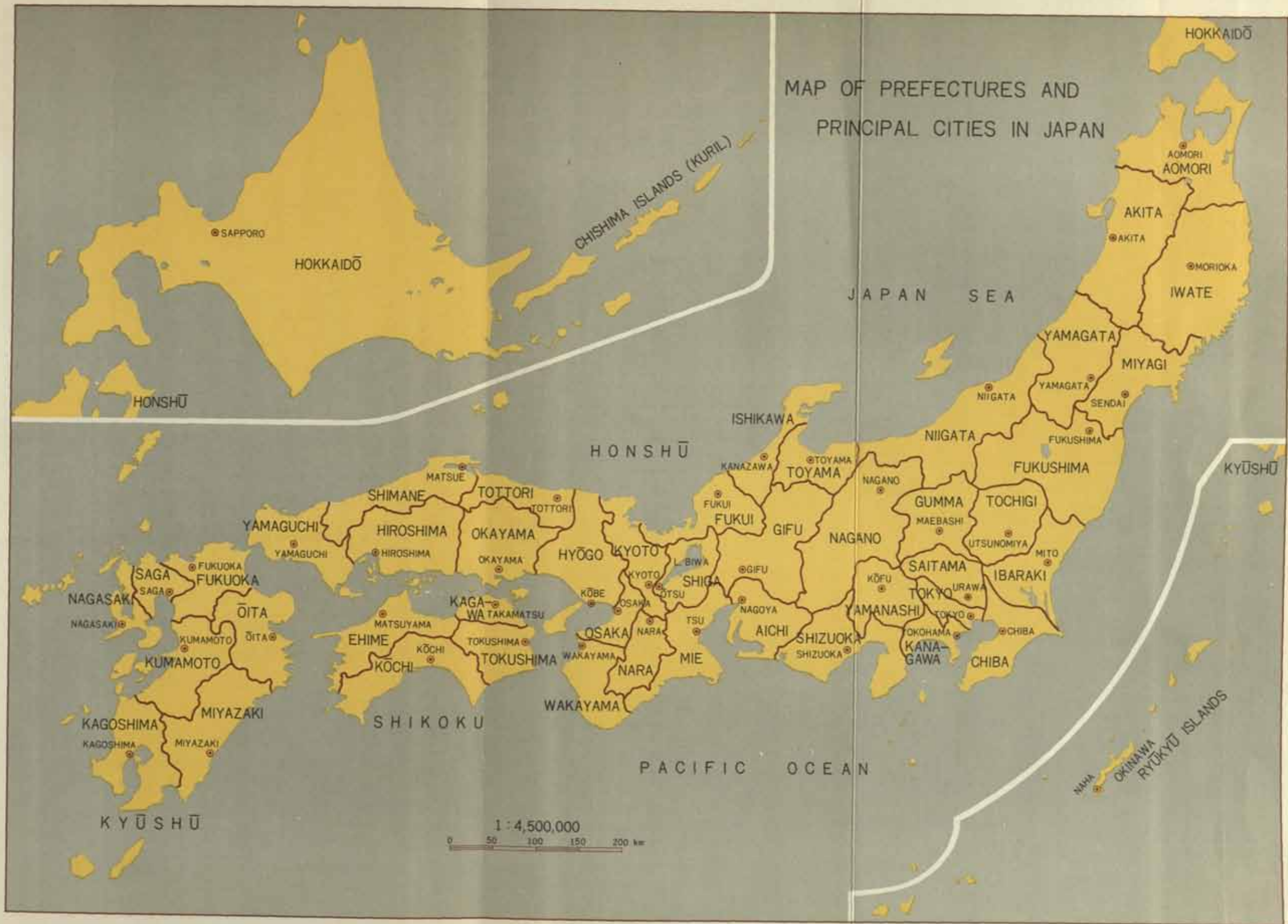
- B. Bay
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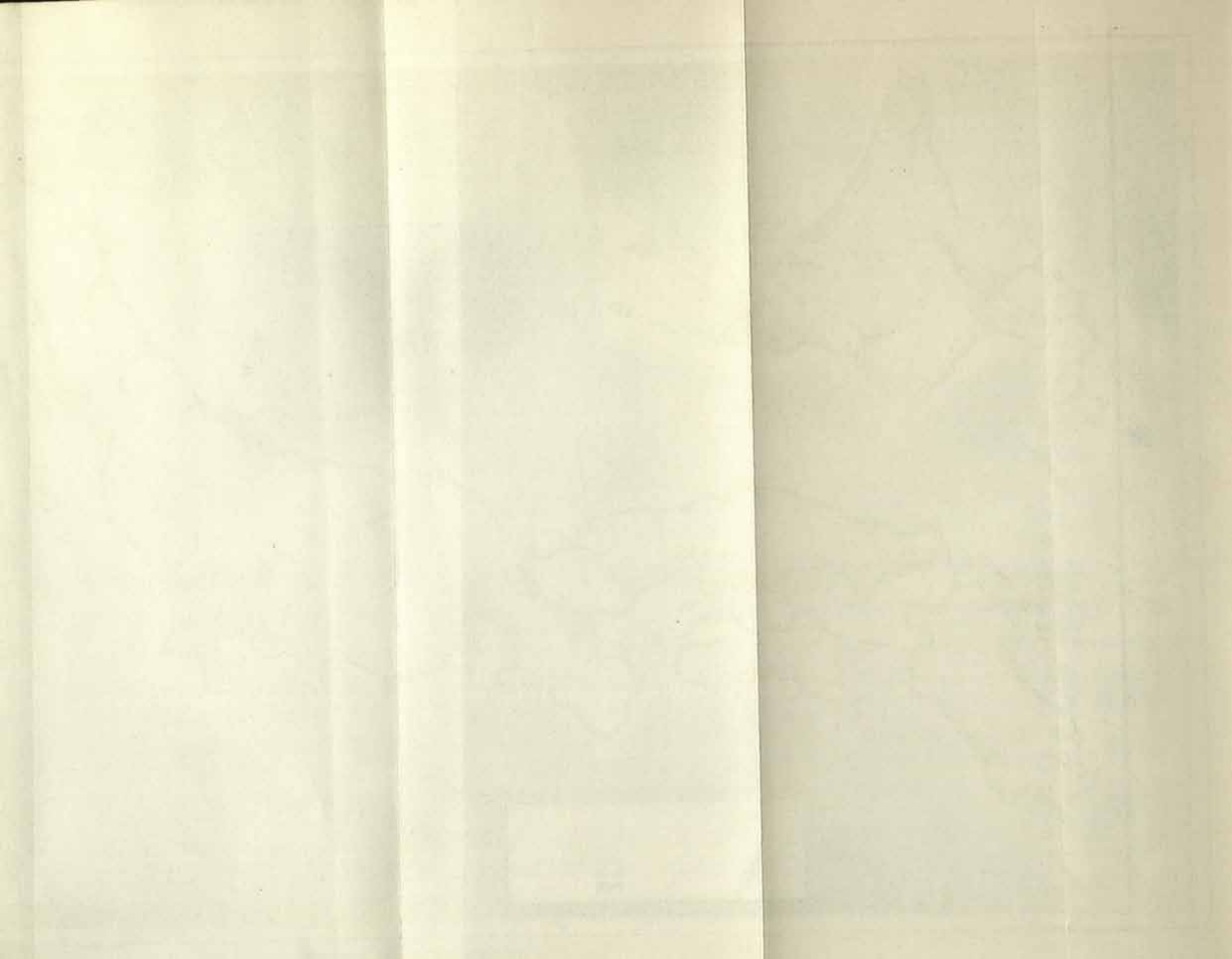
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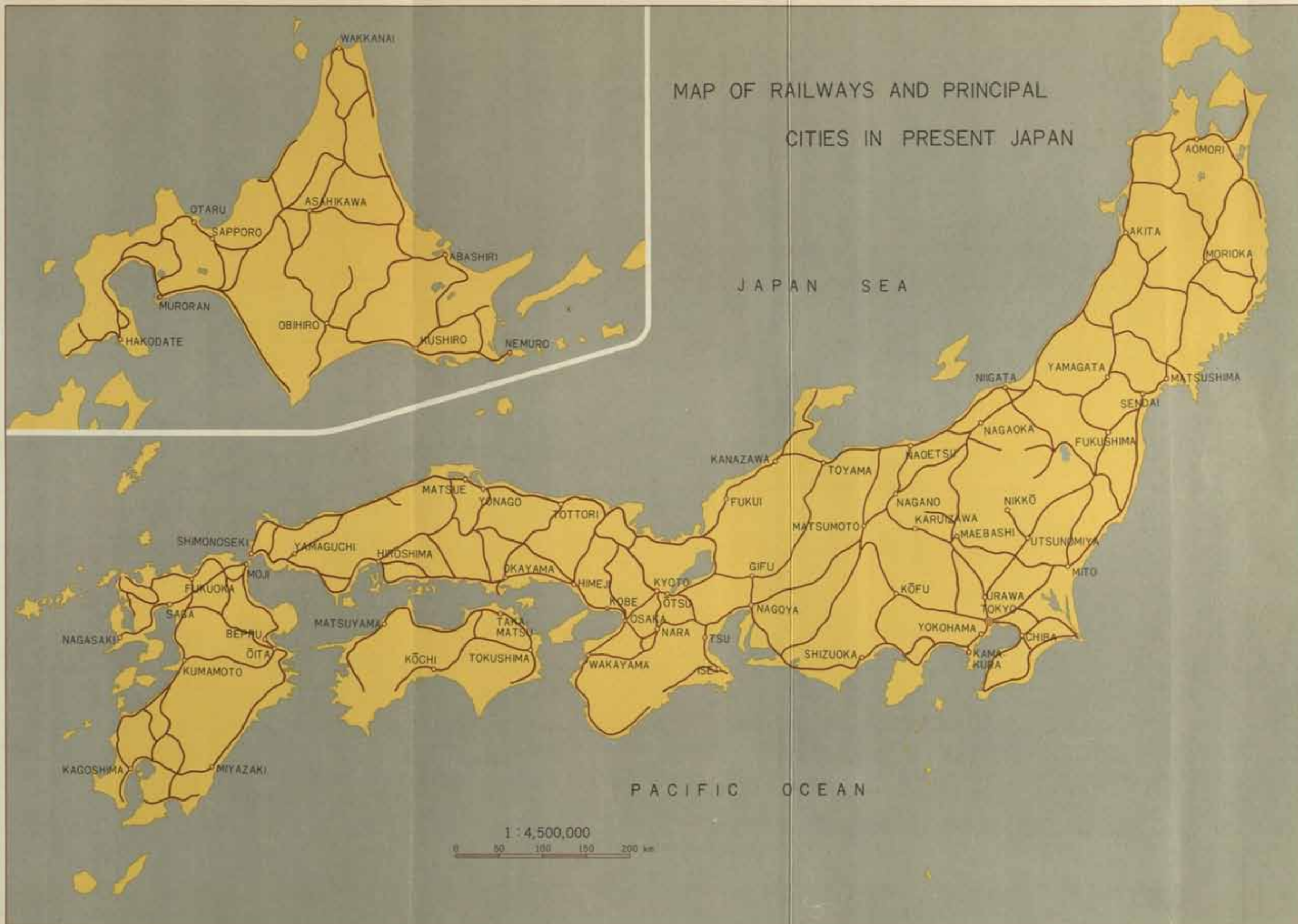


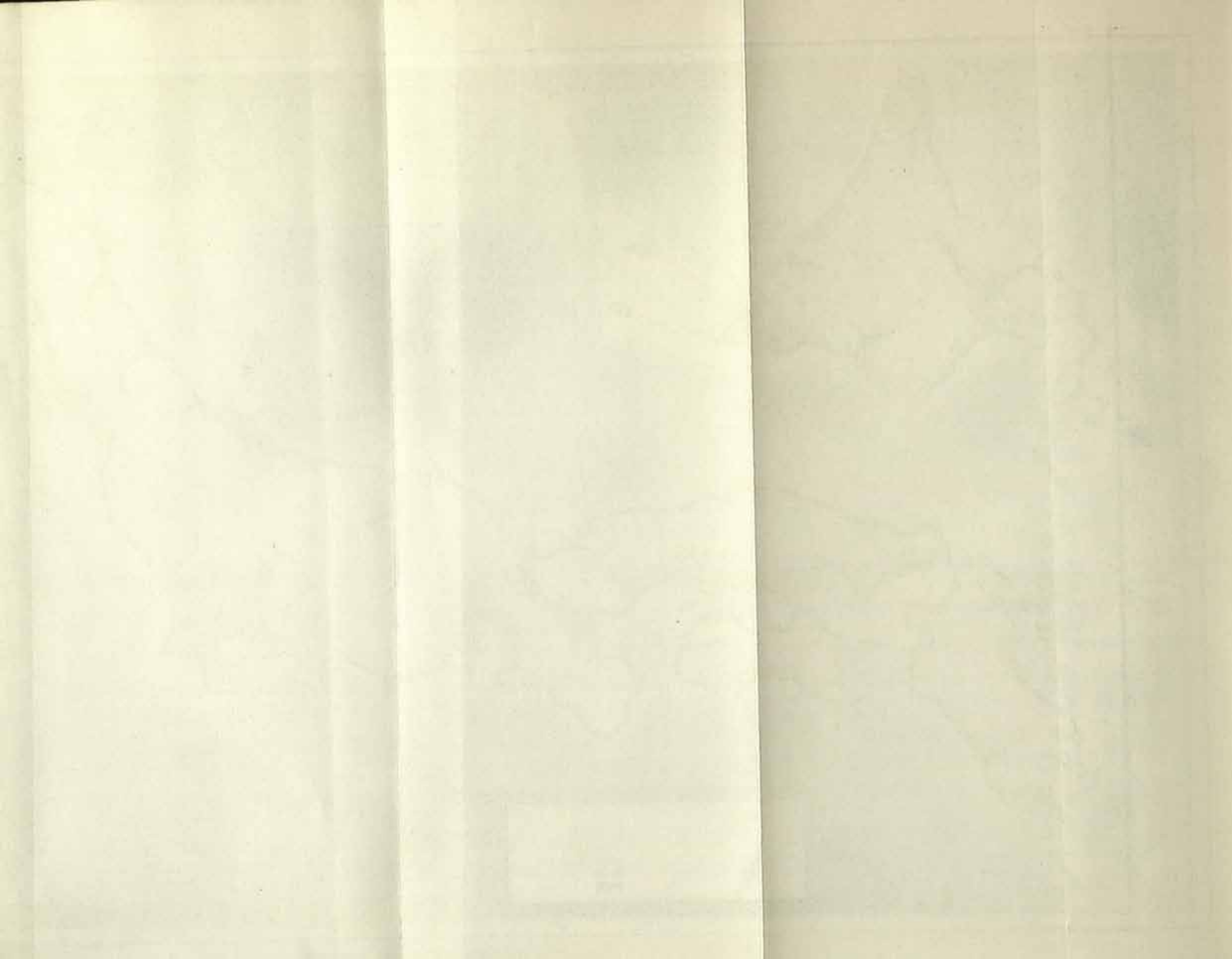
MAP OF PREFECTURES AND
PRINCIPAL CITIES IN JAPAN



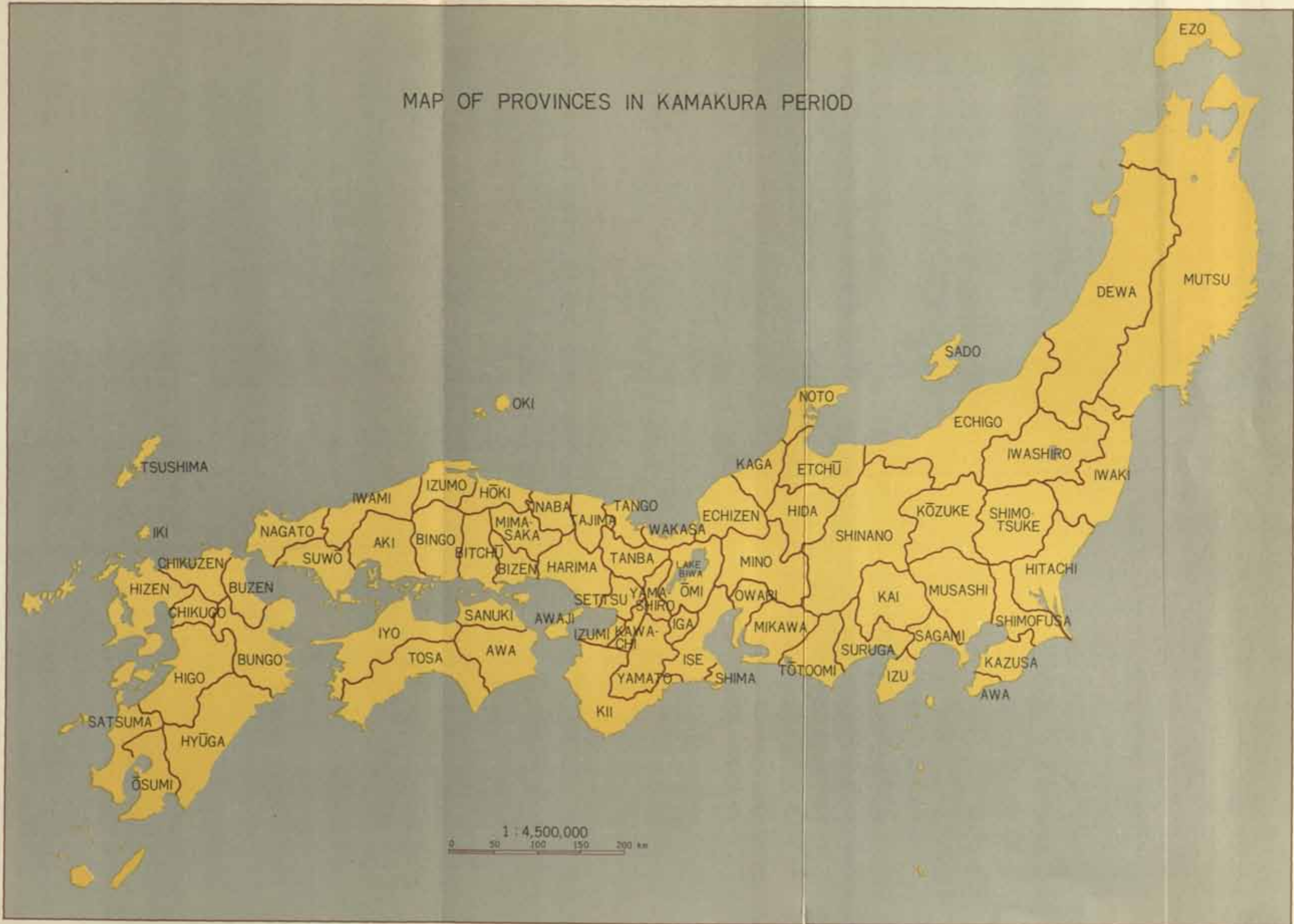


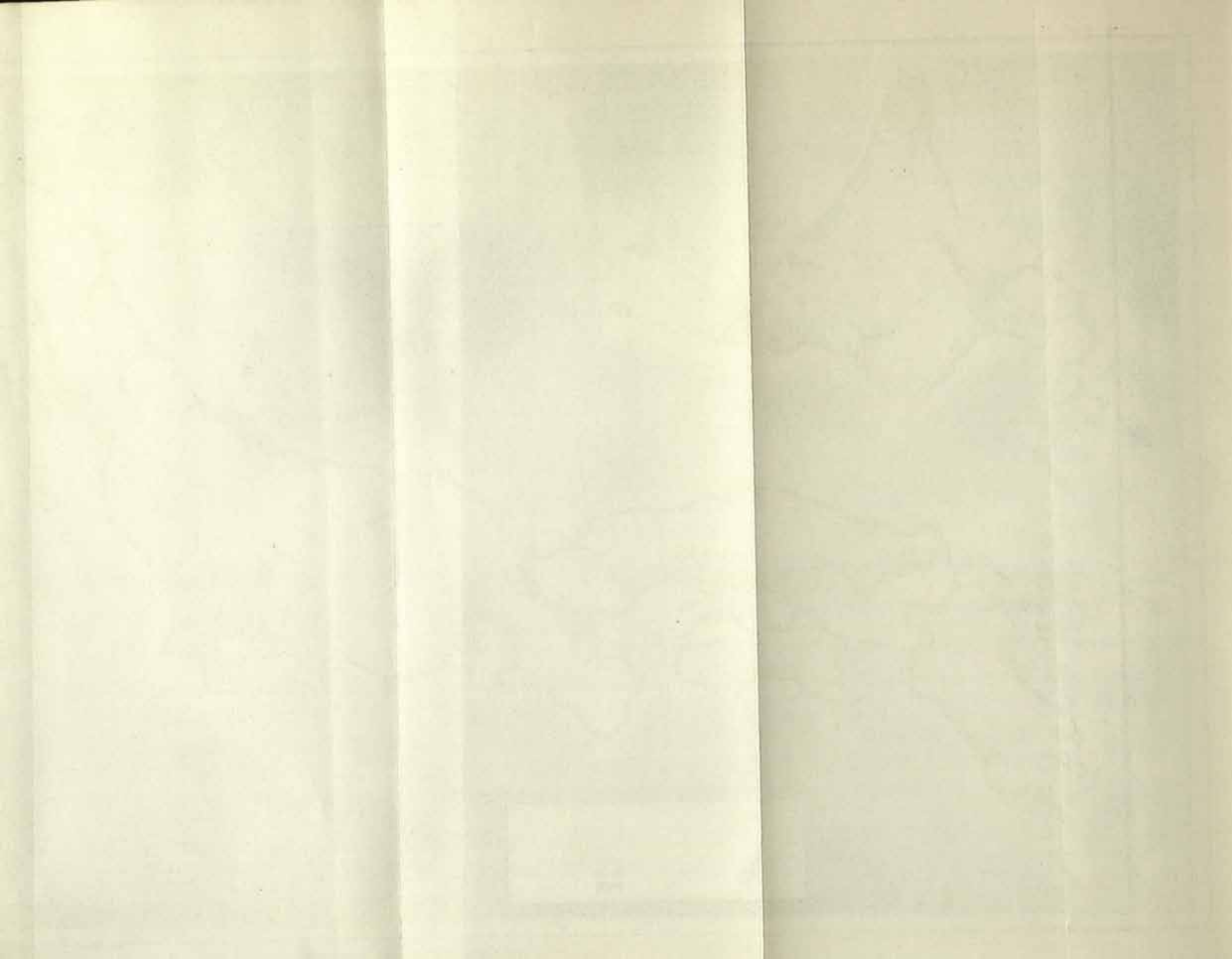
MAP OF RAILWAYS AND PRINCIPAL
CITIES IN PRESENT JAPAN





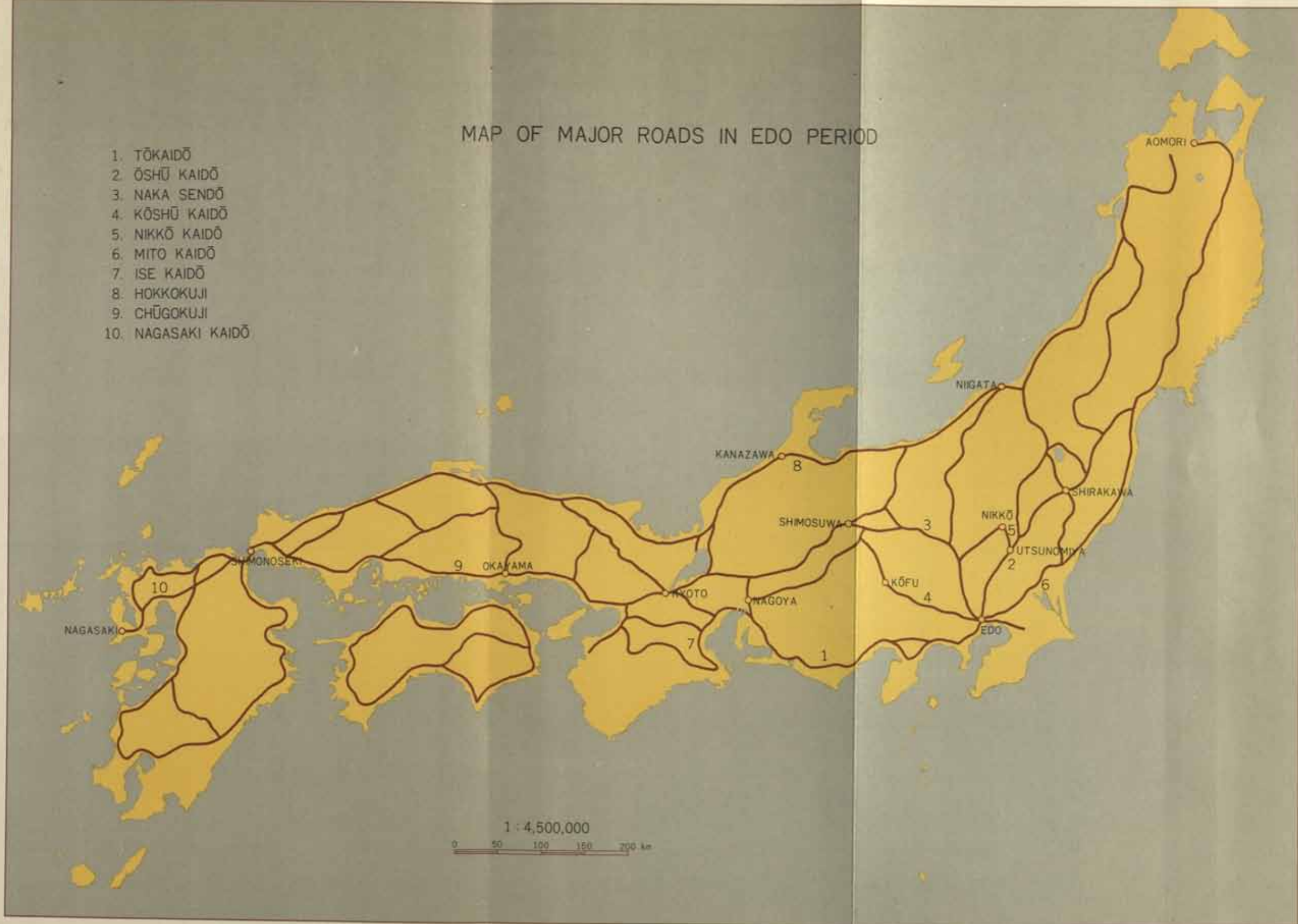
MAP OF PROVINCES IN KAMAKURA PERIOD

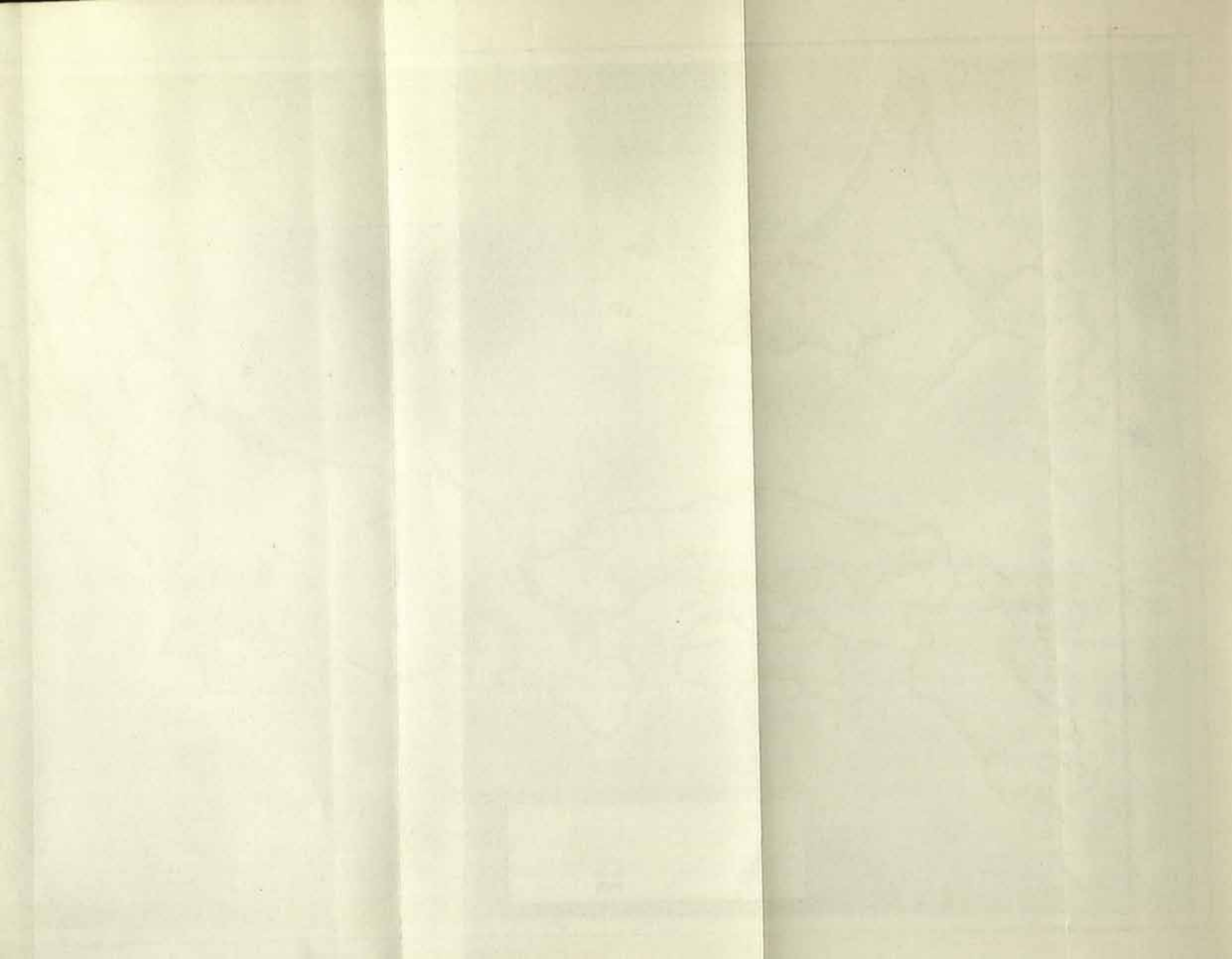




MAP OF MAJOR ROADS IN EDO PERIOD

1. TŌKAIDŌ
2. ŌSHŪ KAIDŌ
3. NAKA SENDŌ
4. KŌSHŪ KAIDŌ
5. NIKKŌ KAIDŌ
6. MITO KAIDŌ
7. ISE KAIDŌ
8. HOKKOKUJI
9. CHŪGOKUJI
10. NAGASAKI KAIDŌ





Description > < Japan

"A book that is shut is but a block"

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